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HISTORY

OF

LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF

THE POPES

TO

THE PONTIFICATE OF NICOLAS V.

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al

BY HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.,

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

B 4184 5

VOLUME V.

£ 6- 9

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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BOOK XI.

CHAPTER I.

ST. LOUIS.

THE great fabric of mediæval religion might have suffered a shock from the pride, the rapacity, the implacability of Innocent IV., which had raised a deep and sullen alienation even among the clergy in parts of Christendom, especially in England and Germany. The Teutonic pride revolted at the absolute nomination of an obscure prince to the Empire by the will of the Pope. The bold speculations, the enlightened studies, promoted by Frederick II., even the contemptuous indifference ascribed to him, though outwardly rejected, were working no doubt in the depths of many minds. Heresy, crushed in blood in Languedoc, was spreading elsewhere the more extensively in defiance of the Inquisition, which was already becoming odious throughout Europe. The strife of the new Orders with the clergy had weakened their influence over the popular mind, influence not altogether replaced by the wonderful numbers, activity, learning, ubiquity of the Mendicants. In the Franciscan Order had already begun that schism, which was of far greater importance than is commonly supposed in religious history.

But there was not wanting the great example of religion to awe and to allure mankind: it was not in the chair of St. Peter, not at the head of a new Order, but on the throne of France: the Saint of this period was a King. The unbounded admiration of St. Louis in his own days, the worship of the canonised Sovereign in later times, was a religious power, of which it is impossible to trace or define the limits. Difficult, indeed, it is to

St. Louis.

imagine that at the same historic period lived Frederick II. and Louis IX: Louis was a monk upon the throne, but a monk with none of the harshness, bitterness, or pride of monkery. His was a frank playfulness, or amenity at least of manner, which Henry IV. never surpassed, and a blamelessness hardly ever before, till very recent times never after, seen on the throne of France. Nor was he only a monk: he had kingly qualities of the noblest order, gentleness, affability, humanity towards all his believing subjects, a kind of dignity of justice, a loftiness of virtue, which prevented the most religious of men from degenerating into a slave of the clergy; a simple sincerity even in his lowest superstitions, an honest frankness, an utter absence of malignity even in his intolerance, which holds even these failings and errors high above contempt, or even aversion. Who can read the Seneschal Joinville without love and veneration of his master?

Louis was ten years old at the death of his father Louis VIII. His mother, Blanche of Castile, took possession at once of the regency. Her firm demeanour awed all ranks; her vigorous administration at once established her power. Philip the Rough, the brother of Louis VIII. (the son of Philip Augustus, by Agnes of Meran, but who had been acknowledged as a legitimate prince), submitted sullenly, yet submitted, to the female rule. It is strange to contrast the severe court of the Queen-mother Blanche with that of Marie de Medicis, or Anne of Austria; the youth of Louis IX. with that of Louis XIV. or Louis XV.: and to suppose that the same religion was preached in the churches, then by a rude Dominican or a homely Franciscan, afterwards in the exquisite and finished language of Bossuet and Massillon. Blanche of Castile did not entirely escape the malicious slanders of her enemies. She was accused of too close an intimacy with the Legate himself. She fell under stronger suspicion as the idol of the amorous poetry of the gallant Thiebault, Count of Champagne, afterwards King of Navarre. But Thiebault's Platonic raptures were breathed in vain to the inaccessible matron; it was the policy not the heart of the Queen Regent which led

A.D. 1226. Blanche of Castile.

her not to disdain the poetic suit of a dangerous subject, constantly falling off to the enemies of her son, and recalled to his allegiance by the authority of his mistress. The historian guarantees her chaste and cleanly life.[a] Her treatment of her son showed no indulgence for such weaknesses. Once in his early youth he had looked with kindling eye on some fair damsels. "I had rather he were dead," said the rigid mother, "than that he should commit sin." Thus bred a monk, the congenial disposition of Louis embraced with ardour the austere rule. Had he not been early married, he would have vowed perpetual chastity. The jealousy of his mother of any other influence than her own was constantly watching his most familiar intercourse with his wife, Marguerite of Provence. He bore it, even the harshness with which Blanche treated her daughter-in-law at times when woman's sympathies are usually most tender, with his meekest filial submission. At all the great religious periods, Advent, Lent, the high Festivals, and all holy days (which now filled no small part of the year), the youthful King denied himself all connubial indulgences; he would rise from his bed, and pace the cold chamber till he was frozen into virtue. His other appetites he controlled with equal inflexibility. Besides the most rigorous observance of the ordinary fasts, once only in the year would he allow himself to taste fruit: he wore the roughest sackcloth next to his skin. His spiritual teachers persuaded him to less severe observance, to deny himself only unripe fruit, to wear haircloth of less coarse texture. On Fridays he never laughed; if he detected himself in laughter he repressed and mourned over the light emotion. On Friday he never changed his raiment. In his girdle he wore an ivory case of iron chain scourges (such boxes were his favourite presents to his courtiers), not for idle display. Every Friday during the year, and in Lent on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, he shut himself up in his chamber, searching every corner, lest any one should be present, with his confessor, the Dominican Godfrey of Beaulieu. The bleeding shoulders of the King

Austerities of Louis.

[a] "Sa vie bonne et nette."—Joinville.

attested his own sincerity, and the singular adulation of the confessor, who knew the King too well not to administer the discipline with unsparing hand. These more secret acts of holiness were no doubt too admirable for the clergy to allow them to remain secret; but the people were no less edified by his acts of public devotion. It was his constant practice to visit distant churches with bare feet, or, to disguise his piety, in sandals without soles. On every altar he offered profuse alms. One day he walked barefoot from Nogent l'Erembert to the church of Our Lady at Chartres, a distance of four leagues; he was obliged to lean on his attendants for support. He constantly washed the feet of beggars; he invited the poor and the sick to his table; he attended the hospitals, and performed the most menial and loathsome offices. A leper on the farther side of a swamp begged of him; the King crossed over, not only gave him alms, but kissed his hand. He heard daily two, sometimes three or four, masses; his whole day might seem one unbroken service; as he rode, his chaplain chanted or recited the offices. Even in this respect his teachers attempted to repress his zeal. A Dominican preacher urged him from the pulpit not to lower too much the royal dignity, not to spend the whole day in church, to content himself with one mass: "whoever counselled him otherwise was a fool, and guilty of a deadly sin." "If I spent twice as much time in dice and hawking, should I be so rebuked?"[b] answered the gentle King. He bore even reproach with meekness. A woman named Sarrette, pleading in the King's court, said "Fie! you are not King of France, you are only a king of friars, of priests, and of clerks. It is a great pity that you are King of France; you should be turned out of the kingship."[c] The blessed King would not allow his attendants to chastise the woman. "You say true! It has pleased the Lord to make me king; it had been well if it had pleased him to make some one who had better ruled the realm." He then ordered his chamberlain to give her money, as much as forty pence.

[b] Notices et Extraits, ix. 406.
[c] Life, by the Confessor of Queen Margaret, in Bouquet, p. 366.

Louis had the most religious aversion for all lighter amusements, the juggler, the minstrel. He was profoundly ignorant of polite letters. His whole time might seem fully occupied in rehearsing over and over the same prayers; yet he is said to have read perpetually in a Latin Bible with devotional notes, and to have been deeply versed in the writings of some of the Fathers, especially St. Augustine. But this learning, whatever it might be, he acquired with the most reverential humility; it tempted him to no daring religious speculation, emboldened him to no polemic zeal. "Even clerks, if not profoundly learned, ought to abstain from controversy with unbelievers; the layman had but one argument, his good sword. If he heard a man to be an unbeliever, he should not dispute with him, he should at once run that sword into his entrails, and drive it home."[d] He related with special approbation the anecdote of a brave old knight, who broke up a discussion on the relative excellence of their law between some Catholic doctors and some Jewish Rabbis by bringing down his mace upon the head of the principal Jew teacher. Louis loved all mankind with a boundless love except Jews, heretics, and infidels, whom he hated with as boundless hatred.

His virtues.

But above all these weaknesses or exaggerated virtues there were the high Christian graces, conscientiousness such as few kings are able or dare to display on the throne, which never swerved either through ambition or policy from strict rectitude. No acquisition of territory, no extension of the royal power, would have tempted Louis IX. to unjust aggression. He was strongly urged to put to death the son of the chief of the rebels in arms against him, the Count de la Marche, who had fallen into his hands; he nobly replied: "A son could not refuse to obey his father's orders." The one great war in which he was involved, before his departure for the Crusade, which ended in the humiliation of the great vassals of the Crown and of the leader in that revolt,

[d] "Mais lomme loy (laic) quand il ot mesdire de la ley crestienne, ne doit desputer a eulz, ne doit pas defendre la ley crestienne, ne mais (si non) de l'espee, de quoi il doit donner parmi le ventre dedans, tant comme il peut entrer."—Joinville, in Bouquet, t. xx. p. 198.

Henry III. of England, the chief of these great vassals, was provoked by no oppression or injustice on his part, was conducted with moderation unusual in that age; and his victory was not sullied by any act of wanton revenge or abuse of power. He had no rapacity; he coveted but one kind of treasure, reliques; and no doubt when he bought the real crown of thorns (the abbey of St. Denys had already boasted their possession of the authentic crown, but their crown sank into obscurity, when that of Constantinople arrived in Paris),* when he obtained this inestimable prize at such enormous cost, there was no abstemiousness which he would not have practised, in order so to enrich his beloved France. He plundered the Jews, but that was on religious grounds; their tainted wealth might not infect the royal treasury; he bestowed the whole on Baldwin of Constantinople.

Yet Louis was no slave of the hierarchy. His religion was of too lofty a cast to submit to the dictates of a worldly clergy. His own great objects of admiration were the yet uncorrupt Mendicants, the Preachers and Minorites; half his body he would give to St. Dominic, half to St. Francis. He once gravely meditated the abandonment of his throne to put on the weeds of one of these Orders. His laws will afterwards display him, if not as the founder, the asserter of the liberties of the Gallican Church, and of the royal power, as limiting that of the Papacy. Throughout the strife between Frederick II. and Gregory IX. he maintained an impartial and dignified neutrality. He had not declined the summons of the Emperor to hold a meeting of the temporal Sovereigns of Christendom to resist in common the encroachments of the spiritual power. Nothing could surpass the calm loftiness with which he demanded the release of the French prelates taken at the battle of Meloria; he could advance the cogent argument, that he had resisted all the demands and entreaties of the Pope to be permitted to levy subsidies on the realm of France for the war against the Emperor. He had refused, as we have seen, the offer of the Imperial crown from Innocent IV. for his brother; only when Fre-

* Compare Tillemont, Vie de Saint Louis, ii. 337.

derick threatened to march on Lyons, and crush the Pope, did Louis seem disposed to take up arms for the defence of the Pontiff.[f]

Such a monarch could not but be seized by the yet unexpired passion for the Crusade. Urban II., two centuries before, would not have found a more ardent follower. It was in St. Louis no love, no aptitude for war, no boiling and impetuous valour. His slight frame and delicate health gave no promise of personal prowess or fame; he was in no way distinguished in, he loved not, knightly exercises. He had no conscious confidence in his military skill or talent to intoxicate him with the hopes of a conqueror; he seems to have utterly wanted, perhaps to have despised, the most ordinary acquirements of a general. He went forth simply as the servant of God; he might seem to disdain even the commonest precautions. God was to fight his own battles; Louis was assured of victory or Paradise. All depended on the faith, and the suppression of military licence, at which he laboured with fond hopes of success, not on the valour, discipline, generalship of the army. In his determination to embark on the Crusade, Louis resolutely asserted the absolute power of the monarch: in this alone he resisted the colder caution of his mother Blanche; she was obliged to yield to the pious stubbornness of her son. Louis was seized with an alarming illness, he had sunk into a profound lethargy, he was thought dead; a pious female had drawn the covering, in sad respect, over what seemed the lifeless corpse. Another gently withdrew it. The soft but hollow voice of the King was heard: "God has raised me from the dead: give me the Cross." His mother wept tears of joy; when she saw the Cross on his breast, she knew the meaning of that gesture. She shuddered as if he lay dead before her.[g]

Louis determines on a crusade.

A.D. 1244. Dec. 10.

No expedition to the East was so ignominiously disastrous as that of St. Louis: yet none might seem to set forth under more promising auspices. He was three years in assembling his forces, preparing arms, money, horses,

[f] Tillemont, iii. p. 164. [g] Joinville, p. 207.

soldiers. It was in October (A.D. 1245) that in the Parliament of Paris he publicly took the Cross. The princes, the nobles, vied in following his example; his brother, Robert of Artois, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Brabant, the Countess of Flanders and her sons, Peter Mauclerc of Dreux and his son, the Count of Bretagne, the Counts of Bar, Soissons, St. Pol, de la Marche, Rhetel, Montfort; the Archbishops of Rheims, Sens, and Bourges, the Bishops of Beauvais, Laon, and Orleans, with countless knights and esquires. At Christmas in the same year Louis practised perhaps the only act of treachery of which he was guilty in his life. It was the custom for the King to distribute, as his gifts on that day, new robes to the courtiers. He ordered red crosses to be secretly embroidered between the shoulders; they were lavished in more than usual numbers. The courtiers were astonished to find that the King had thus piously enlisted them; they were now warriors of the Cross, who could not shrink from their engagement. It would have been indecent, disgraceful, ignoble, to throw aside the crosses; so, with true French levity, they laughed and wept at once, owning that they were completely entrapped by the King.

From that time the whole thoughts of Louis were absorbed in the Holy War. He resisted the offers of Pope Innocent to befriend him in a war against England, even in an invasion of England. He made, as he hoped, a lasting peace with his neighbour. He took no part in the confederacy of the French nobility to resist the exactions of the Pope and of the hierarchy.[h] He laboured earnestly, though ineffectually, to reconcile the Emperor and the Pope.

A.D. 1246.

So far, on the other hand, had his strife with the Emperor absorbed all other religious passions in the Pope, that not only was there no cordial co-operation on the part of Innocent in the Crusade of St. Louis, but exemptions from the Crusades were now notoriously sold, it was believed to defray the expenses of the war against the

[h] According to Paris, St. Louis favoured the League. Compare Tillemont, iii. p. 120.

Emperor. The Crusaders in Italy were urged to join the Pope's forces, with all the privileges and exemptions of a Crusade to the Holy Land.

Louis himself did not embark at the head of a great army, like a puissant monarch. The princes, prelates, and nobles were to arrange their own transport. St. Louis passed down the Rhone; he was urged to avenge the death of his father on rebellious Avignon: "I have taken arms to revenge Jesus Christ, not my father." The island of Cyprus was the place of rendezvous. In Cyprus there was a delay of eight months. Want of discipline and a fatal epidemic made great ravages in the army; there seemed a total absence of conduct or command. But for supplies sent by the Emperor Frederick, there had been famine. The grateful Louis made one more effort to mediate between the Pope and the Emperor. The overture was contemptuously rejected.

Louis embarks in the Crusade.

At length the armament set sail; its object was the conquest of Egypt, as securing that of the Holy Land. Damietta was abandoned by the Saracens; the Crusaders were masters of that great city.[i] But never were the terror and advantages of a first success so thrown away. Months were wasted; the King was performing the offices of a monk, not of a general. Yet the army of the pious Louis was abandoned to every kind of Oriental luxury.[k] In June they were in Damietta, in November they marched, and shut themselves in a camp in a corner between the hills and the canal of Ashmoun. The flying bands of the enemy, with the Greek fire, harassed the camp. Good fortune and the valour of the soldiery extricated them from this difficulty, only to involve them in more fatal disasters. The King's brother, the Count of Artois, fell in a hasty unsupported advance. The unrivalled valour of the French was wasted in unprofitable victories, like those of Mansourah, or in miserable defeats. The camp was in a state of blockade;

June 7, 1249. (Cyprus.)

June 20. (Damietta.)

Feb. 8-11.

[i] The instant St. Louis landed and saw the Saracens, he drew his sword and was for charging them at once. The wiser "preudhommes" stopped him. This was St. Louis's notion of military affairs.—Joinville, p. 215.

[k] Not a stone's throw from the king the soldiers "tenoient leurs bordiaux." —Joinville, 217.

pestilence,[m] famine, did the work of the enemy. The King of France was a prisoner to the Sultan of Egypt. Of two thousand three hundred knights and fifteen thousand pilgrims few made their escape. His brothers, Alfonse of Poitou and Charles of Anjou, shared his captivity. His Queen, far advanced in pregnancy, remained with an insufficient force in Damietta. She bore a son prematurely; she called his name "Tristan."

Defeat and captivity. March 27. April 6.

But it was adversity which displayed the great character of St. Louis. He was himself treated at first with courtesy; he was permitted to hear the canonical prayers, after the custom of the Church of Paris, recited by the single priest who had escaped; his breviary, the loss of which he deplored above all losses, was replaced by another. But he had the bitter aggravation of his misery—that, of ten thousand prisoners in Mansourah, all who would not abandon their faith (and some there were guilty of this apostacy) met a cruel death. But to all the courteous approaches of the Sultan, Louis was jealously on his guard, lest he should compromise his dignity as a King or his purity as a Christian: he would not receive the present of a dress from the unbeliever. To their exorbitant demands and menaces he gave a calm and determined reply. They demanded the surrender of all the fortresses in Syria: these, it was answered, belonged not to the King of France, but to Frederick II. as King of Jerusalem. To that of yielding up the castles garrisoned by the Knights of the Temple and of St. John, the answer was that the Orders could not surrender them without violating their vows. The King was threatened with torture—torture of the most cruel kind—the barnacles, which crushed the legs. "I am your prisoner," he said, "ye may do with me as ye will."[n] It is said that he defied even the more degrading menace of carrying him about and exhibiting him as a spectacle in all the cities of Islam. At length more reasonable terms were proposed; the evacuation of Damietta, and a large sum of money—for the King's ransom one

[m] They had no fish all Lent but "bourbettes," which gluttonous fish fed on dead bodies, and produced dreadful maladies.

[n] Joinville, p. 243.

million byzantines; for the captive Barons five hundred thousand French livres. Concerning his own ransom Louis made some difficulty; he acceded at once to that of the Barons. "It becomes not the King of France to barter about the liberty of her subjects."[o] The Sultan, Turan-Shah, was moved by the monarch's generosity; with Oriental magnificence, he struck off one-fifth—two hundred thousand byzantines—from his ransom.

In the new perils which arose on the murder of the Sultan Turan-Shah before the deliverance of the prisoners, the tranquil dignity of the King of France overawed even the bloody Mamelukes. The Emirs renewed the treaty; the difficulty was now the oath. The King demanded, by the advice of Master Nicolas of Ptolemais, that the Mussulmen should swear, "that if they broke the treaty they should be dishonoured as the Islamite who should go as a pilgrim to Mecca bareheaded, as one who should take back a divorced wife, as one who had eaten swine's flesh." A renegade suggested as an equivalent form to be required of the King, that in like case, should he violate the treaty, "he should be dishonoured as a Christian who had denied God and his Holy Mother, and had severed himself from the communion of God, his Apostles, and Saints; or, in mockery of God, had spat on the Holy Cross and trampled it under foot." Louis indignantly repelled the last clause. The Emirs threatened him with death; he declared that he had rather die than live, after having insulted God and his Holy Mother.[p] His brothers and the other Barons followed the example of his firmness. In vain the Mamelukes seized the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had come under the Sultan's safe conduct (which they disclaimed) into the camp, a man eighty years old, and tied him to a tent-post with his hands behind his back, till they swelled and almost burst. The Patriarch, in his agony, entreated the King to yield, and offered to take upon himself all the guilt of his oath. The oath was arranged, it is not known how, to mutual satisfaction;

Murder of the Sultan Turan-Shah.

[o] "Par ma foy larges est le Frans, quant il na pas bargigné (marchandé) sur si grant somme de deniers." So said the Saracens.—Joinville, 243.

[p] Joinville, p. 246.

but so rigidly scrupulous was Louis, that when it appeared that in the payment of part of the ransom the Christians might have gained an advantage, either fairly or unfairly, of ten thousand byzantines in weight, he peremptorily commanded the full payment.

Ransom and release.

The release of the King on such favourable terms, at a price so much below the value of such a captive, astonished both the Christians and the Mussulmen. Damietta could not have resisted many days. Much was attributed to the awe inspired by the majestic demeanour and calm self-command of the King.[q] Joinville, his faithful seneschal and historian, had persuaded himself that the Emirs, after the murder of Turan-Shah, had determined to offer the crown of Egypt to the King of France; they were only deterred by his stern Christianity, which would never have submitted to the toleration of their creed. The King himself declared to the Seneschal that he should not have declined the offer. Happily it was not made, probably was never contemplated; the death of Louis would soon have vindicated the affront on Islam. But all this, no doubt, heightened the religious romance which spread in Europe around the name of Louis.

Hopes of Louis.

Notwithstanding his defeat and humiliation and captivity, the passive courage of Louis was still unbroken; he persisted, contrary to all counsel, in remaining in Palestine. He would not suppose that God would utterly abandon his faithful servants; he would not believe that Christendom would be unmoved by his appeal; he still would fondly expect that the irresolute Henry of England would fulfil his vow, and come to his rescue at the head of his whole realm.[r] To Henry the summons was earnest and repeated. Louis made the most advantageous overtures; he even, to the indignation and disgust of his own subjects, offered the surrender of Nor-

[q] The Saracens, according to Joinville, said that if Mohammed had allowed such sufferings to be inflicted on them as St. Louis endured, they should have renounced him.—P. 247.

[r] Henry took the cross (March 6, 1251), says Tillemont, "soit pour piller plus librement ses sujets, soit pour quelque meilleur dessein." The Pope wrote to Henry early in 1251. Henry swore to go to the Holy Land in three years.—Paris, p. 834.

mandy, to which England still laid claim as her King's hereditary dominions.[s] He still imagined that the Pope would lay aside all his plans for the humiliation of Frederick, and be compelled, by his own Apostolic character, and the general voice of Christendom, to sacrifice everything to the recovery of the Holy Land; that there would be but one Crusade under his auspices, and that the legitimate one. Louis was deserted by his brothers, whose light conduct had caused him great vexation; while he was in perpetual self-mortification before God for his sins, which he did not doubt had caused his defeat and bondage, they were playing at dice, whiling away the hours with vain amusements. Almost all the Barons followed the Counts of Poitou and Anjou; Louis was left almost alone with Joinville, his faithful Seneschal. Nor was his weary sojourn in Palestine enlivened by any brilliant successes or gallant feats of arms. For these Louis had neither the activity nor the skill. He was performing the pious office of assisting with his own hands to bury the dead warriors. A hasty pilgrimage in sackcloth to Nazareth was almost the only reward; the only advantage of his residence was the fortification of Cæsarea, Ptolemais, and Joppa. The negotiations with the Sultan of Aleppo on one side, and the Egyptians on the other, by which he hoped to obtain the country west of the Jordan, came to nothing. He is said to have converted many Saracens;[t] he spent enormous sums in the purchase of Mohammedan or heathen slaves, whom he caused to be baptized.[u]

Deserted by his brothers.

A.D. 1251.

It was only the death of the Queen-Mother Blanche, and the imperious necessity for his presence in his kingdom of France, which forced him at last to leave the hallowed soil. He returned—if without fame for arms, or for the conduct of affairs—with the profoundest reverence for his sanctity. Only a few years before Frederick II. had come back to Europe, leaving Jerusalem in the hands of the Christians; the Christian power in Palestine, but for its own dissensions, formidable both to the Sultan of Egypt and the Sultan of Damascus; he had

Return to Europe. Nov. 1252.

[s] Paris, 833, 834. [t] Tillemont, from MSS., and Duchesne, p. 405. [u] Ibid.

come back still under the sentence of excommunication, under the reproach with the Papal party of having basely betrayed the interests of the Cross and of God. Louis left Jerusalem unapproachable but with difficulty and danger by the Christian pilgrim, and the kingdom of Jerusalem visibly trembling to its fall; yet an object of devout respect, having made some advance at least, to his future canonisation.

Further contrast of Frederick and Louis.

The contrast between Frederick and Louis may be carried on with singular interest, as illustrative of their times. It might have been supposed that Louis would have been the remorseless persecutor of heretics; Frederick, if not the bold asserter of equal toleration, which he allowed to Greeks and Mohammedans, would hardly have been the sovereign to enact and execute persecuting edicts, unprecedented in their cruelty, and to encourage the son to denounce the father.[x] Happily for Louis, his virtue was not tried by this sore temptation; it was not under his government that the spiritual ravagers still wasted Languedoc. After the treaty by which Raymond VII., Count of Toulouse, surrendered his principality, he remained with the barren dignity of sovereign, but without a voice in the fate of a large though concealed part of his subjects. Bishop Fulk of Toulouse, as far as actual power, was half sovereign of the land, and the council of that sovereign, which alone displayed administrative activity, was the Inquisition. Heresy had been extinguished as far as its public services; but the Inquisition of Toulouse determined to root it out from the hearths, from the chambers, from the secret hearts and souls of men. The statutes of the Council of Lateran were too merciful. The Inquisition drew up its code of procedure,[y] a Christian code, of which the base was a system of delation at which the worst of the Pagan emperors might have shuddered as iniquitous; in which the

Louis escapes being a persecutor.

[x] See above, vol. iv. p. 361.

[y] The two forms of procedure may be read in Martene and Durand.—Thesaurus Anecdotorum, t. v. Their authenticity is beyond dispute. Nothing that the sternest or most passionate historian has revealed, nothing that the most impressive romance-writer could have imagined, can surpass the cold systematic treachery and cruelty of these, so called, judicial formularies.

sole act deserving of mercy might seem to be the Judas-like betrayal of the dearest and most familiar friend, of the kinsman, the parent, the child. Though these acts belong neither to Frederick nor to Louis, they must find their place in our history.

The Court sat in profound secrecy; no advocate might appear before the tribunal; no witness was confronted with the accused: who were the informers, what the charges, except the vague charge of heresy, no one knew. The suspected heretic was first summoned to declare on oath that he would speak the truth, the whole truth, of all persons whatsoever, living or dead, with himself, or like himself, under suspicion of heresy or Vaudism. If he refused, he was cast into a dungeon—a dungeon the darkest in those dreary ages—the most dismal, the most foul, the most noisome. No falsehood was too false, no craft too crafty, no trick too base, for this calm, systematic moral torture which was to wring further confession against himself, denunciation against others. If the rack, the pulleys, the thumbscrew, and the boots, were not yet invented or applied, it was not in mercy. It was the deliberate object to break the spirit. The prisoner was told that there were witnesses, undeniable witnesses against him; if convicted by such witnesses, his death was inevitable. In the meantime his food was to be slowly, gradually diminished, till body and soul were prostrate. He was then to be left in darkness, solitude, silence. Then were to come one or two of the faithful, dexterous men, who were to speak in gentle words of interest and sympathy—"Fear not to confess that you have had dealings with those men, the teachers of heresy, because they seemed to you men of holiness and virtue; wiser than you have been deceived." These dexterous men were to speak of the Bible, of the Gospels, of the Epistles of St. Paul, to talk the very language, the Scriptural language of the heretics. "These foxes," it was said, "can only be unearthed by fox-like cunning." But if all this art failed, or did not perfectly succeed, then came terror and the goading to despair. "Die you must—bethink you of your soul." Upon which if the desperate man said,

Form of procedure.

"If I must die, I will die in the true faith of the Gospel" —he had made his confession: justice claimed its victim.

The Inquisition had three penalties: for those who recanted, penance in the severest form which the Court might enact; for those not absolutely convicted, perpetual imprisonment; for the obstinate or the relapsed, death—death at the stake, death by the secular arm. The Inquisition, with specious hypocrisy, while it prepared and dressed up the victim for the burning, looked on with calm and approving satisfaction, as it had left the sin of lighting the fire to pollute other hands.

Such was the procedure, of which the instructions may now be read in their very words, which Raymond of Toulouse must put in execution in his capital city. The death of the Bishop Fulk relieved him not; an inflexible Dominican sat on the episcopal seat of Toulouse. The Pope, Gregory IX., issued a bull, in which the Inquisition was placed in the inexorable hands of the Friar Preachers. Two inquisitors were appointed in every city; but the Bishops needed no excitement to their eager zeal, no remonstrance against mistimed mercy to the heretics. At the Council of Narbonne, presided over by the Archbishops of Narbonne, Aix, and Arles, was now issued a decree, that as there were not prisons vast enough to contain those who, however they had made submission, were still unworthy of the absolution of the Church, and deserved imprisonment for life, further instructions must be awaited from his Holiness the Pope. But the contumacious, who refused to submit to imprisonment or who broke prison, were to be at once made over to the secular arm. No plea was to be admitted to release from imprisonment; not the duty of the husband to the young wife, of the young wife to her husband; not that of the parents for the care of their children, nor of children for the care of their parents; infirmity, age, dotage, nothing excused, nothing mitigated the sentence. So enormous was the crime of heresy, the infamous, whose witness was refused in all other cases, were admitted against the heretic: on no account was the name of a witness to be betrayed.

A.D. 1231.

A.D. 1233.

But the most oppressed may be overwrought to madness. Witnesses were found murdered; even the awful persons of inquisitors were not secure. An insurrection broke out in the suburbs of Narbonne against the Prior of the Dominicans; the Archbishop and the Viscount of Narbonne in their defence suffered a repulse. The insurgents despised the excommunication of the Archbishop, fought gallantly against the rest of the city, which espoused the cause of the Church. Albi was in tumult, even Toulouse arose. The two great inquisitors, William Arnaud and Peter Cellani, were compelled to leave the city. They marched out at the head of the thirty-eight members of the Inquisition, with the Bishop and the parish priests in solemn procession; they hurled back an excommunication. Count Raymond compelled the re-admission of the clergy, but even Rome was appalled: a Franciscan was sent to allay by his gentleness the popular fury. The proceedings of the Inquisition (this merciful edict was purchased in Rome) were suspended for a time in Toulouse.[z] Rebellion. A.D. 1237.

Five years passed. Raymond of Toulouse, under the shelter, as it were, of the wars between Louis IX. and Henry of England, and encouraged by hopes of support from the Spanish kings, aspired at the head of the league among the great vassals of the south to throw off the yoke of Northern France. The down-trodden Albigensians seized their opportunity. They met at Mirepoix, marched on the castle of Avigncourt, where William Arnaud, the great inquisitor, held his tribunal. Four Dominicans, two Franciscans, seven Familiars, the whole terrible court, were hewn to pieces. That which had thrown a dreadful grandeur over the murders perpetrated by the inquisitors, gave a majestic endurance to their own. They died like the meekest martyrs: they fell on their knees, crossed their hands over their breasts, and, chanting the Te Deum, as wont over their victims, they awaited the mortal blow.[a] They were not Rising. Murder of the Inquisitors. A.D. 1242.

[z] Martene, Thesaur. Anecdot., i. 992. Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, Appendix xxv.

[a] Histoire de Languedoc, Preuves, p. 438.

long unavenged. Raymond was forced to submit; his act of subjection to Louis IX. stipulated his abandonment of the heretics. Two years after, at another Council at Narbonne, it was enacted that the penitents, who had escaped from prison, should in mercy be permitted to wear yellow crosses on their garments, to appear every Sunday during mass, and undergo public flagellation: the rest were to suffer life-long incarceration. At the same time Mont Segur,[b] the last refuge of the Albigensians, a strong castle on the summit of a ravine in the Pyrenees, to which most of the Perfect with their Bishop had fled, was forced to surrender to the Archbishop of Narbonne, the Bishop of Albi, and the Seneschal of Carcassonne. All the heretics, with their Bishop and the noble lady, Esclarmonde, were burned alive in a vast enclosure of stakes and straw.[c] Of all these atrocities, however, Louis IX. was guiltless; he was not yet, or was hardly, of age, and his whole soul was absorbed in his preparation for his crusade. Even his brother, Charles of Anjou, who by obtaining the hand of the heiress of Provence (to which Raymond of Toulouse aspired) had become lord of that territory, took no active part in these persecutions.

March, 1244.

Yet even in the realm of France a frightful holocaust was offered near the city of Rheims. In the presence of the Archbishop and seventeen Bishops, and one hundred thousand people, on Mont Aimé near Vertus, one hundred and eighty-three Manicheans (one Perfect alone) were burned alive with their pastor, who calmly administered absolution to them all. Not one but died without fear. But this execution took place in the territory and under the sanction of Count Thiebault of Champagne, not of the King; of Thiebault (the King of Navarre), whose Troubadour songs were as little respectful to the clergy, or the Papalists, as those of the other Languedocian bards.[d] If even under Louis a monk held his court in Paris, and, unrebuked, inflicted death on many innocent victims, this seems to have been an exceptional case; nor

Persecutions in France. A.D. 1239.

[b] Puy Laurent, c. 46. [c] Ibid. [d] Compare H. Martin, Hist. de France.

is it quite clear how far it had the concurrence of the King.[e]

Yet for a time suspended, our comparison of Louis IX., and Frederick II. is not exhausted. As legislators there is the most striking analogy between these two, in so many other respects oppugnant sovereigns. The Sicilian laws of Frederick and the "Establishments" of St. Louis agree in the assertion (as far as their times would admit) of the absolute supremacy of the law, the law emanating from the King, and in the abrogation (though Louis is more timid or cautious than Frederick) of the ordeal, the trial by battle, and the still stranger usage of challenging the judges to battle.

Frederick and Louis as lawgivers.

The Justiciaries of Frederick belonged to a more advanced jurisprudence than the King himself; seated on his carpet in the forest of Vincennes administering justice.[f] But the introduction under his reign of the civil lawyers, the students and advocates of the Roman jurisprudence, into the courts of France (under Philip the Fair will be seen their strife even triumph over the canon lawyers), gave a new character to the ordinances of St. Louis, and was of far more lasting influence. The ruin of the house of Swabia, and the desuetude into which, in most respects, fell the constitution of Frederick, prevented Naples from becoming a school of Roman law as famous as that of Paris, and the lawyers of the kingdom of Sicily from rising into a body as powerful as those of France in her parliaments.

As to the nobles.

Both Kings, however, aimed at the establishment of equal justice. They would bring the haughty feudal nobles and even the churchmen (who lived apart under their own law) under the impartial sovereignty of the law of the land. The punishment of Enguerrand de Couci for a barbarous murder attested the firmness of the King. The proudest baron in France, the highest vassal of the crown, hardly escaped with his life. So, too, may be cited the account of the angry baron, indignant at the judicial equity of the King—

[e] Raynald. sub ann., i. p. 29. Hallam, i. 29, with his authorities.

[f] See the picturesque description in Joinville, p. 199.

"Were I king, I would hang all my barons; the first step taken, all is easy." "How, John of Thouret, hang all my barons? I will not hang them; I will correct them if they commit misdeeds."

As to the clergy.

It was the religion, not the want of religion, in St. Louis which made him determine to bring the criminal clergy under the equal laws of the realm. That which Henry II. of England had attempted to do by his royal authority and by the Constitutions of Clarendon, the more pious or prudent Louis chose to effect with the Papal sanction. Even the Pope, Alexander IV., could not close his eyes to the monstrous fact of the crimes of the clergy, secured from adequate punishment by the immunities of their sacred persons. The Pope made a specious concession; the King's judge did not incur excommunication for arresting, subject to the judgment of the ecclesiastical courts, priests notoriously guilty of capital offences. Alexander threw off too from the Church, and abandoned as scapegoats to the law, all married clergy, all who followed low trades; with them the law might take its course, they had forfeited the privilege of clergy. But neither would Louis be the absolute slave of the intolerance of the hierarchy. The whole prelacy of France (writes Joinville)[5] met to rebuke the tardy zeal of the King in enforcing the excommunications of the Church. "Sire," said Guy of Auxerre, "Christianity is falling to ruin in your hands." "How so?" said the King, making the sign of the cross. "Sire, men regard not excommunication; they care not if they die excommunicate and without absolution. The Bishops admonish you that you give orders to all the royal officers to compel persons excommunicate to obtain absolution by the forfeiture of their lands and goods." And the holy man (the King) said "that he would willingly do so to all who had done wrong to the Church." "It belongs not to you," said the Bishop, "to judge of such cases." And the King answered, "he would not do otherwise; it were to sin against God and against reason to force those to seek absolution to whom the clergy had done wrong."

A.D. 1260.

[5] P. 200.

The famous Pragmatic Sanction contained only the first principles, yet it did contain the first principles, of limitation as to the power of the Court of Rome to levy money on the churches of the realm, and of elections to benefices. It was, in fact, as the foundation of Gallicanism under specious terms of respect, a more mortal blow to the Papal power than all the tyranny, as it was called, exercised by Frederick II. over the ecclesiastics of the kingdom of Naples. Of this, however, more hereafter.

CHAPTER II.

POPE ALEXANDER IV.

On the death of Innocent IV., the Cardinal of Ostia, of the famous Papal house of Segni, was elected at Naples: he took the name of Alexander IV. He was a gentle and religious man, not of strong or independent character, open to flattery and to the suggestions of interested and avaricious courtiers.[a] Innocent IV. had left a difficult and perilous position to his successor. The Pope could not abandon the Papal policy: the see of Rome was too deeply pledged to retract its arrogant pretensions concerning the kingdom of Naples, or to come to terms with one whom she had denounced as an usurper, and whose strength she did not yet comprehend. But Sinibald could not leave, with his tiara, his own indomitable courage, his indefatigable activity, his power of drawing resources from distant lands. Alexander was forced to be an Innocent IV. in his pretensions; he could be but a feeble Innocent IV. The rapidity with which Manfred after his first successes overran the whole of the two Sicilies, implies, if not a profound and ardent attachment to the house of Swabia, at least an obstinate aversion to the Papal sovereignty. It seemed a general national outburst; and Manfred, by circumstances and by his own sagacious judgement, having separated the cause of the hereditary kings from the odious German tyranny (the Saracen bands were less unpopular than the Germans), as yet appeared only as the loyal guardian of the infant Conradin. He was already almost master of Apulia; he was with difficulty persuaded to send ambassadors, as sovereign princes were wont to do, to congratulate the Pope.

Accession of Alexander IV. Dec. 21. A.D. 1254.

Manfred.

A.D. 1255. March 13.

[a] Matth. Paris, sub ann.

During the next year the legate of the Pope was in person at Palermo; the whole island of Sicily had acknowledged Manfred. His triumph was completed by Naples opening her gates; Otranto and Brundusium followed the example of the capital. Manfred ruled in the name of his nephew from Palermo to Messina, from the Faro to the borders of the Papal States. At the first it was evident that the weak army of the Pope, under the Cardinal Octavian, could not make head against this rising of the whole realm. Berthold of Homburg soon deserted the cause of the Pope.[b] Alexander was trammelled with the engagements of his predecessor, who, having broken off his overtures to Charles of Anjou, had acknowledged Edmund of England king of Sicily. The more remote his hopes of success, the more ostentatiously did Henry III. attempt to dazzle the eyes of his subjects by this crown on the head of his second son. Edmund appeared in public as King of Sicily, affected to wear an Italian dress, and indulged in all the pomp and state of royalty. The King himself, notwithstanding the sullen looks of his Barons, spoke as if determined on this wild expedition. His ambassadors, the Bishops of London and Hereford, the Abbot of Westminster, the Provost of Beverley, accepted the crown. It was agreed that, as Edmund was not of age, his father should swear fealty for him.[c] Yet England was less liberal than usual of subsidies either to the Pope or to the King for this senseless enterprise. The legate, a Gascon, Rustand, had already received a commission, with the Archbishop

England.

[b] See the curious letter in Matt. Paris, from which it appears that certain churches and monasteries in England were bound to merchants of Sienna in 2000 marks of new sterling money in favour of Berthold and his brothers. For acts of treason, Berthold and his brothers were declared to have forfeited their claim. But the churches and monasteries were still to discharge the 2000 marks. The Prior and monastery of Durham were assessed at 500 marks; Bath at 400; Thorney at 400; Croyland, 400; Gisburn, 300. Durham and Gisburn refused payment. This is dated Anagni, June 1256. There is also a letter (MS., B. M.) threatening excommunication against the Prior of Winchester and others, if they do not pay 315 marks to certain merchants of Sienna (sub ann. 1255, in init.).

[c] In Rymer, 1254, are the bulls or terms of grant of the kingdom of Sicily. See in MS., B. M. (viii. 195), letter to the King of England to pay 4800 livres Tournois (libras Turonenses)* for the expenses of W. terranus (Cardinal of Velletri) "electus de mandato f. m. Innocent IV. in servitium Ecclesiæ pro stante negotio regni Siciliæ."

* The livre Tournois was about 12 francs.

of Canterbury and the Bishop of Hereford, to levy a tenth on England, Scotland, and Ireland. The King had an offer of an exemption from his vow of a crusade to the Holy Land, on condition of his appearing at the head of an army to subdue Manfred in Apulia. Rustand himself preached in London and in other places; and made others preach a crusade against Manfred, the enemy of the Pope and of their Lord the King of England, a crusade as meritorious as that to the Lord's sepulchre. The honest English were revolted at hearing that they were to receive the same indulgences for shedding Christian as Saracen blood.[c] Rustand received a rich prebend of York as reward for his services.

Year after year came the same insatiate demands: ambassador after ambassador summoned the King to fulfil his engagements; the Pope condescended to inform him through what merchants he could transmit his subsidies to Rome. The insolence and the falsehood of Rustand and the other legates, the Archbishop Elect of Toledo and the Bishop of Bologna, increased the exasperation. In the absence of the Primate of England, Rustand ruled supreme in the Church, and excommunicated refractory prelates, whose goods were instantly seized and confiscated for the King. They carefully disguised the successes of Manfred, and spread rumours of the victories of the Papal armies. The King had too much vanity and too much weakness to resist these frauds and violences. The King is said to have bound himself for two hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides fifty thousand levied by the Bishop of Hereford.[d] Even the Cistercian monks could not escape the unusual and acknowledged alienation of the English clergy from the see of Rome. The Pope, or the Nuncio of the Pope, had recourse to violent measures against the second prelate of the realm, Sewal, Archbishop of York. The words of the English historian show the impression on the public mind: "About that time our Lord the Pope laid his hand heavily on the Archbishop of York. He gave orders (by a measure so strong and terrible he would daunt his courage) that Sewal

Sewal, Archbishop of York. A.D. 1257.

[d] Rymer. MS., B.-M., sub ann. 1235.

should be ignominiously excommunicated throughout England with the light of torches and tolling of bells. But the said Archbishop, taught by the example of Thomas the Martyr, the example and lessons of the saintly Edmund, once his master, by the faithfulness of the blessed Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, did not despair of consolation from heaven, and patiently supported the tyranny of the Pope; for he would not bestow the abundant revenues of the Church on persons unworthy or unknown from beyond the Alps, and scorned to submit himself, like a woman, to the Pope's will, abandoning his rights. Hence the more he was anathematised by the orders of the Pope, the more was he blessed by the people, though in secret for fear of the Romans."[e]

Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury.

But where all this time was the Primate of England, and who was he? On the death of the unworldly and sainted Edmund Rich, the King and the Pope had forced on the too obsequious, afterwards bitterly repentant, monks of Canterbury, a foreigner, almost an Italian. Boniface, Bishop of Bellay, was uncle to the Queen, and brother of that Philip of Savoy, the warlike and mitred bodyguard of Innocent IV., who became Archbishop of Lyons. Boniface was elected in 1341, confirmed by Pope Innocent not before 1344. The handsome, proud prelate found that Edmund, however saintly, had been but an indifferent steward of the secular part of the diocese. Canterbury was loaded with an enormous debt, and Boniface came not to England to preside over an impoverished see. He obtained a grant from the Pope of first-fruits from all the benefices in his province, by which he raised a vast sum. Six years after, the Primate announced, and set forth on a visitation of his province, not as it was said, and as too plainly appeared, for the glory of God, but in quest of ungodly gain. Bishops, chapters, monasteries must submit to this unusual discipline, haughtily and rapaciously enforced by a foreigner. From Feversham and Rochester he extorted large sums. He appeared in London, treated the Bishop

About Michaelmas, A.D. 1350.

[e] So writes Paris. "Falso pertinaciam illius constantiæ nomine exornat (M. Paris) cum *justè* Pontifex pro Sicilia, deposito tyranno, in Edmundum transferendâ, a clero Anglicano pecuniarum subsidia exigeret." Thus wrote Raynaldus in the 17th century.—Sub ann. 1257.

(Fulk Basset of the old noble Norman house) and his jurisdiction with contempt. The Dean of St. Paul's (Henry de Cornhill) stood by his Bishop. The Primate appeared with his cuirass gleaming under his pontifical robes. The Dean closed the doors of his cathedral against him. Boniface solemnly excommunicated Henry Dean of St. Paul's and his Chapter in the name of St. Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury. The sub-Prior of St. Bartholomew's (the Prior was dead) fared still worse. He calmly pleaded the rights of the Bishop; the wrathful Primate rushed on the old man, struck him down with his own hand, tore his splendid vestment, and trampled it under foot. The Bishop of London was involved in the excommunication. The Dean of St. Paul's appealed to the Pope; the excommunication was suspended. But Boniface himself proceeded in great pomp to Rome. The uncle of the Queen of England, the now wealthy Primate of England could not but obtain favour with Innocent. The Dean of St. Paul's was compelled to submit to the supreme Archiepiscopal authority. On his triumphant return Boniface continued his visitation. The Chapter of Lincoln, headed by the Archdeacon (Bishop Grostête was dead), resisted his demand to dispose of the vacant Prebends of the Church. The Archdeacon bore his own appeal to Rome. After three years he obtained (by what means appears not) what seemed a favourable sentence; but died, worn out, on his way home. Boniface trampled on all rights, all privileges. The monks of Canterbury obtained a Papal diploma of exemption, Boniface threw it into the fire, and excommunicated the bearers. The King cared not for, the Pope would not regard the insult.

After the accession of Alexander IV. the Archbishop of Canterbury is in arms, with his brother, the Archbishop of Lyons, besieging Turin, to release the head of his house, the Count of Savoy, whom his subjects had deposed and imprisoned for his intolerable tyranny. The wealth of the Churches of Canterbury and Lyons was showered, but showered in vain, on their bandit army. Turin resisted the secular, more obstinately than London the spiritual arms of the Primate. He returned, not without disgrace, to England. With such a Primate the Pope

was not likely to find much vigorous or rightful opposition from the Church of England.[f]

Pope Alexander IV., while he thus tyrannised in England, was not safe in Rome, or even in Anagni. The stern justice of the Senator Brancaleone had provoked resistance, no doubt not discouraged by the partisans of the Pope. The Nobles urged on an insurrection: Brancaleone was seized and thrown into prison. But his wise precaution had secured thirty hostages of the highest Roman patrician houses at Bologna. His wife fled to that city, roused Bologna with harangues on the injustice and ingratitude shown to her great citizen. The hostages were kept guarded with stricter vigilance. The Nobles appealed to the Pope, who issued an angry mandate to the Bolognese, which they treated with scorn. The populace of Rome arose and broke the prison of Brancaleone. Brancaleone laid down his senatorship for two years (during which it was filled by a citizen of Brescia, who trod in his footsteps) to resume it with still more inflexible determination. On his re-inauguration he summoned all malefactors before his tribunal, not the last the authors of his imprisonment. His sentence was inexorable by prayer or bribe. Men of the highest birth, even relatives of the Pope, were shown on gibbets. Two of the Annibaldi suffered this ignoble doom. He destroyed a hundred and forty castles of those lofty and titled spoilers. The Pope, at Viterbo, was so unadvised as to issue a sentence of excommunication against the Senator and the people of Rome. They were not content with treating this sentence with the bitterest derision. The Senator summoned the whole people to assemble, as one man, in arms; they marched under their banner towards Anagni, the birthplace of the Pope. The inhabitants of Anagni,

The Senator Brancaleone. See iv. p. 459.

A.D. 1258.

[f] Paris, sub ann. 1241-4, 1250, 1256. See the letter from Pope Alexander, consolatory on the failure before Turin. Godwin de Præsulibus contains a full abstract of the life of Boniface. Compare MS. B. M. vi. p. 347, for the resistance and excommunication (the sentence) of the Dean of St. Paul's: also of Sub-Prior of St. Bartholomew: excommunication of Bishop of London, p. 383. The Archbishop had obtained, under grant of first fruits, "magnam quantitatem pecuniæ," vii. 16. Papal decree against Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, p. 57. Archbishop Boniface was exempted from visiting his four Welsh dioceses, "propter guerrarum discrimina, penuriam victualium," b. viii.

many of them his kindred, implored Alexander with passionate entreaties to avert their doom. The Pope, to elude the disgrace of seeing his native city razed to the earth, was content to send deputies to Brancaleone, humbly imploring his mercy. The Senator had great difficulty in restraining the people. An alliance grew up between Manfred and Brancaleone. The Senator retained his dignity till his death: his head was then deposited in a coffer, like a precious relique, and placed, with all the pomp of a religious ceremony, by the grateful people, on the top of a marble column. Notwithstanding the prohibition of the Pope, the people raised the uncle of Brancaleone to the Senatorship of Rome.[g]

Death of William of Holland. Jan. 25, 1256.

Alexander could look for no aid from the Empire. The Papal Emperor, William of Holland, had fallen in an expedition against the Frisians. There was no great German Prince to command the Empire. The Pope, faithful to the legacy of hatred to the house of Swabia, contented himself with prohibiting in the strongest terms the election of the young Conradin. The Germans looked abroad; some of the divided Electors offered the

January, 1257.

throne again to Richard of Cornwall, others to Alfonso King of Castile. The enormous wealth of Richard of Cornwall, perhaps his feeble character, attracted the ambitious Archbishop of Cologne, who hoped in his name to rule the Empire, and to dispense the

March 17.

Richard of Cornwall.

wealth of England. Richard was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. He had before declined the kingdom of Naples; his avarice had resisted all the attempts of the King his brother and of the Pope to employ his riches in the cause of young Edmund; he retained them to gratify his own vanity.[h]

Rudolph of Hapsburg, A.D. 1273.

For seventeen years the Empire was in fact vacant; better for the Pope such anarchy than a Swabian on the throne.

France, so long as the treaty existed between the Pope and England for the investiture of Prince Edmund with the throne of Sicily, could be roused by no adequate

[g] Paris, sub ann. 1258.

[h] Paris says that, independent of the Empire, his revenues would have produced 100 marks a-day for ten years.

temptation. The Pope could offer no vigorous resistance, yet would not make a virtue of necessity and acknowledge the house of Swabia. He had now fully discovered the weakness, the impotence of the King of England.[i] He had summoned him to execute his contract. Henry truly, but without shame, pleaded his poverty, and demanded a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues. The excommunication hung over the head of the King for having made a bargain with the Pope which he could not fulfil.

Manfred had won the crown of Sicily in the name of his nephew Conradin; he was but Regent of the realm. Rumours were spread of the death of Conradin; the enemies of Manfred asserted that they were invented and disseminated by his astute ambition; his partisans that he had no concern in their propagation.[k] But Manfred was necessary to the power, to the independence of the Sicilies. The Prelates, Barons, almost the whole realm entreated him to assume the crown. His coronation took place to the universal joy. Hardly was it over when ambassadors arrived from the mother of Conradin, and from her son, imploring Manfred not to usurp the rights which he had defended with so much valour. Manfred received the ambassadors in a great assemblage of his Barons. "He had ascended the throne, which he had himself won by his arms, at the call of his people; their affections could alone maintain that throne. It was neither for the interest of the realm nor of Conradin himself that Naples should be ruled by a woman and an infant: he had no relative but Conradin, for whom he should preserve the crown, and faithfully bequeath it on his death. If Conradin desired to uphold the privileges of an heir-apparent, he should reside at the court of Manfred, and win the love of the people whom he was to govern. Manfred would treat him as a son, and instruct him in the virtues of his glorious ancestors." How far Manfred was sincere, Manfred himself perhaps did not know;

Manfred king. Aug. 11, 1258.

[i] "Videns ipsius debilitatem ac impotentiam quam publice allegabat."—MS., B. M. In a letter, b. viii. p. 49, the Pope recites all the acts of Innocent IV., and the dates.

[k] Jamsilla. Recordano, c. 147. Le credo io favole. Murat. Ann., sub ann. 1258.

how far, if he had himself issue, his virtue would have resisted the fondness of a parent for his own offspring, and that which he might have alleged to himself and to others as an undeniable truth, the interest of the kingdom. What confusion, what bloodshed might have been spared to Naples, to Italy, to Christendom, if the crown of Naples had descended in the line of Manfred; if the German connection had been broken for ever, the French connection never formed; if Conradin had remained Duke of Swabia, and Charles of Anjou had not descended the Alps! A wiser Pope, and one less wedded to the hereditary policy and to the antipathies of his spiritual forefathers, might have discerned this, and seen how well it would have coincided with the interests of the see. Manfred acknowledged and fairly treated might have softened into a loyal Guelf; he was now compelled to be the head, a most formidable head, of the Ghibellines. Alexander lived to see Manfred in close alliance with Sienna, the stronghold of the exiled Ghibellines of Florence;[m] to see the fatal battle of Arba, or Monte Aperto, in which the Florentine Guelfs were utterly crushed and forced to abandon their city. Florence was only saved from being razed to the earth at the instigation of the rival cities, Pisa and Sienna, by the patriotic appeal of the great Ghibelline, Farinata di Uberti, a name which lives in Dante's poetry.[n] In all the south of Italy Manfred was supreme: Genoa and Venice were his allies.

Sept. 4, 1260.

Nor was it the Guelfic or Papal influence, nor even his own unspeakable cruelties; it was his treachery to his friends alone that in the north of Italy caused the fall of the triumphant champion of the Ghibellines, Eccelin da Romano, and with him of his brother Alberic. The character of Eccelin was the object of the profoundest terror and abhorrence. No human suffering, it might seem, could glut his revenge; the enemy who fell into his hands might rejoice in immediate decapitation or hanging. The starvation of whole cities; the imprisonment of men, women, and children in loathsome dungeons

Eccelin da Romano.

[m] See throughout Muratori, who quotes impartially Guelfs and Ghibellines.
[n] Inferno, vi. 79, x. 32.

touched not his heart, which seemed to have made cruelty a kind of voluptuous excitement.[o] But what was the social state of this part of Christendom? How had that state been aggravated by the unmitigated dissensions and wars, the feuds of city with city, the intestine feuds within every city! Had the voice of the Father of Christendom, of the Vicegerent of the Prince of Peace ever been earnestly raised in protest or rebuke? Was not the Papal Legate the head of the Guelfic faction, and were the Guelfs on the whole more humane than the Ghibellines? Alexander might have published a crusade against this foe of the human race, and justly might he have offered more splendid promises of pardon and eternal life to him who should rid the world of this monster, than to him who should slay hosts of Moslemin.[p] But a fitter, as an abler leader, might have been found for this enterprise than the Archbishop of Ravenna; and when the army of the Archbishop got possession of Padua, Sept. 27, 1259. the ruthless sacking of the town by his mercenary soldiers made the citizens look back with regret to the iron rule of Eccelin. Nor would Papal anathema or Papal crusade have shaken the power of Eccelin.[q] With the Marquis Pallavicini and Buoso da Doara, the head of the Cremonese Ghibellines, he had become master of Brescia; but Eccelin never conquered save for himself. The flagrant treachery by which he had determined to rid himself of his colleagues was discovered; the indignant Ghibellines made a league against the common enemy of mankind. Eccelin was defeated, sorely wounded, captured. His end was worthy of his life. On the first night of his imprisonment the bells of a neighbouring chapel rang loudly, perhaps rejoicing at his bondage. He woke up in wrath: "Go, hew down that priest that makes such a din with his bells." "You forget," said his guard, "that you are in prison." He inquired where he was taken. "At

[o] It may be doubted whether Eccelin himself was not gradually trained to this habit of barbarity. Frederick II., though severe and merciless to his foes, would hardly have addressed sportive letters, or given his daughter in marriage to a wild beast, such a wild beast as Eccelin appears in his later days.

[p] Compare Alexandri Epist. ad Episcopos.

[q] Rolandini, Monach. Patavin. apud Muratori.

Bassano." Like most strong minds of the day, Eccelin, who had faith in nothing else, had faith in divination. His astrologer had foretold that he should die in Bassano. The priests and friars thronged around him, urging, threatening, imploring, that he would confess and repent of his sins. "I repent of nothing, but that I have not wreaked full vengeance on my foes; that I have badly conducted my army, and allowed myself to be duped and betrayed." He would take neither food nor medicine; but death was slow: he tore the dressings from his wounds, and was found a corpse.[r] Alberic, his brother, once his deadly enemy, was now his ally. Eccelin wanted but one vice, passion for women, which might possibly have given some softness to his heart. No woman was safe from the less sanguinary Alberic.

Alberic da Romano.

A.D. 1260.

Alberic was besieged during the next year in the castle of San Zeno. All hope of succour was gone; with some remains of generosity he allowed his followers to buy their own free departure by the surrender of himself and his wife, six sons and two daughters. He was first treated with every kind of mockery; then his six sons slain in his sight, torn in pieces, their limbs thrust in his face. His wife, his beautiful and innocent daughters had their under garments cut off; in this state of nakedness, in the sight of the whole army, were bound to a stake and burned alive. Alberic's own flesh was torn from his body by pincers; he was then tied to the tail of a horse, and dragged to death.

What wonder that amid such deeds, whatever religion remained, as it ever must remain in the depths of the human heart, either took refuge beyond the pale of the Church, among the Cathari, who never were more numerous in the cities, especially of northern Italy, than in these days: or within the Church showed itself in wild epidemic madness? Against the Cathari the Friars preached in vain; the Inquisition in vain held its courts; and executions for heresy added more horrors to these dire times.

[r] Throughout see Rolandin, xii. c. 13; Chron. Veron., S. R. T., v. viii.; and Muratori, Annali, sub annis 1259, 1260.

It was at this period too that one of those extravagant outbursts of fanaticism, which constantly occurred during the middle ages, relieved men's minds in some degree from the ordinary horrors and miseries. Who is surprised that mankind felt itself seized by a violent access of repentance, or that repentance disdained the usual form of discipline? The Flagellants.

The Flagellants seemed to rise almost simultaneously in different parts of Italy. They began in Perugia. The penitential frenzy seized Rome: it spread through every city, Guelf and Ghibelline, crossed the Alps, and invaded Germany and France. Flagellation had long been a holy and meritorious discipline; it was now part of the monastic system; it had obtained a kind of dignity and importance, as the last sign of subjection to the sacerdotal power, the last mark of penitence for sins against the Church.[s] Sovereign princes, as Raymond of Toulouse; Kings, as Henry of England, had yielded their backs to the scourge. How entirely self-flagellation had become part of sanctity, appears from its being the religious luxury of Louis IX. Peter Damiani had taught it by precept and example.[t] Dominic, called the Cuirassier, had invited or popularised by his fame the usage of singing psalms to the accompaniment of self-scourging. It had come to have its stated value among works of penance.[u]

The present outburst was not the effect of popular preaching, of the eloquence of one or more vehement and ardent men, working on the passions and the fears of a vast auditory. It seemed as if mankind, at least Italian mankind, was struck at once with a sudden paroxysm of remorse for the monstrous guilt of the age, which found vent in this wild but hallowed form of self-torture. All ranks, both sexes, all ages, were possessed with the madness—nobles, wealthy merchants, modest and delicate women, even children of five years old. They stripped themselves naked to the waist, covered their faces that

[s] The "Historia Flagellantium" is a brief but complete history of religious flagellations, first of legal floggings administered by authority, then of the origin and practice of self-flagellation.

[t] Epistol. ad Clericos Florentin., v. 8;

[u] "Consequitur ergo ut qui viginti psalteria cum disciplinâ decantet, centum annorum penitentiam se peregisse confidat."—Vit. Dominic. Loric., p. 85.

they might not be known, and went two and two in solemn slow procession, with a cross and a banner before them, scourging themselves till the blood tracked their steps, and shrieking out their doleful psalms. They travelled from city to city. Whenever they entered a city, the contagion seized all predisposed minds. This was done by night as by day. Not only were the busy mart and the crowded street disturbed by these processions; in the dead midnight they were seen with their tapers or torches gleaming before them in their awful and shadowy grandeur, with the lashing sound of the scourge and the screaming chant. Thirty-three days and a half, the number of the years of the Lord's sad sojourn in this world of man, was the usual period for the penance of each. In the burning heat of summer, when the wintry roads were deep in snow, they still went on. Thousands, thousands, tens of thousands joined the ranks; till at length the madness wore itself out. Some princes and magistrates, finding that it was not sanctioned by the Roman See or by the authority of any great Saint, began to interpose: that which had been the object of general respect, became almost as rapidly the object of general contempt.[x]

The Pastoureaux. A.D. 1251.

The Flagellant outburst was a purely religious movement.[y] It had been preceded by about ten years by that of the Pastoureaux (the Shepherds) in Flanders and in France. This rising had something of the fierce resentment of an oppressed and down-trodden peasantry. But it was a democratic insurrection, not against the throne, but against the tyrannous nobles and tyrannous churchmen: it was among those lowest of the low whom the Friar Preachers and the followers of St. Francis had not reached, or had left for higher game. The new Mendicant Orders were denounced as rudely as the luxurious Cluniacs or haughty Cistercians. The Shepherds' first declaration of war was that "the good King Louis

[x] "Unde tepescere in brevi cepit res immoderate concepta."—Herm. Alt. There are two full descriptions of this singular movement: one by an Italian, the Monachus Patavinensis, in Muratori, viii. 712; the other by a German, Hermannus Altahensis (Abbot of Niederaltaïsch), in Böhmer. Fontes, ii. p. 516.

[y] Affo, Storia di Parma, iii. p. 256, connects the Flagellants with the believers in the Abbot Joachim. (See forward, p. 47, &c.)

was left in bondage to the Mussulmen, through the criminal and traitorous remissness of the indolent and avaricious clergy." They, the peasants of France, had received the direct mission, a mission from the blessed Virgin herself, to rescue him from the hands of the Unbelievers. So sudden, so terrible was the insurrection, that it was as if the fire had burst out at one instant in remote parts of the land. It began in Flanders; at its head was a mysterious personage, who bore the name of the Master of Hungary. He was an aged man with a long beard, pale emaciated face; he spoke Latin, French, and German with the same fluent persuasiveness; he preached without authority of Pope or Prelate; as he preached, he clasped a roll in his hands, which contained his instructions from the blessed Virgin. The Virgin had appeared to him, encircled by hosts of angels, and had given him his celestial commission to summon the poor Shepherds to the deliverance of the good King. Terror spread the strangest rumours of this awful personage. He was an apostate Cistercian monk; in his youth he had denied Jesus Christ; he had sucked in the pernicious practices of magic from the empoisoned wells of Toledo (among the Jews and Arabians of that city). He it was that in his youth had led the crusade of children, who had plunged, following his steps, by thousands into the sea; he had made a solemn covenant with the Soldan of Babylon to lead a countless multitude of Christians to certain bondage in the Holy Land, that they and their King being in his power, he might subdue Christendom. Since the days of Mohammed, in the judgment of wise men, no such dangerous scourge of mankind had arisen in the Church of Christ. His title, the Master of Hungary, might lead to the suspicion, that he was a Bulgarian Manichee, revenging on the haughty hierarchy the wrongs of his murdered brethren.[z]

The Master of Hungary.

The eloquence and mysterious bearing of the Master of Hungary stirred the lowest depths of society. The Shepherds, the peasants left their flocks, their stalls, their fields, their ploughs; in vain friends, parents, wives remon-

[z] Matt. Paris, sub ann.

strated; they took no thought of sustenance. So, drawing men after him, "as the loadstone draws the iron," he marched through Flanders and Picardy. He entered Amiens at the head of thirty thousand men, was received as the Deliverer with festive rejoicings. He passed on to the Isle of France, gathering, as some fell off from weakness or weariness, the whole labouring population in his wake. The villages and fields were desolate behind them. They passed through the cities (not one dared to close the gates against them), they moved in battle array, brandishing clubs, pikes, axes, all the wild weapons they could seize. The Provosts, the Mayors bowed in defenceless panic before them. They had at first only the standard of their Master, a Lamb bearing the banner of the Cross, the Lamb the sign of humility, the Cross that of victory.

Soon four hundred banners waved above them; on some were emblazoned the Virgin and the angels appearing to the Master. Before they reached Paris they were one hundred thousand and more. They had been joined by all the outlaws, the robbers, the excommunicate, followers more dangerous, as wielding and accustomed to wield arms, the two-edged axe, the sword, the dagger, and the pike. They had become an army. They seemed worshippers, it was said, of Mary rather than of Christ. Blanche, the Queen-Regent, either in panic or in some wild hope that these fierce hordes might themselves aid in achieving, or compel others to achieve the deliverance of her son, professed to believe their loyal protestations; they were admitted into Paris.

Hostility to the clergy.

But already they had begun to show their implacable hostility to the Church. They usurped the offices of the clergy, performed marriages, distributed crosses, offered absolution to those who joined their Crusade. They taunted the Friar Preachers and Minorites as vagabonds and hypocrites; the White Monks (the Cistercians) with their covetousness, their vast possessions in lands and flocks; the Black Monks (the Benedictines) with gluttony and pride; the Canons, as worldly, self-indulgent men; Bishops, as hunters and

hawkers, as given to all voluptuousness. No one dared to repeat the impious reproaches which they heaped on the Church of Rome.

All this the people heard with the utmost delight. It was rumoured that the Master miraculously fed the multitudes; bread, meat, and wine multiplied under his hands. They had entered Paris: the Master was admitted into the presence of the Queen, was received with honour and with gifts. The Master, emboldened, mounted the pulpit in the church of St. Eustache, with an episcopal mitre on his head, preached and blessed the holy water. Meantime, his followers swarmed in the neighbouring streets, mercilessly slew the priests who endeavoured to oppose their fierce fanaticism: the approaches to the University were closed, lest there should be a general massacre of the scholars. In Paris.

The enormous host divided at Paris into three. One horde went towards Orleans and Bourges, one towards Bordeaux, one to the sea-coast at Marseilles. But though Paris, the seat of all wisdom and of the government, had received them, the southern cities had more courage; or the strange illusion had begun to dissipate of itself. The Shepherds entered Orleans, notwithstanding the resistance of the Bishop and the clergy; the citizens hailed their approach; the people crowded in countless numbers and rapt admiration around the Preacher. The Bishop issued his inhibition to all clerks, ordering them to keep aloof from the profane assembly: the wiser and older obeyed; some of the younger scholars were led by curiosity to hear one who preached unlicensed by Prelate, and who by his preaching had awed Paris and her famous University. The Master was in the pulpit; he was pouring forth his monstrous tenets: a scholar rushed forward, "Wicked heretic! foe to truth! thou liest in thy throat; thou deceivest the innocent with thy false and treacherous speech." He had hardly uttered these words, when his skull was cloven by one of the Master's followers. The scholars were pursued; the gates of the University broken in; a frightful butchery followed; their books were thrown into the Loire. By another account, the Division of the host. At Orleans.

scholars made a gallant resistance. The Bishop, who had been forced to fly, left the city under an interdict, as having entertained these precursors of Anti-Christ. The complaints of the Bishop reached the ears of Queen Blanche. Her calm wisdom had returned. "I thought," she said, "that these people might recover the Holy Land in simplicity and sanctity; since they are impostors, be they excommunicated, scattered, destroyed."

In Bourges.

They entered Bourges: notwithstanding the denunciations of the Archbishop, the city had opened her gates. Here the first act of the Master of Hungary was to penetrate into the Jews' quarter, to plunder their houses, and burn their books. But in Bourges he was so rash, or so intoxicated with success, as not to content himself with the wonders of his eloquence: after the sermon he promised, or was said to have promised, to work the most amazing miracles. The people, eager for the miracles, were perhaps less wrought upon by the sermon: they waited in breathless expectation, but they waited in vain. At that moment of doubt and disappointment, a man (he is called an executioner) rushed forth, and clove the head of the Master with a two-edged axe; his brains were scattered on the pavement; his soul, as all then believed, went direct to hell. The Royal Bailiff of Bourges was at hand with his men-at-arms; he fell on the panic-stricken followers, cast the body into the common sewer to be torn by hounds. The excommunication was read; the whole host were pursued and massacred like mad dogs.

Bordeaux.

The second squadron met no better fate; Simon de Montfort closed the gates of Bordeaux against them, and threatened to sally out with his knights and behead them all. Their leader, the favourite companion of the Master of Hungary, was seized, bound hand and foot, and thrown into the Garonne; the scattered followers were seized, hanged; a few found their way home as wretched beggars. Some of these, and part of the third division, reached Marseilles; but the hallucination was over; they were easily dispersed, most

Marseilles.

perished miserably. So suddenly began, so almost as suddenly ended this religious Jacquerie.[a]

The pontificates of Innocent IV. and of Alexander IV., besides these great insurrections of one order of society—the very lowest against all above them—beheld the growth of a less tumultuous but more lasting and obstinate civil war within the Church itself. The Mendicant Friars, from the humble and zealous assistants, the active itinerant subsidiary force of the hierarchy, rapidly aspired to be their rivals, their superiors—at least equal sharers, not only in their influence and their power, but also in their wealth and pomp; as far, at least, as in their buildings, their churches, their cloisters. They were no longer only among the poorest, the most ignorant of mankind: they were in the lordly halls of the nobles, in the palaces of kings. St. Louis, as we have heard, held them in such devout reverence, that if he could have divided his body, he would have given one-half to either saint, Dominic or Francis.

Civil war in the Church. Progress of the Mendicant Orders.

Not only the Popes, the more religious of the hierarchy and of the old monastic orders, had hailed, welcomed, held in honour these new labourers, who took the hard and menial work in the lowly and neglected and despised part of the vineyard. The Popes had the wisdom to discern at once the power of this vast, silent, untraceable agency on the spiritual improvement of Christendom; its power, not only against vice, ignorance, irreligion, but against those who dared, in their independence of thought, to rebel at the doctrines—in the pride of temporal authority to contest the all-embracing supremacy of the See of Rome. We have seen them during the whole war with Frederick II. the demagogues of refractory subjects, the publishers and propagators of the fulminations of the Popes in all lands, the levellers of mankind before the Papal autocracy, the martyrs of the high Papal faith. Those of less worldly views saw them only as employed in their holier work. Conrad of Zahringen, the General of the Cistercian Order, when they established their first house at Paris, vowed brotherhood with

Conrad of Zahringen.

[a] I have chiefly followed Matt. Paris and William of Nangis, with some few facts from other chronicles.

the Friar Preachers. When Legate at Cologne, a priest complained that the Preachers interfered in his parish. "How many parishioners have you?" "Nine thousand." The Legate signed himself with the sign of the Cross: "Miserable man! presumest thou to complain, charged with so many souls, that these holy men would relieve you from part of your burthen?" [b] Yet Conrad issued his mandate, that though the Friars might preach and administer the sacrament of penance, they should refuse it to all who withdrew themselves from the care of their legitimate pastor. Robert Grostête of Lincoln, as has been said, maintained them against his own negligent or luxurious clergy.

The Universities.

But their zeal or their ambition was not yet satisfied. They aspired to the chief seats of learning; they would rule the Universities, now rising to their height of fame and authority. Of all the universities beyond the Alps, Paris was then the most renowned. If Bologna might boast her civil lawyers, Salerno her physicians, Paris might vie with these great schools in their peculiar studies, and in herself concentered the fame of all, especially of the highest—theology. The University of Paris had its inviolable privileges, its own endowments, government, laws, magistrates, jurisdiction; it was a state within a state, a city within a city, a church within a church. It refused to admit within its walls the sergeants of the Mayor of Paris, the apparitors of the Bishop of Paris; it opened its gates sullenly and reluctantly to the King's officers. The Mendicants (the Dominicans and Franciscans) would teach the teachers of the world; they would occupy not only the pulpits in the churches, and spread their doctrines in streets and market-places, they would lay down the laws of philosophy, theology, perhaps of canonical jurisprudence, from the chairs of professors; and they would vindicate their hardy aspirations by equalling, surpassing the most famous of the University. Already the Dominicans might put forward their Albert the Great, the nearest approach to a philosopher; the Franciscans, the Englishman Alexander

Paris.

[b] Ann. Cistercien. quoted in Hist. Littér. de la France, article "Conrad of Zahringen."

Hales, the subtlest of the new race of schoolmen. Aquinas and Bonaventura were to come. The jealous University, instead of receiving these great men as allies with open arms, rejected them as usurpers.[c]

But the University was in implacable war with the authorities of Paris; there was a perpetual feud, as in other universities, between the town and the gown. However wild and unruly the youth, the University would maintain her prerogative of sole and exclusive jurisdiction over them. The sober citizens would not endure the riot, and worse than riot, of these profligate boys.[d] Their insolent corporate spirit did not respect the Cardinal Legate.[e] On one occasion (in 1228), in a fierce fray of many days, two scholars were killed by the city guard. The University haughtily demanded satisfaction; on the refusal closed her gates, suspended her lectures, at first maintained sullen silence, and then, at least a large proportion of the scholars shook the dust from their feet, deserted the dark and ungrateful city, and migrated to Rheims, Orleans, Angers, even to Toulouse.[f] The Dominicans seized their opportunity; they obtained full license for a chair of theology from the Bishop of Paris and the Chancellor. On the return of the University to Paris, they found these powerful rivals in possession of a large share in the theologic instruction. Their re-establishment, resisted by the Crown and by the Bishop of Paris (the Crown indignant that the University had presumed to confer degrees at Orleans and at Angers, the Bishop jealous of their exemption from his jurisdiction), was only effected by the authority of Pope Gregory IX. The Pontiff was anxious

[c] Tillemont indeed says, "L'Université les receut même avec joie dans ses écoles, parceque leur vie paroissoit alors édifiante et utile au public, et qu'ils sembloient s'appliquer aux sciences avec autant d'humilité que d'ardeur et de succès. Mais elle éprouva bientôt qu'il est dangereux de donner entrée à des personnes trop puissantes, et de se lier avec ceux qui ont des desseins et des intérêts différens." See the laborious essay on Guillaume de St. Amour, Vie de Louis IX., p. 133 *et seqq.*

[d] The scholars were forbidden to bear arms in 1218. The Official of Paris complains "qu'ils enfonçoient et brisoient les portes des maisons; qu'ils enlevoient les filles et les femmes."—Crevier, i. p. 334.

[e] Crevier, p. 335. The dispute was about the University seal.

[f] Crevier, 341. The reader who requires more full, learned, and prolix information, will consult Du Boulay, Hist. Univers. Paris. Crevier's is a clear, rapid, and skilful epitome of Du Boulay.

that Paris, the foundation of all sound learning, should regain her distinction. His mild and conciliatory counsels prevailed: the University resumed her station, and even obtained the valuable privilege that the Rector and Scholars were not liable to any excommunication not directly sanctioned by the Holy See.

1231-1252. Dispute with the Dominicans.

Above twenty years of treacherous peace followed. The Mendicants were gaining in power, fame, influence, unpopularity. They encroached more and more on the offices, on the privileges of the clergy; stood more aloof from episcopal jurisdiction; had become, instead of the clergy and the older monasteries, the universal legatees; obscured the University by the renown of their great teachers. The University raised a loud outcry that there were twelve chairs of theology at Paris: of these, five out of the six colleges of the Regulars—the Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Val de Grace, Trinitarians, Franciscans—held each one, the Dominicans two; the Canons of Paris occupied three; there remained but two for the whole Secular Clergy.[g] They issued their edict suppressing one of the Dominicans: the Dominicans laughed them to scorn. The quarrel was aggravated by the refusal of the Dominican and Franciscan Professors to join the rest of the University in demanding justice for the death of a scholar slain in a fray.[h] The University passed a sentence of expulsion against the Dominican Professors. The Dominicans appealed to the Pope. They obtained, it was averred by false representations, a favourable award. Europe rang with the clamorous remonstrances of the University of Paris. They issued an address to the whole Episcopate of Christendom. "Would the Bishops, very many of whom had studied at Paris, allow that famous University, the foundation of the faith, to be shaken?"[i] They pressed their appeal before Pope Innocent IV. Innocent, a great student of the canon law, had always looked on

[g] Crevier, p. 396.

[h] The University obtained justice; two men were hanged for the offence.—Crevier, p. 400.

[i] "Si on attaque le fondement (de l'Eglise) qui est l'Ecole de Paris, tout l'édifice est mis en péril."—See Crevier, p. 407.

"Et se ne fust la bonne garde
De l'Université, qui garde
Le chief de la Chrêtienté."
Roman de la Rose, l. 12415.

the University of Paris with favour. The Mendicants had done their work; Frederick II. was dead; Innocent master of Italy. The Pope, who had alienated the University by his exactions and arrogance, endeavoured to propitiate them by the sacrifice of his faithful allies the Friars. He promulgated his celebrated bull, subjugating the Mendicant Orders to episcopal authority. The next month Pope Innocent was dead. The Dominicans revenged themselves on the ungrateful Pontiff by assuming the merit of his death, granted to their prayers. "From the Litanies of the Dominicans, good Lord deliver us," became a proverbial saying.[k]

Bull of Pope Innocent.

Nov. 1254.

Alexander IV. was not the protector only, he was the humble slave of the Mendicants.[m] His first act was to annul the bull of his predecessor without reservation.[n] The Mendicants were at once reinstated in all their power. In vain the eloquent William (called St. Amour, from the place of his birth in Franche Comté) maintained the privileges of the University: he returned discomfited, not defeated, to Paris. He was hailed as the acknowledged champion of the University, and devoted himself with dauntless courage and perseverance to the cause.[o] He not only asserted the privileges of the University; Paris rung with his denunciations of the Mendicants, of Mendicancy itself. He preached with a popularity rivalling or surpassing the best preachers of the Orders. He accused the Friars as going about into houses, leading astray silly women, laden with sins, usurping everywhere the rule over their consciences and men's property, aspiring to tyrannise over public opinion. "And who were they? No successors of the Apostles; they presumed to act in the Church with no spiritual lineage, with no tradition of authority; from them arose the 'Perils of the days to come.'"[p]

Alexander IV.

William of St. Amour.

[k] Antonini. Senens. in Chronic. Compare Hist. Lit. de la France, xix. p. 197, article William de St. Amour.

[m] The words of Crevier, p. 411.

[n] He was elected Dec. 12; revoked the bull Dec. 22.

[o] To William of St. Amour was attributed the bull of Innocent IV.

"S'il n'avait en sa verité
L'acord de l'Université,
Et du peuple communement
Qui oyoient son prêchement."
Roman de la Rose, l. 12113.

[p] Opera Gulielm. St. Amour, Præf. p. 23.

The Dominicans had boasted, according to the popular poet,[q] that they ruled supreme in Paris and in Rome: they had lost Paris, but in Rome they ruled without rival. The first, the most famous, it is said, of forty bulls issued by Alexander IV., appeared during the next year.[r] It commenced with specious adulation of the University, ended with awarding complete victory to the Dominicans. While it seemed to give full power to the University, it absolutely annulled their statute of exclusion against the Dominicans. The Bishops of Orleans and Auxerre were charged with the execution of this bull; they were armed with ample powers of spiritual censure, of excommunicating, or suspending from their office all masters or scholars guilty of contumacy. The University defied or attempted to elude these censures. They obstinately refused to admit the Dominicans to their republic; they determined rather to dissolve the University; many masters and students withdrew, some returned and took up again their attitude of defiance. William de St. Amour was the special object of the hatred of the Mendicants. He was arraigned before the Bishop of Paris, at the suit of Gregory, a chaplain of Paris, as having disseminated a libel defamatory of the Pope. St. Amour appeared; but the courage of the accuser had failed, he was not to be found. St. Amour offered canonical purgation; to swear on the reliques of the Holy Martyrs that he was guiltless of the alleged crime. Four thousand scholars stood forward as his compurgators. The Bishop was forced to dismiss the charge.[s] In vain the four great Archbishops of France interfered to allay the strife; the pulpits rung with mutual criminations.

William of St. Amour and his zealous partisans arraigned the Mendicants, not merely as usurpers of the rights, offices, emoluments of the clergy, of heredipety and rapacity utterly at variance with their ostentatious poverty,

[q] "Li Jacobin (Dominicains) sont si preudoume,
Qu'il ont Paris et si ont Roume,
Et si sont roi et Apostole
Et de l'avoir ont il grant soume.
Et qui se muert, se il ne's nomme
Pour executeurs, s'âme afole,
Et sont apostre par parole.
* * * *
Lor haine n'est pas frivole,
Je, qui redout ma tête fole
Ne vous di plus mais qu'il sont home."
Rutebeuf. edit. Jubinal, i. 161.

[r] This bull was called "Quasi lignum vitæ." The successive bulls may be read in the Bullarium.

[s] Crevier, from a letter of the students of the University to the Pope. It was possibly before the arrival of the bull.

but both orders indiscriminately, Dominicans as well as Franciscans, as believers in, as preachers and propagators of the *Everlasting Gospel*. This book, which became the manual, I had almost said the Bible of the spiritual Franciscans, must await its full examination till those men—the Fraticelli—come before us in their formidable numbers and no less formidable activity. Suffice it here, that the Everlasting Gospel, the prophetic book ascribed to the Abbot Joachim, or rather the introduction to the Everlasting Gospel, proclaimed the approach, the commencement of the Last Age of the World, that of the Holy Ghost. The Age of the Father—that of the Law—had long since gone by; that of the Son was ebbing on its last sands; and with the Age of the Son, the Church, the hierarchy, its power, wealth, splendour, were to pass away. The Age of the Holy Ghost was at hand, it was in its dawn. The Holy Ghost would renew the world in the poverty, humility, Christian perfection of St. Francis. The Everlasting Gospel superseded and rendered useless the other four. It suited the enemies of the Mendicants to involve both Orders in this odious charge: the Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel was by some attributed to the Dominicans, its character, its spirit, its tone, were unquestionably Franciscan.[t]

The Eternal Gospel.

These two rival Orders had followed in their development the opposite character of their founders. To the stern, sober, practical views of Dominic had succeeded stern, sober, practical Generals. The mild, mystic, passionate Francis was followed by men all earnest and vehement, but dragged different ways by conflicting passions: the passion for poverty, as the consummation and perfection of all religion; the passion for other ends to which poverty was but the means, and therefore must be followed out with

[t] Matt. Paris (sub ann. 1256), Richer. Cronic. Senens., and the authors of the Roman de la Rose, attribute the Everlasting Gospel to the Dominicans. Such was the tone in Paris. According, however, to the Roman de la Rose, it had another author:—

"Ung livre de par le grant Diable,
Dit l'Evangile pardurable,
Que le Saint Esperit ministre,
Bien est digne d'être brulé.
* * * *
Tant surmonte ceste Evangile,
Ceulx que les quatre Evangelistres
Jesu-Christ firent a leurs tiltres."
—L. 12144, &c.

It appeared, according to the poet William de Lorris, in 1250: it was in the hands of every man and woman in the "parvis Nôtre Dame."

less rigour. The first General, Elias, even in the lifetime of the Saint, tampered with the vow of holy poverty; he was deposed, as we have heard, became no longer the partisan of the Pope, but of Frederick II., was hardly permitted on his deathbed to resume the dress of the Order.[u] It may be presumed that Crescentius, the sixth General, was, from age or temper, less rigorous as to this vital law. He, too, was deposed from his high place, and John of Parma became General of the Order. John of Parma[x] was, it might be said (if St. Francis himself was not the parent of the Spiritualist Franciscans), that parent; he was the extremest of the extreme. His first act was a visitation of all the monasteries of the Order, the enforcement of that indispensable virtue which would brook no infringement whatever. John of Parma was employed by Innocent IV. in Greece, in an endeavour to reconcile the Oriental schism. In 1251 he was again in Rome. In 1256, exactly the very year in which came forth the daring book of William de St. Amour, there were strange rumours, sullen suppressed murmurs against John of Parma. He was deposed, only by the influence of the Cardinal Ottobuoni permitted to dwell in retirement at Reate. There seems but slight doubt that he was deposed as the author of the Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel. It needed all the commanding gentleness, the unrivalled learning, the depth of piety, in St. Bonaventura, the new General, to allay the civil feud, and delay for some years the fatal schism among the followers of St. Francis—the revolt of the Spiritualists from the Order.[y]

The war continued to rage in Paris, notwithstanding a short truce brought about by the King and the Bishops. Bull after bull arrived.[z] Pope Alexander appealed at length to the King; he demanded of the secular power

[u] Chroniques des Frères Mineurs, c. xlii. p. 27.

[x] The best account which I have read of John of Parma is in the Hist. Littéraire de la France, t. xx. p. 23. But the whole of this development of spiritual Franciscanism will be more fully traced hereafter.

[y] It was the great object of Wadding and of Staraglia to release the memory of a General of their order from the authorship of an heretical book. It is attributed to him, or to Gerard di Borgo san Domnino, under his auspices, by Nicolas Eymeric. Direct. Inquis. ii. v. 24. Bzovius, sub ann. 1250. Bulæus, p. 299. See also Tillemont's impartial summing up, p. 157.

[z] Tillemont, p. 182.

the exile of the obstinate leaders of the Anti-Mendicant party, William de St. Amour, Eudes of Douai, Nicolas Dean of Bar-sur-Aube, and Christian Canon of Beauvais.[a] Before the King (St. Louis), whose awful reverence and passionate attachment to the Mendicant Orders were well known, had determined on his course, William of St. Amour had published his terrible book on the "Perils of the Last Times." This book, written in the name, perhaps with the aid and concurrence of the theologians of the University, was more dangerous, because it denounced not openly the practices of the Friars, but it was a relentless, covert, galling exposure of them and of their proceedings. That they were meant as the forerunners of Antichrist, the irrefragable signs of the "perils of the last times," none could doubt. The book was sent by the indignant King himself to Rome. The University had endeavoured in vain to anticipate the more rapid movements of their adversary. They had despatched a mission (the very four men condemned by the Pope) to Rome, bearing the Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel, and demanding the condemnation of that flagrantly heretical book.[b] They had obtained letters of recommendation from all the chapters in the province of Rheims.

The Perils of the Last Times.

Ere they arrived, the all-powerful Dominicans had struck their blow. The "Perils of the Last Times" had been submitted to the examination of four Cardinals, one of them a Dominican—Hugo de St. Cher, who sat as judge in his own cause. It was condemned as unjust, wicked, execrable; it was burned in the presence of the Pope, before the Cathedral at Anagni.

William de St. Amour stood alone in Rome against the Pope Alexander, the Cardinals, and the Dominicans, headed by Hugo de St. Cher.[c] He conducted his defence with consummate courage and no less consummate address. It was impossible to fix upon him

Exile of William of St. Amour.

[a] On these men compare Tillemont, p. 144. Thomas Canteprat, among later writers the great enemy of William de St. Amour, admits that he seduced the clergy and people of Rome by his eloquence.

[b] The Introduction had been before or was now formally condemned at Rome.

[c] On Hugo de St. Cher, Tillemont, p. 15.

the fatal guilt of heresy.[d] His health began to fail; he was prohibited for a time from returning to France, perhaps was not sorry to obey the prohibition. He does not seem even to have been deprived of his benefices.[e] His quiet place of exile was his native St. Amour, in Franche Comté, not yet in the dominions of France. He was followed by the respect and fond attachment of the whole University.

Popular party.

But it is singular that William of St. Amour was not only the champion of the learned University, he was the hero of Parisian vulgar poetry. Notwithstanding that the King, and that King St. Louis, espoused the cause of the Mendicants, the people were on the other side. The popular Preachers, and the popular ministers, who had sprung from the people, spoke the language, expressed at the same time and excited the sympathies and the religious passions of the lowest of the low, had ceased to be popular. They had been even outpreached by William of St. Amour. The Book of the Perils of the Last Times was disseminated in the vulgar tongue. The author of the Romance of the Rose,[f] above all, Rutebeuf, in his rude verse addressed to the vulgar of all orders, heaped scorn and hatred on the Mendicants.[g]

Great schoolmen.

The war between the University and the Dominicans continued, if in less active, in sullen obstinacy. They were still the rival powers, who would not

[d] It was condemned "non propter hæresim quam continebat sed quia contra præfatos religiosos seditionem et scandala concitabat."—G. Nangis.

[e] Tillemont, p. 212.

[f] "Si j'en devoye perdre la vie,
Ou estre mys contre droiture,
Comme Saint Pol, en chartre obscure,
Ou estre banny du Royaulme,
A tort, comme fut Maistre Guillaume
De St. Amour, que ypocrisie
Fist exiller par grant envie."
Roman de la Rose, l. 12123.

Lorris talks of scorning "papelorderie." Paris writes, "Subsannavit populus, eleemosynas consuetas subtrahens, vocans eos hypocritas, antichristi successores (antecessores?) pseudo-prædicatores."

[g] See especially the two poems, de Maistre Guillaume de St. Amour, pp. 71 and 78, "or est en son pais reclus"—on St. Amour, p. 81.

"Ou a nul si vaillant homme,
Qui por l'apostoille de Romme,
Ne por le roi,
Ne veut desreer son error,
Ainz en a souffert le desror
De perdre honor?"—P. 85.

Compare also "La Bataille des Vices contre les Vertus" (ii. p. 65), "La Discorde de l'Université et les Jacobins," "Les Ordres de Paris," &c. &c., with constant reference to the notes. The curious reader will not content himself with the valuable edition of Rutebeuf by M. Jubinal; he will consult also the excellent article by M. Paullin Paris in the Hist. Lit. de la France, xx. p. 710. Rutebeuf reads to me like our Skelton; he has the same flowing rapid doggrel, the same satiric verve, with not much of poetry, but both are always alive.

coalesce, each striving to engross public education. Yet, after all the Mendicants won a noble victory, not by the authority of the Pope, nor by the influence of the King, but by outshining the fame of the University through their own unrivalled teachers. On the death of Alexander IV., William of St. Amour returned to Paris; he was received with frantic rapture.[h] His later book,[i] more cautious, yet not less hostile, was received with respect and approbation by Pope Clement IV.[k] Yet who could deny, who presume to question, the transcendant fame, the complete mastery in theology, and that philosophy which in those days aspired not to be more than the humble handmaid of theology? (Albert the Great might, perhaps, have views of more free and independent science, and so far, of course, became a suspected magician.) Who could compete with the Dominicans, Hugo de St. Cher, Albert the Great, Thomas of Aquino? The Franciscans, too, had boasted their Alexander Hales, they had now their Bonaventura: Duns Scotus, the rival of Aquinas, was speedily to come.[m] The University could not refuse to itself the honour of conferring its degrees on Aquinas,[n] and on Bonaventura. And still the rivals in scholastic theology, who divided the world (the barren it might be, and dreary intellectual world, yet in that age the only field for mental greatness), were the descendants of the representatives of the two Orders. The Scotists and the Thomists fought what was thought a glorious fight on the highest metaphysics of the Faith, till the absorbing question, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, arose to commit the two Orders in mortal and implacable antagonism.

[h] May 1261. "Debacchantibus summâ in lætitiâ omnibus Magistris Parisiensibus."—Du Boulay.

[i] Collectiones Catholicæ.

[k] See on this book, and others, Hist. Lit. de la France, article St. Amour, t. xix. 197. To his earlier works belongs, not only the "De Periculis," (in his works and in Fasciculus of Brown, who translated it, with some sermons), but also a book, De Antichristo, under the pseudonyme of Nicolas de Oresme. The object of this is to show the coming of Antichrist, of which the chief signs are the setting up the Everlasting Gospel against the true Gospels, and the multitudes of false preachers, false prophets, wandering and begging friars.—Ibid. See also account of the writings of Gerard of Abbeville, another powerful antagonist of the Mendicants.

[m] Those who esteemed themselves the genuine Franciscans, always sternly protested against the pride of learning, to which their false brethren aspired in the universities. Hear Jacopone da Todi:

"Tal è, qual è, tal è,
Non c' è religione
Mal vedemmo Parigi,
Che n' a destrutto Assisi.
Colla sua lettoria
L' han messo in mala via."

[n] Thomas Aquinas condescended to answer William of St. Amour. See Adversus Impugnantes Religionem.

Secular clergy and Mendicants.

The hatred of the Mendicants might seem to pass over to the secular clergy. In every part of Europe the hierarchy still opposed with dignity or with passion the encroachments of these fatal rivals. More than twenty years later met a National Council at Paris. Four Archbishops and twenty Bishops took their seats in a hall of the Episcopal Palace. The Masters, Doctors, Bachelors, and Students of the University, were summoned to hear the decrees of the Council. The heads of the other religious orders, not Mendicant, had their writs of convocation. Simon de Beaulieu, Archbishop of Bourges, took the lead. In a grave sermon, he declared that charity to their flocks demanded their interposition; their flocks, for whom they were bound to lay down their lives. He inveighed against the Dominicans and the Franciscans, who were sowing discord in every diocese, in every rank, preaching and hearing confessions without license from the Bishop and the curate. Their insolence must be repressed. He appealed to the University to join in an appeal to the Pope to define more rigidly their asserted privileges. William of Macon, Bishop of Amiens, the most learned jurist in France, followed: he explained the bull of Innocent IV., which prohibited the Friars from preaching, hearing confessions, imposing penance without permission of the Bishop or lawful pastor. The whole clergy of France were ready to shed their blood in defence of their rights and duties.°

° This is well related in the Hist. Lit. de la France, t. xxi., article Simon de Beaulieu.

CHAPTER III.

URBAN IV. CLEMENT IV. CHARLES OF ANJOU.

ALEXANDER IV. died an exile from Rome at Viterbo. Either from indolence or irresolution, he had allowed the College of Cardinals to dwindle to the number of eight. These eight were of various nations and orders: two Bishops, Otho a Frenchman, Stephen an Hungarian: two Presbyters, John an English Cistercian, Hugo, a Dominican from Savoy: four Deacons, Richard a Roman, and Octavian a Tuscan of noble birth, John another Roman, Ottobuoni a Genoese. There was no prevailing interest, no commanding name. More than three months passed in jealous dispute. The strife was fortuitously ended by the appearance of James Pantaleon, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. He was elevated by sudden acclamation to the Papal throne.

Death of Alexander IV. June 12, 1261.

The Patriarch was the son of a cobbler at Troyes:[a] and it was a wonderful sight, as it were, a provocation to the first principles of Christianity, to behold in those days of feudal monarchy and feudal aristocracies a man of such base parentage in the highest dignity upon earth. James had risen by regular steps up the ascent of ecclesiastical advancement, a Priest at Laon, a Canon at Lyons, Archdeacon of Liege, a Missionary Legate in Livonia, Pomerania, and Prussia,[b] a pilgrim and Patriarch of Jerusalem. Such a man could not so have risen without great abilities or virtues. But if the rank in which he

[a] "Pauperculi veteramentarii calceamenta resarcientis"— S. Antonin. iii. xiv. p. 59 — big words to describe a cobbler. According to the Hist. Littér. (article Urban IV., t. xix. p. 49), there is a tapestry at Troyes, in the church of St. Urban, representing Pantaleon (the father) in his shop full of boots and shoes, and his mother spinning and watching little James.

[b] See in Voigt, Geschichte Preussens, ii. p. 591, his wise conduct as a mediator between the Teutonic Order, and Swartohol, Duke of Pomerania, the ally of the heathen Prussians.

was born was honourable, the place was inauspicious. Had the election not fallen on a Frenchman, Italy might perhaps have escaped the descent of Charles of Anjou, with its immediate crimes and cruelties; and the wars almost of centuries, which had their origin in that fatal event. Any Pope, indeed, must have had great courage to break through the traditional policy of his predecessors (where the whole power rests on tradition, a bold, if not a perilous act). Urban must have recanted the long cherished hatred and jealousy of the house of Hohenstaufen; he must have clearly foreseen (himself a Frenchman) that the French dominion in Naples would be as fatal as the German to the independence of Italy and of the Church; that Charles of Anjou would soon become as dangerous a neighbour as Manfred.

Urban IV. took up his residence in Viterbo: already might appear his determined policy to renew the close alliance between the Papacy and his native France. The holy character of Louis, who by the death of Frederick and the abeyance of the Empire, by the wars of the Barons against Henry of England, had become the most powerful monarch in Christendom, gave further preponderance to his French inclinations.[c] He filled up the College of Cardinals with fourteen new Prelates, at least one half of whom were French.

The Empire.

The Empire still hung in suspense between the conflicting claims of Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso of Castile: Urban, with dexterous skill, perpetuated the anarchy. By timely protestation, and by nicely balancing the hopes of both parties, that his adjudication, earnestly and submissively sought by both, would be in favour of each, he suppressed a growing determination to place the crown on the head of young Conradin. Against this scheme Urban raised his voice with all the energy of his predecessors, and dwelt with the same menacing censure on the hereditary and indelible crimes of the house of Swabia: he threatened excommunication on all who should revive the claims of that impious race. After a grave examination of the pretensions of Richard of Cornwall

[c] See in Raynaldus the verses of Theodoricus Vallicolor, sub ann. 1262, sub fine.

and Alfonso of Castile, he cited both parties to plead their cause before him, and still drew out, with still baffled expectations of a speedy sentence, the controversy which he had no design to close.

The Latin Empire of Constantinople had fallen: Baldwin II. sought refuge, and only found refuge in the West. The Greek Palæologi were on the throne of the East, and seemed not indisposed to negotiate on the religious question with the Pope. The Holy Land, the former diocese of Pope Urban, was in the most deplorable state: the Sultan of Babylon had risen again in irresistible power; he had overrun the whole country; the Christians were hardly safe in Ptolemais. In vain the Pope appealed to his own countrymen in behalf of his old beloved diocese; the clergy of France withheld their contributions, and whether from some jealousy of their lowly countryman, now so much above them; or since the cause had so utterly failed even under their King, it might seem absolutely desperate, the Archbishops of Sens and of Bourges were unmoved by the Papal rebukes or remonstrances, and continued, at least not to encourage the zeal of their clergy. Crusade fails.

The affairs of Italy and Naples threatened almost the personal safety of the Pope. Manfred was at the height of his power; he no longer deigned to make advances for reconciliation, which successive Popes seemed to treat with still stronger aversion. Everywhere Ghibellinism was in the ascendant. The Marquis Pallavicini and Buoso da Doara at the head of the Cremonese, maintained more than an equal balance in Lombardy. Pisa and Sienna, rampant after the fall of the Guelfic rule in Florence, received the letters of the Pope with civil contempt. It might appear that Manfred was admitted into the rank of the legitimate Sovereigns of Christendom. In vain the Pope denounced the wickedness, the impiety of a connection with an excommunicated family, the King of Arragon did not scruple to marry his son to the daughter of Manfred. The marriage of the son of Louis of France to the daughter of Arragon, increased the jealous alarm of the Pope. Even Louis did Manfred.

not permit the Papal remonstrances to interfere with these arrangements.

Miserable, in the meantime, was the state of Italy. State of Italy. Scarcely a city or territory from the confines of Apulia to the Alps was undisturbed by one of those accursed feuds, either of nobles against the people, or of Guelfs against Ghibellines. Nowhere was rest. Now one party, now another must dislodge from their homes, and go into exile. Urban could not remain in Rome. The stronger cities were waging war on the weaker. All the labours of the Holy Inquisition and all the rigour of their penalties, instead of extirpating the heresy of the Paterins and various Manichean sects, might seem to promote their increase. In general, it was enough to be Ghibelline, and to oppose the Church, down came the excommunication; all sacred offices ceased. It may be well imagined how deeply all this grieved religious men, the triumph and joy of the heretics.[d]

Only to France could the Pope, even if no Frenchman, have looked for succour if determined to maintain the unextinguished feud with Manfred. Already the crown of Naples had been offered to Charles of Anjou. Urban IV. first laid it at the feet of Louis himself, either for his brother or one of his sons. But the delicate conscience of Louis revolted from the usurpation of a crown, to which were already three claimants of right. If it was hereditary, it belonged to Conradin; if at the disposal of the Pope, it was already awarded, and had not been surrendered by Edmund of England; and Manfred was on the throne, summoned, it might seem, by the voice of the nation. Manfred's claim, as maintained by an irreligious alliance with the Saracens, and as the possession of a Christian throne by one accused of favouring the Saracens, might easily be dismissed; but there was strong doubt as to the others. The Pope, who perhaps from the first had preferred the more active and enterprising Charles of Anjou, because he could not become King of France, in vain argued and took all the guilt on his own

[d] See this and much more to the same effect in Muratori, Annal. sub ann. 1263.

head:[e] "the soul of Louis was as precious to the Pope and the cardinals as to himself." Louis did not refuse his assent to the acceptance of the crown by his brother. It is said, that he was glad to rid his court, if not his realm, which he was endeavouring to subdue to monastic gravity, of his gayer brother, who was constantly summoning tournaments, was addicted to gaming, and every other knightly diversion.[f]

Charles of Anjou might seem designated for this service. Valiant, adventurous, with none of that punctilious religiousness, which might seem to set itself above ecclesiastical guidance, yet with all outward respect for the doctrine and ceremonial of the Church; with vast resources, holding, in right of his wife, the principality of Provence; he was a leader whom all the knighthood of France, who were eager to find vent for their valour, and to escape the peaceful inactivity or dull control under which they were kept by the scrupulous justice of Louis IX., would follow with eager zeal. Charles had hardly yet shown that intense selfishness and cruelty, which in the ally, in the King chosen by the Pope for his vassal realm, could not but recoil upon the Pope himself. He had already, indeed, besieged and taken Marseilles, barbarously executed all the citizens who had defended the liberties of their town, and abrogated all the rights and privileges of that flourishing municipality. His ambitious wife, Beatrice of Provence, jealous of being the sister of three Queens, herself no Queen, urged her unreluctant husband to this promising enterprise. But the Pope had still much to do; there were disputes between the sisters, especially the Queen of France and the Countess of Provence, on certain rights as coheiresses of that land. Though the treaty was negotiated, drawn up, perhaps actually signed, it was not yet published. It was thought more safe and decent to obtain a formal abjuration of his title from Edmund of England.

Bartholomew Pignatelli, Archbishop of Cosenza, a Guelfic Prelate of noble blood, received a commission as Legate to demand the surrender of the crown of

England. A.D. 1263.

[e] Epist. to Albert of Parma, the notary who was empowered to treat as to the conditions of the assumption of the throne of Naples.—Raynald., sub ann. 1262.

[f] "Quies sui regni, quam perturbabat Carolus in torneamentis et aleis."—Ptolom., Luc. c. xxv.

Sicily. He was afterwards to lay the result of his mission before Louis of France, in order to obtain his full consent to the investiture of Charles of Anjou. Henry III., threatened by the insurrection of his Barons, might well be supposed wholly unable to assert the pretensions of his son to a foreign crown; yet he complained with some bitterness that the treasures of England, so long poured into the lap of the Pontiff, had met with such return.[g] Urban endeavoured to allay his indignation by espousing his cause against the Earl of Leicester (Simon de Montfort) and the Barons of England: he absolutely annulled all their leagues.[h] William, Archdeacon of Paris, the Pope's chaplain, had power to relieve Henry from all his constitutional oaths.[i] As the war became more imminent, more inevitable, both before and after the rejection of the award in favour of the King by the acknowledged arbiter, Louis IX., the Pope adhered with imperious fidelity to the King. Ugo Falcodi, Cardinal of St. Sabina, was sent as Legate to command the vassal kingdom to peace: the rebellious subjects were to be ordered to submit to their Sovereign, and abandon their audacious pretensions to liberty. The Legate was armed with the amplest power to prohibit the observation of all the statutes, though sworn to by the King, the Queen, and the prince; to suspend and depose all prelates or ecclesiastics; to deprive all counts, barons, or laymen, who held in fee estates of the Church, and to proceed at his discretion to any spiritual or temporal penalties.[k] He had power to provide for all who should accompany him to England by canonries or other benefices.[m] He had power of ecclesiastical censure against Archbishops, Bishops, Monasteries, exempt or not exempt,

[g] See despatch to Archbishop of Cosenza, MS., B. M., July 25, 1263, to the King, ibid. v. x. Instructions at full length, dated Orvieto, Oct. 4.

[h] "Conjurationes omnes cassamus et irritamus. Ad fideles."—MS., B. M., 23rd Aug. 1263.

[i] MS., B. M., letter to Archdeacon of Paris.

[k] "Ad quorum observantiam ipsos decrevimus non tenere, eosdem prælatos et clericos per suspensionis sententiam ab officiis, dignitatibus, honoribus et beneficiis: comites vero, barones et laicos prædictos per privationem feudorum et omnium bonorum, quæ a quibusdam Ecclesiis prædicti regni et aliis detinent et alios spiritualiter et temporaliter, prout expedire videris."—MS., B. M., Nov. 23, 1263. See also the next letter.

[m] "Non obstante Statuto Ecclesiarum ipsarum de certo clericorum numero, juramento, confirmatione, sive quâcunque firmitate, vallato."—Ibid. v. xi. p. 48.

and all others.[n] He had power to depose all ecclesiastics in rebellion,[o] and of appointing loyal clerks to their benefices.[p] In the case of the rebellions of Archbishops or Prelates, Counts or Barons, indulgences were to be granted to all who would serve or raise soldiers for the King, as if they went to the Holy Land:[q] the Friar Preachers and Friar Minors were to aid the King to the utmost.[r] After the award of the King of France, which the Pope confirmed,[s] Urban becomes even more peremptory; he commands the infamous provision, one of those of Oxford, to be erased from the Statute book; all those of Oxford are detestable and impious; he marks with special malediction that which prohibited the introduction of Apostolic Bulls or Briefs into the realm, and withheld the rich subsidies from Rome.[t] The Archbishop was to excommunicate all who should not submit to the award. The King's absolute illimitable power is asserted in the strongest terms.[u] The expulsion of strangers, and the assumption of exclusive authority by native Englishmen, are severely reprobated.[x]

But the Cardinal Legate dared not to land in the island, even the Archbishop Boniface (of Savoy) would not venture into his province. Ere long the whole realm, the King himself, and Prince Edward are in the power of the Barons. The Legate must content himself with opening his court at Boulogne. There he issued his unobeyed citation to the Barons to appear, pronounced against them the sentence of excommunication, and placed London and the Cinque Ports under an interdict.[y] Ugo Falcodi, when

[n] "Communia universitatis et populos locorum quorumlibet."

[o] Clerks, "indevoti, ingrati, inobedientes."

[p] Even at this time peremptory orders were given for provision for Italian ecclesiastics in the English Church. John de Ebulo claimed the deanery of St. Paul's. The chapter resisted. He resigned the deanery, but accepted a canonry; till a canonry should be vacant, a certain pension.—P. 170.

[q] Orvieto, Nov. 27, 1263.

[r] Ibid., Nov. 27.

[s] Rymer, i. 776, 778, 780, 784.

[t] The Pope's letters, at least, were after the award. "Nonnulli maledictionis alumpni, quædam statuta nepharia in depressionem libertatis ejusdem promulgasse dicuntur, videlicet quod quicunque literas apostolicas aut ipsius archepiscopi in Angliam deferre præsumpserit, graviter puniatur."—Orvieto, Feb. 20, 1264.

[u] "Plenaria potestate in omnibus et per omnia."—Ibid.

[x] The King of France "Retractavit et cassavit illud statutum, per quod regnum Angliæ debebat per indigenas gubernari, et alienigenæ tenebantur ab eodem exire, ad illum minime reversuri."—Ibid.

[y] "Propter imminentem turbationem." Feb. 15. His citations were to be valid, if issued in France. The Bishop of Lincoln was cited for various acts of contumacy to the Holy See.—June 4, 1264.

Pope, cherished a bitter remembrance of these affronting contempts.

Affairs of Naples.

Although the negotiations were all this time proceeding in secret with Charles of Anjou, the Pope cited Manfred to appear before him to answer on certain charges, which he published to the world.[z] They comprehended various acts of cruelty, the destruction of the city of Aria by the Saracens, the execution, called murder, of certain nobles, contempt of the ecclesiastical interdict, attachment to Mohammedan rites, the murder of an ambassador of Conradin.[a] Manfred approached the borders; but the Pope insisted that he should be accompanied by only eighty men: Manfred refused to trust himself to a Papal safe conduct.

Advance of Manfred.

But as he was not permitted to approach in peace, Manfred, well informed of the transactions with Charles of Anjou, threatened to approach in war.[b] From Florence, from Pisa, from Sienna, the German and Saracen, as well as the Apulian and Sicilian forces began to draw towards Orvieto. The Pope hastily summoned a Council: and some troops came to his aid from various quarters. But a sudden event seemed to determine the descent of Charles of Anjou upon Italy, and brought at once the protracted negotiations, concerning the terms of his acceptance of the throne of Naples, to a close. The Roman people, having risen against the nobles, and cast many of them out of the city, determined on appointing a Senator of not less than royal rank. One party proposed Manfred, another his son-in-law, the King of Arragon, a third Charles of Anjou. The Pope was embarrassed:

Charles of Anjou Senator of Rome.

he was compelled to maintain Charles of Anjou against his competitors: and yet a great Sovereign as Senator of Rome, and for life (as it was proposed), was the death-blow to the Papal rule in Rome. Charles of Anjou felt his strength; he yielded to the Pope's request to limit the grant of the Senatorship to five years; but he seized the opportunity to lower the terms on which he was to be invested with the realm of Naples. He demanded a diminution of the tribute of ten thousand ounces of gold, which Naples was to pay annually to the

[z] Oct. 20, 1264. [a] Raynaldus, sub ann. [b] Giannone, xix. 1.

See of Rome: such demand was unjust to him who was about to incur vast expense in the cause of Rome; unjust to Naples, which would be burthened with heavy taxation; impolitic, as preventing the new King from treating his subjects with splendid liberality. He required that the descent of the crown should be in the female as well as in the male line: that he should himself judge of the number of soldiers necessary for the expedition. He demanded the abrogation of the stipulation, that if any of his posterity should obtain the Empire, Lombardy or Tuscany, the crown of Naples should pass from them; the enlargement of the provision, that only a limited extent of possession in Lombardy or in Tuscany should be tenable with the Neapolitan crown.

Charles was so necessary to Urban, the weight of Urban's influence was so powerful in Rome, that the treaty was at length signed. Charles sent a representative to Rome to accept the Senatorship.[c]

Manfred now kept no measures with the hostile Pope. His Saracen troops on one side, his German on the other broke into the Roman territories. But a crusading army of Guelfs of some force had arisen around the Pope; and some failures and disasters checked the career of Manfred. Pandolf, Count of Anguillara, recovered Sutri from the Saracens. Peter de Vico, a powerful noble, had revolted from the Pope, and having secret intelligence in Rome, hoped to betray the city into the power of Manfred: he was repelled by the Romans. Percival d'Oria, who had captured many of the Guelfic castles, was accidentally drowned in the river Negra during a battle near Reate: his death was bruited abroad as a miracle. Yet was not the Pope safe; Orvieto began to waver: he set forth to Perugia; he died on the road.

Oct. 2 or 10, 1264.

Death of Urban IV. Oct. 2, 1264.

Christendom at this peculiar crisis awaited with trembling anxiety the determination of the conclave: but this suspense of nearly five months did not arise altogether out of the dissensions in that body. Urban IV.

Clement IV. Feb. 5, 1265.

[c] Charles agreed to surrender the senatorship when master of Naples. How far did he intend to observe this condition?—See Sismondi, p. 141.

had secured the predominance of the French interest; the election had been long made before it was published. It had fallen on Ugo Falcodi, that Papal Legate, who, on the northern shore of France, was issuing Urban's sentence of excommunication against the Barons of England, while that Pope was no longer living. Ugo Falcodi was born at St. Gilles upon the Rhône: he had been married before he took orders, and had two daughters. He was profoundly learned in the law; from the Archdiaconate of Narbonne he had been brought to Italy, and created Cardinal of S. Sabina. Of his policy there could be no doubt: Manfred has but a new and more vigorous enemy; Charles of Anjou, a more devoted friend. The Cardinal of S. Sabina passed secretly over the Alps, suddenly appeared at Perugia, accepted the tiara, assumed the name of Clement IV., and then took up his residence at Viterbo.

Yet Manfred could hardly have dreaded a foe so active, so implacable, so unscrupulous; or Charles hoped for an ally so zealous, so obsequious, above all, so prodigal. Letters were despatched through Christendom, to England, to France, urging immediate succour to the Holy See, imperilled by the Saracen Manfred, and trusting for her relief only to the devout Charles. Everywhere the tenths were levied, notwithstanding the murmurs of Bishops and clergy; tenths still under the pretext of aid for Constantinople and Jerusalem. It was rebellion to refuse to pay; the Pope was even lavish of the Papal treasures; he pledged the ecclesiastical estates; usurious interest accumulated on the principal. A loan of 100,000 livres was raised on the security of the possessions of the Church in Rome (in vain many of the Cardinals protested), even on the churches from whence the Cardinals took their titles: St. Peter's, the Lateran, the Hospitals, and the convent of St. George were alone excepted. The Legates, the Prelates, the Mendicants were ordered to preach the Crusade with unwearied activity. They had new powers of absolution; they might admit as soldiers of Christ incendiaries, those excommunicated for refusing to pay tenths, sacrilegious persons, astrologers, those who had struck a clerk, or sold

merchandise to Mohammedans, ecclesiastics under interdict, or under suspension, married clerks; those who, in violation of the canons, had practised law or physic. All attempts were made to maintain the Papal interests in Rome, and to excite revolt in the kingdom of Naples.[d]

Charles of Anjou had now declared himself Senator of Rome, and invested with the crown of Naples. He had been long collecting his forces for the conquest. But Italy might seem to refuse access to the stranger. The Ghibellines were in the ascendant in Lombardy. The Marquis Pallavicini and Buoso da Doara, with the Cremonese, watched the passes of the Alps. The fleets of Pisa and of Manfred swept the sea with eighty galleys; the mouth of the Tiber was stopped by a great dam of timber and stone. But courage and fortune favoured Charles: he boldly set sail from Marseilles with hardly more than twenty galleys and one thousand men-at-arms. A violent storm scattered the fleet of Pisa and Naples: he entered the Tiber, broke through all obstacles, and appeared at Rome at Pentecost, the time appointed for his inauguration as Senator. He chose for his abode the Pope's Lateran palace. That was an usurpation which the Pope could not endure: he sent a strong remonstrance against the presumption of the Senator of Rome, who had dared without permission to occupy the abode of the Pope: he was commanded to quit the palace and seek some more fitting residence. Yet even at this time Clement IV. insisted on dictating the terms on which Charles was to hold the kingdom of Naples, its reversion to the Papacy in default of heirs of his line, its absolute incompatibility with the Empire, the tribute of eight thousand crowns of gold, the homage and the white horse in token of fealty. Manfred attempted to provoke Charles to battle before the arrival of his main army; he advanced with a large force, many of them Saracens, to the neighbourhood of Rome. The prudence of the Pope restrained the impatience of Charles.[e]

Charles at Rome.

It was not till the end of the summer that the main army of Charles came down the pass of Mont Cenis

[d] Martene. Compare Cherrier, iv. 79.

[e] Raynaldus, sub ann. 1265.

into friendly Piedmont. It was splendidly provided, and boasted some of the noblest knights of France and Flanders. The Pope had absolved all those who had taken the cross for the Holy Land: equal hopes of Heaven were attached to this new Crusade against Manfred, whom it was the policy to represent as more than half a Saracen. The Legate, Cardinal of S. Cecilia, had exacted a tenth from the French clergy. Robert of Bethune took the command; Guy of Beauvais, Bishop of Auxerre, was among the most distinguished warriors; there were Vendôsmes, Montmorencies, Mirepoixs, De Montforts, Sullys, De Beaumonts. The Ghibellines made a great show of resistance: the Carroccios of Pavia, Cremona, and Piacenza moved out as to a great battle. But the French army passed on, threatened Brescia; Milan and the Marquis of Montferrat ventured not to take their part openly, but supplied them with provisions. But either the treachery of the Ghibellines, bought, according to some writers of the time, by French gold, or intimidated by the great force, which the Chronicles, perhaps faithfully recording the rumours of the day, represented as sixty thousand, forty thousand, thirty thousand strong,[1] finally stood aloof in sullen passiveness. The French reached the Po. They advanced still without serious encounter, and joined their master in Rome. Charles, though it was the depth of winter, allowed no long repose. He advanced to Ceperano, with the Legate, the Cardinal St. Angelo, preaching the Crusade on the way. Manfred prepared himself for a gallant resistance; but he had neither calculated on the treachery of some of his own subjects, nor on the impetuous valour of the French. The passage of the Garigliano was betrayed by the Count of Caserta. San Germano, in which he had secured a strong force and ample stores, was taken by assault. Manfred's courage was unshaken; he concentred his army near Benevento, but he sent messengers to Charles to propose negotiations. "Tell the Sultan of Nocera that I will

Advance of the army.

In Rome.

In Naples.

[1] The annals of Modena give 5000 horse, 15,000 foot, 10,000 bowmen.—See the Chronicles in Muratori.

have neither peace nor treaty with him; I will send him to Hell, or he shall send me to Paradise!" Such was the reply of Charles of Anjou. The French army defiled into the plain before Benevento. Manfred is accused of rashness for venturing on a decisive battle. Battle of Benevento. Feb. 6, 1266. The French army were in want of money and of provisions; a protracted war might have worn them out. Manfred's nephew, Conrad of Antioch, was in the Abruzzi, Count Frederick in Calabria, and the Count of Ventimiglia in Sicily; but Manfred perhaps knew that nothing less than splendid success could hold in awe the wavering fidelity of his subjects. He drew up his army in three divisions. On the French side appeared, beside the three, a fourth. "Who are these?" inquired Manfred. "The Guelfs of Florence and the exiles from other cities." "Where are the Ghibellines, for whom I have done and hazarded so much?" The Germans and the Saracens fought with desperate valour. Manfred commanded the third army of the Barons of Apulia to move to the charge. Some, among them the great Chamberlain, hesitated, turned, fled.[g] Manfred plunged in his desperation into the midst of the fray, and fell unknown by an unknown hand. Death of Manfred. The body was found after three days and recognised by a boor, who threw it across an ass, and went shouting along, "Who will buy King Manfred?" He was struck down by one of Manfred's Barons; the body was taken to King Charles.[h] Charles summoned the Barons who were prisoners, and demanded if it was indeed the body of Manfred. Galvano Lancia looked on it, hid his face in his hands, and burst into tears. The generous French urged that it should receive honourable burial. "It might be," said Charles, "were he not under excommunication." The body was hastily interred by the bridge of Benevento: the warriors, French and Apulian, cast each a stone, and a huge mound appeared,[i] like those under which repose the heroes of ancient times. But the Papal jealousy would not allow the Hohenstaufen to repose

[g] Dante brands the treason of the Apulians: this was the field

"ove fu bugiardo
Ciascun Pugliese."—*Inferno*, xxviii. 16.

[h] Compare the letter of Charles announcing the victory to the Pope, before the body was found.

[i] Ricordano Malespini.

within the territory of the Church. The Archbishop of Cosenza, by the command of the Pope, ordered him to be torn up from his rude sepulchre. He was again buried in unconsecrated ground, on the borders of the kingdom of Naples, near the river Verde.[k]

Feb. 26.

So perished the noble Manfred, a poet like his father, all accomplished as his father,[l] a man of consummate courage and great ability. Naples could hardly have had a more promising founder for a native dynasty. But Naples was too near Rome; and the house of Hohenstaufen had not yet fulfilled its destiny.

The first act of the triumphant army of the Cross, under the Pope's ally, was the sacking of the Papal city of Benevento, a general massacre of both sexes, of all ages, violation of women, even of women dedicated to God: the churches did not escape the common profanation. Charles was King of Naples: the Capital yielded, Capua surrendered the vast treasures accumulated by Manfred. The King's officers were weighing these treasures. "What need of scales?" said Ugo di Balzo, a Provençal knight: he kicked the whole into three portions: "This is for my Lord the King, this for the Queen, this for your Knights." The whole of Apulia, Calabria, Sicily submitted to the Sovereign invested by the Pope.[m] But they soon began to appreciate the change, to which they had looked as a great deliverance, as the dawn of a golden age of peace and plenty. The French soldiers spread wanton devastation wherever they went, neither respecting property, nor the rights of men nor the honour of women. Naples was at first disposed to admire the magnificence of Charles and his Barons; but those who

Sack of Benevento.

[k] "L' ossa del corpo mio sarieno ancora
In co di ponte, presso a Benevento,
Sotta la guardia della grave mora;
Or le bagna la pioggia, e muove il vento.
Di fuor del regno, quasi lungo 'l Verde
Ove le transmutò a lume spento."
Dante, *Purgat.* III.

[l] "Lo Re spesso la notte andava per Barletta, cantando Strambuotti e canzoni, che iva pigliando il fresco, e con esso ivano dei Musici Siciliani ch' erano gran Romanzatori."—Matteo Spinelli.

[m] Clement writes to Cardinal Ottobuoni, Legate in England: "Carissimus in Christo filius E. (C.) Rex Siciliæ illustris tenet totum regnum, illius hominis pestilentis cadaver putidum, uxorem et liberos optinens et thesaurum."—MS., B. M., May 1266. The March, Florence, Pistoia, Sienna, Pisa, had returned to their allegiance. Messengers were come from Uberto Pallavicini and the Cremonese. There were hopes of Genoa.

had reproved the luxuriousness of Frederick's or the ruder splendour of Manfred's court, found that of the Provençal King at least not more favourable to the higher morals.[n] Instead of being relieved from their heavy taxation, they were the prey of still more merciless exaction. Tyranny of the French. King Charles seized the books and registers of the royal revenues in the hands of Gazzolino di Murra. Every royal privilege, subsidy, collection, or tax was enforced with more rigorous severity. New justiciaries, officers of customs, notaries, and revenue collectors sprung up in hosts, draining without restraint the impoverished people. The realm began too late to deplore its own versatility, to look back on the days of good King Manfred. Thus are these feelings expressed by a Guelfic historian: "O King Manfred, little did we know thee when alive! Now that thou art dead, we deplore thee in vain! Thou appearedst as a ravening wolf among the flocks of this kingdom; now fallen by our fickleness and inconstancy under the present government, after which we groaned, we find that thou wert a lamb. Now we know by bitter comparison how mild was thy rule. We thought it hard that part of our substance must be yielded into thy hands, now we find that all our substance and even our persons are the prey of the stranger."[o]

Clement IV. could not close his ears to these sad complaints. He had forced himself to remonstrate on the sack of Benevento; but throughout Italy the Guelfs rosé again to power, Florence was in their hands, Pisa madé supplication to the Pope to be released from excommunication. In Milan there was a Provençal governor, whose cruelties even surpassed Italian cruelties. Charles was manifestly aspiring to be supreme in Italy.[p] The Pope.

But the Pope did not neglect more remote offences. The Cardinal of S. Sabina had not forgotten the contemptuous refusal of the Barons of England to accept his mediation.[q] Henry III. was too useful, too England.

[n] Muratori writes thus:—"Per altro la venuta de' Franzesi quella fu, che cominciò ad introdurre il lusso, e qualche cosa di peggio e fece mutar i costumi degl' Italiani."—Sub ann.

[o] Saba Malespina, iii. 16.

[p] See all the historians.

[q] Letter to the Queen, complaining of the insolence of the Barons, who had not permitted him to land in England when Legate.—MS., B. M., v. xii. p. 3.

profitable a vassal of the Roman See to be abandoned to his unruly subjects. Immediately on his accession the Pope had sent the Cardinal of S. Hadrian (Ottobuoni) as Legate, with the same ample powers with which himself had been invested.[r] An interdict was laid upon the island if it refused to admit the Legate. If the Legate should not be permitted to land, he was to transmit inhibitions to the clergy, having equal force, inhibitions to allow no matrimonial rites to the rebels, or to communicate with them in any way whatever.[s] He had the same authority to thrust his followers into dignities or benefices from which the rebellious clergy or those connected with the rebels were to be ejected. All sons of rebel Barons or Nobles, all nephews of rebel Churchmen were to be deprived of all parsonages or benefices, and declared incapable of holding them.[t] No promotions were to be made to bishoprics or archbishoprics without express consent of the Holy See.[u] It was admitted that many Bishops were on the side of the Barons; no favour was to be shown to those of London, Worcester, Lincoln, or Ely; they were on no account to be released from excommunication.[x] Tenths were to be levied for the Holy War.[y] The Legate was to preach or cause to be preached a Crusade in England and even in Germany against the insurgent Barons. Louis of France was urged to take arms in defence of the common cause of monarchy against those rebels who were accused of a design to throw off altogether the kingly sway. Nothing less than a general league of Princes could put down those sons of wrath and of treason, the Barons of England.[z]

The Pope, as Cardinal Legate, had excommunicated Simon de Montfort, Roger Earl of Norfolk, Hugo the Chief

[r] The bulls addressed to Ottobuoni are transcripts of those before addressed to the Cardinal S. Sabina, the usual form, mutatis mutandis.—MS., B. M. They fill several pages.

[s] Ibid., dated Perugia, June 1, 1265, p. 119. Since he had excommunicated "nonnullos barones et fautores eorum, et inhabitatores Quinque Portuum," if any of them had obtained letters of absolution, "in ægritudine verâ aut simulatâ," unless they abandoned the party of Leicester they were to be as heathens and publicans.

[t] Ibid., same date.

[u] Ibid., same date.

[x] Ibid., some months later, Oct. 1265.

[y] Ibid., July 1. The Cistercians, Carthusians, Templars, Hospitallers, Teutonic Knights, Sisters of S. Clare, were alone exempt.

[z] Ibid., Perugia, May 6, 1265, p. 75, &c.

Justiciary, the City of London, and the Cinque Ports; he had summoned four of the English Prelates before him at Boulogne, and ordered them to publish the excommunication in England. The excommunication had been taken from the unreluctant hands of the Bishops. The excommunicated had appealed to the Pope; the appeal was ratified in a convocation of the clergy. But the excommunication was solemnly confirmed at Perugia. "Nothing could be done unless that turbulent man of sin (Leicester) and all his race were plucked up out of the realm."[a] The new Cardinal Legate was urged to hasten to England to consummate his work.

Ere he had ceased to be Cardinal Legate, the Pope (Ugo Falcodi) had heard at Boulogne the fatal tidings of the battle of Lewes, the captivity of the King and of Prince Edward. Then after his accession had come the news of the escape of Prince Edward, and the revolt of the Earl of Gloucester from the Barons. The Pope wrote in triumph to the Prince,[b] urging him to make every effort to release his father from slavery; the excommunication was at once removed from the Earl of Gloucester.[c] The tidings of the battle of Evesham, of the death of Simon Earl of Leicester, filled him with melancholy and joy.[d] Yet extraordinary as it may seem, Simon de Montfort, excommunicate by the Pope, to the Pope the Man of Sin, was the Saint and Martyr of popular love and worship;[e] he was equalled with Becket.[f] Poetry, Latin, English, French, celebrated, sanctified, canonised him. His miracles, in their number, wonderfulness, and in their attestations might have moved the jealousy of S. Francis or of Becket himself.[g] Prayers were addressed to him;[h] prayer was offered through his intercession.[i]

[a] Epist. ad Card. S. Hadrian. "Nisi dictus vir pestilens cum totâ suâ progenie de regno Angliæ avellatur."—July 19, 1265. At this time Manfred was advancing on Rome.

[b] To Prince Edward. The letter enters into some details.

[c] Ibid., p. 191.

[d] "Læta nobis et tristia enarrastis."—Clement IV. Epist. i. 89.

[e] Rishanger says that all ranks heard of his death with the most profound sorrow, "præcipue religiosi, qui partibus illis favebant."—Chronic. p. 48.

[f] See in Wright's Political Songs that on the battle of Lewes. After his death we read in another:—

"Mes par sa mort, le cuens Montfort
Conquist la victoire,
Comme li Martyr de Canterbyr
Finist sa vie" (p. 125);

and the long Latin poem, p. 71.

[g] See the "Miracula," published by Mr. Halliwell at the end of Rishanger, Camden Society, 1840.

[h] "Salve Simon Montefortis,
Totius flos militiæ.
Duras passus pœnas mortis,
Protector gentis Angliæ."

[i] "Ora pro nobis, Beate Simon, ut digni simus promissionibus Christi."—Ibid. p. 109.

Victory of the King.

The King's victory seemed complete, the Barons crushed, the liberties of England buried in the grave of Simon de Montfort. The Cardinal Legate crossed to England with the Queen. The Queen Eleanor was not the least odious of the foreigners who ruled the feeble mind of the King: to her influence had been attributed the unjust, ill-considered award of Louis of France. The Legate assumed a kind of dictatorial authority.[k] In the church of Westminster, the splendid foundation of Henry III. (under whose shadow I wrote these lines), he appeared in his full scarlet pontifical robes, recited the act of excommunication passed on Simon de Montfort and all his adherents, abrogated all the oaths sworn by the King, declared null and void all the constitutions and provisions of the realm.[m] At Northampton he held a council, and by name confirmed the excommunication of the Prelates who had made common cause with the Barons, Winchester, Worcester, London, Chichester.[n] The Pope, while he made large grants of the tenths, and triumphed in the King's triumph, in more Christian spirit enjoined him to use his victory with mercy and moderation.[o] If any mercy was shown to the persons (and this is doubtful, for all the bravest and most formidable had perished in the field), there was none to their estates. The obsequious Parliament passed a sweeping sentence of confiscation on the lands of all who had joined or favoured De Montfort. The Legate was not less severe against the obnoxious clergy.[p] There was a wide and general ejection of all who had been, or were suspected of having been on the proscribed side. The Pope is again busy in reaping for his own colleagues and followers some grains of the golden harvest. Demands are made, at first modest, for prebends, for pensions in

The Legate. Oct. 29, 1265.

[k] See the Papal bulls, gratulatory to the King and Prince, and admonitory to the Barons to return to the King's allegiance.—Rymer, i. 817, 819.

[m] Wilkes, 72.

[n] Rishanger, p. 47.

[o] Rymer, *loc. citat.*

[p] "Qui non solum et post terras et possessiones occisorum in bello et captivorum necessaria etiam bona tam spiritualia quam temporalia religiosorum violavere, nulli parcentes ordini, dignitati, vel ecclesiasticæ libertati . . . infinitam pecuniam ab eis immisericorditer extorserunt, abbatesetquascunque domos religiosas tantæ suppeditationi mancipando quod vix aut nunquam poterunt respirare."—Rishanger, p. 48.

favour of Roman ecclesiastics.[q] He is compelled by the poverty of the Cardinals to become more pressing, more exorbitant in his exactions.

During the next year there is a formidable reaction; a wide and profound dissatisfaction had spread through the realm. The discontented are defending themselves with desperate resolution in the isle of Ely. Rome is alarmed by the gloomy news from England: the Pope is trembling for the lives of the King, the Queen, and the Prince; he is trembling for the irrecoverable loss of that noble fief of the See of Rome.[r] The affrighted Cardinal is disposed to abandon his hopeless mission. The Pope reproves him for his cowardice, but leaves it to his discretion whether he will remain or not in the contumacious and ungrateful island.[s] Reaction. A.D. 1266.

The King's cause again prospers: at Christmas the King and the Legate are seen dining together in public at Westminster. The indignant people remark that the seat of honour, the first service of all the dishes are reserved to the Legate; the King sits lower, and partakes of the best fare, but after the Legate.[t] At St. Edmondsbury the ecclesiastics resisted the demand not only of the tenths, but of thirty thousand marks more, claimed by the Pope as arrears of the King's debt for the subjugation of Naples.[u]

About a year and a half after, at the close of the Pontificate of Clement IV., the Cardinal Legate holds a Council of the Church of England and Ireland in the cathedral of St. Paul. The famous consti- Council in St. Paul's.

[q] MS., B. M., p. 202. Assignment of 260 marks on England to the Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, "propter egestatem." One or two benefices to be obtained in England to make up this sum. "In eundem modum pro domino veterrano (Velletri) cccxxvi. marks." He intends to write, on account of the general poverty of the Cardinals, not only "pro duobus, pro pluribus, licet non in tantâ summâ sed minore." Perugia, Oct. 26, 1265, p. 117. "Importabilis fratrum persuasio, quæ fonte liberalitatis ipsius qui ad Romanam Ecclesiam de mundi diversis partibus fluere consuevit, pæne, vel quasi penitus arefacto, crescit, nec cessat crescere."—P. 223.

[r] "Nihil aliud esset penitus, nisi totum everti negotium, Regem, Reginam et liberos tradi morti, et Ecclesiæ Romanæ feudum tam nobile sine spe qualibet recuperationis amitti."—MS., B. M., p. 233.

[s] Ibid., May 16, 1266.

[t] "Legato in sedili regis collocato, singulisque ferculis coram eo primitus appositis, et postremo coram rege, unde murmurabant multi in aulâ regis."—Rishanger, p. 59.

[u] Rishanger, p. 61.

tutions of Ottobuoni, the completion and confirmation of those of Cardinal Otho, are passed, which were held for some time as the canon law of England.[x] Of these constitutions some must be noticed, as giving a view of the religion of the times. I. The absolute exemption of the property of the Church from all taxation by the state, the obedience of the laity to the clergy, were asserted in the fullest and most naked simplicity.[y] II. One was directed against the clergy bearing arms. Some of the clergy are described (awful wickedness!) as little better than robber chieftains.[z] It was forgotten that but a few years before the Archbishop of Canterbury had been in arms with the Archbishop of Lyons before Turin; that French Bishops were in the army of Charles of Anjou, the army blessed, sanctified by the Pope! III. Pluralities were generally condemned;[a] pluralities without Papal dispensations altogether proscribed.[b] IV. There was a strong canon against the married clergy: not merely were many clergy married,[c] but the usage existed to a great extent of the transmission of benefices from father to son, and these benefices were not seldom defended by violence and force of arms.[d]

Constitutions of Ottobuoni.

[x] April 21, 1268. Wilkins' Concilia.

[y] "Nec alicui liceat censum ponere super ecclesiam Dei. Ammonemus Regem et principes et omnes qui in potestate sunt, ut cum magnâ humilitate archiepiscopis omnibusque aliis episcopis obediant."

[z] "In his ergo tam horrendis sceleribus clericos debacchantes"—they had been described as joining bands of robbers—"prosequimur excommunicatione, deprivatione."—Art. viii.

[a] John Maunsel is described (Rishanger, p. 12) as "multarum in Angliâ rector ecclesiarum et possessor reddituum quorum non erat numerus, ita quod ditior clericus eo non in orbe videretur." Mr. Halliwell quotes the Chron. Mailros. as giving him 700 livings, bringing in 18,000 marks. I cannot find the passage.

[b] Henry de Wingham is a good example of what might be and was done by Papal dispensations (MS., B. M., ix. p. 314). Wingham has licence to hold the deanery of St. Martin's-le-Grand, the chancellorship of Exeter, a prebend of Salisbury, ac *universos alios personatus, etiam alia beneficia* (dated Anagni, July 23, 1259). A month after De Wingham (of whom Paris speaks as a disinterested man, *sub ann.* 1257) is bishop elect of London: he petitions to hold all these benefices with London for five years. He was also Lord Chancellor. The nephew of this poor man, holding only two livings, has Papal licence to hold two more.—P. 411. Anagni, Aug. 28, 1259.

[c] "Nisi clerici et maximè qui in sacris ordinibus constituti, qui in domibus suis detinent publicè concubinas."—Art. viii.

[d] The MS. B. M. are full of notices of married clergy in England. Letter to the Archbishop of York (xi. 124). Sons succeeded to their fathers' benefices, "quidam in ecclesiis, in quibus patres ministrarint eorum, se immediatè patribus ejus substituti, tanquam jure hereditario possidere sanctuarium Dei." The same in diocese of Lincoln, p. 132; Worcester, p. 136; Carlisle, p. 177.

We return to Italy, with a glance at Spain, and the earlier years of Clement's Pontificate. The triumphs of James, the King of Arragon, over the Saracens of Spain, and the capture of Murcia, called forth the triumphant gratulations of the Pope. But James of Arragon was not to be indulged in weaknesses unbecoming a Christian warrior. The Pope summoned him to break the chains in which he was fettered by a beautiful mistress, and to return to his lawful wife: he urged him to imitate the holy example of Louis of France. King James pleaded that his wife was a leper, and demanded the dissolution of the marriage. "Thinkest thou," rejoined the Pope, "that if all the Queens of the earth were lepers, we would allow Kings to join in adulterous commerce with other women? Better that all the royal houses should wither root and branch." He put the obedience of the King of Arragon to another test: he ordered him inexorably to expel all Mussulmen from his dominions, to depose all the Jews from the high places which they held in this as in many of the Spanish kingdoms.[c] James of Arragon.

In less than two years after the conquest of Naples, the insupportable tyranny of the French under Charles of Anjou, and the resentment of the Ghibellines throughout Italy, had wrought up a spirit of wide-spread revolt. The young Conradin could alone deliver Sicily from the foreign yoke, check the revengeful superiority of the Guelfs, and restore the now lamented house of Hohenstaufen. Many secret messages were sent from Tuscany and Lombardy. Galvano and Frederick di Lancia, and the two chiefs of the house of Capece, whose lives had been excepted from the general proscription of Manfred's partisans, found their way to Germany. They called on Conradin to assert his hereditary rights; to Naples. Conradin. A.D. 1267.

Complaints to Bishop of Salisbury of priests who have "focariæ." To Bishop of Coventry, of their holding these benefices "violenter et armatâ manu," Dec. 21, 1235. So also to Bishop of Norwich, June 12, 1240; Winchester, p. 5 and 35, 1243. The Synod of Exeter (Wilkins, Concilia, c. xviii. p. 142) complains of clerks on their deathbeds providing for their concubines and children out of the ecclesiastical revenues, "præsumptione tam damnatâ in extremis laborantes, et de infernis minimè cogitantes in suis ultimis voluntatibus . . . bona ecclesiæ concubinis relinquere non formidant." These wills were declared illegal.

[c] Clement Epist. Raynaldus, sub ann.

appear as a deliverer from foreign oppression. The youth, not yet sixteen, listened with too eager avidity. At the head of four thousand German troops he crossed the Alps, and held his court at Verona.

End of 1267.

Pope Clement heard the intelligence with dismay. He instantly cited the presumptuous boy, who had dared to claim a kingdom granted away by the See of Rome, to answer before his liege lord at Viterbo. There, in the Cathedral of Viterbo, in May, and on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, he proclaimed his excommunication. He wrote to Florence to warn the Republic of "the young serpent which had sprung up from the blood of the old." He wrote to Ottocar, King of Bohemia, to make a diversion by attacking the Swabian possessions of Conradin. He declared Conradin deposed from the kingdom of Jerusalem. At the same time he wrote to Charles of Anjou, in terms which showed his own consciousness that the danger was in the tyranny and in the hatred of Charles rather than in the strength or popularity of Conradin. He entreated him "to moderate the horrible exactions enforced under the royal seal;[f] to listen to the petitions of his people; to put some check on the wasteful extravagance of his court; to keep a balance of his receipts and expenditure; to place on the seat of justice men of incorruptible integrity, with ample salaries, so as to be superior to bribery; not to permit unnecessary appeals to the King; to avoid all vexatious inquisitions; not to usurp the guardianship of orphans; to punish all attempts to corrupt magistrates; not to follow the baleful example of his predecessor in encroaching on the rights of the Church."[g] Yet this King, who needed these sage admonitions as to the administration of his kingdom, was raised at this very juncture by the Pope to the extraordinary office now vacant—an office the commanding title of which was ill-suited to the man and to the times—that of Peacemaker,[h] or Conservator of the Peace throughout Tuscany and all the provinces subject to the Roman empire; in other words,

A.D. 1268.

[f] "Sigillo tuo legem impera, ut tollatur infamia de horrendis exactionibus eo nomine factis" *et seqq.* Clem. Ep.

[g] See the letter of Pope Clement in Martene, and in Raynaldus, sub ann.

[h] "Paciarium non partiarium."

to keep down the Ghibellines, and by force of arms to compel them to lay down their arms.[l] King Alfonso of Castile heard with jealousy of this new title, which sounded as though Charles of Anjou was usurping the prerogative of the Empire, if not intending to supplant both himself and his competitor, Richard of Cornwall. The Pope was compelled at once to soothe and to alarm the Spaniard; to allay his fears as to any designs of Charles upon the Empire, not without some significant hint that the coronation by the Archbishop of Cologne was indispensable for a just title to the Empire; and the Archbishop of Cologne had crowned Richard. Alfonso was awed into silence, if not satisfied.[k]

But, not at the instigation, nor with any encouragement from the King of Castile, two of his brothers had become the most dangerous adversaries of the Pope. Henry and Frederick of Castile had been driven from their native land,[m] had taken to a wild adventurous life, and found hospitality at the court of the King of Tunis. It was said that they had adopted at least Mohammedan manners, attended Mohammedan rites, and more than half embraced the Mohammedan creed.[n] They returned to Europe. Frederick landed in Sicily, where some short time after he raised the standard of Conradin. Henry went on to Italy; he was received by his cousin, Charles of Anjou, who bestowed on him sixty thousand crowns. Henry had hopes, fostered by the Papal Court, if not by the Pope, of obtaining the investiture of Sardinia, which the Pope would fain wrest from the rule of Ghibelline Pisa. But Charles of

[l] There is a curious letter from the Pope to the Cardinal S. Hadrian. MS. B.M. When he had created Charles paciarius, "opponentibus Senensibus, Pisanis et pluribus Ghibellinis," the Romans, under the Senator, Henry of Castile, were in league with the Ghibellines. Henry had taken some cities, and seized in Rome the brothers Napoleon and Mattheo Orsini, Angelo Malebranca, John Savelli, Peter Stefaneschi, Richard Annibaleschi, some of whom he had sent by night prisoners to Monticelli. "We would, as far as possible, war with the Romans: Conradin is in Verona with all Lombardy, except Pavia, and the march of Treviso. Sicily is in full revolt under Frederick of Castile." "God's will be done," concludes the devout Pope.—Viterbo, Nov. 23, 1267.

[k] Clement, Epist.

[m] They seem to have been at the head of a constitutional opposition against their brother Alfonso, who aspired to rule without the Cortes.

[n] Mariana describes Henry as "in rebus bellicis potens et strenuus, et nimium callidus, sed sceleratissimus et in fidei catholicæ cultu non diligens prosecutor." For private reasons for the hatred of Henry and Charles, see Hispan. Illustrat. ii. p. 647; Amari; Vespro Siciliano, ciii. p. 30.

Anjou grew jealous of Henry of Castile; he too had pretensions on Sardinia; it was withdrawn from the grasp of Henry; and the Castilian was brooding in dissatisfaction and disappointment, when the opportunity of revenge arose. The people of Rome were looking abroad for a Senator. Charles had surrendered or forfeited his office when he became King of Naples. A short-lived rule of two concurrent Senators had increased the immitigable feud. Angelo Capucio was a noble Roman, still attached to the fallen fortunes of Manfred. By his influence, notwithstanding the repugnance of the rest of the nobles, and strong opposition from some of the Cardinals, Henry of Castile was chosen Senator of Rome. He commenced his rule with some of those acts of stern equity which ever overawed and captivated the Roman people. Clement too late began to suspend his design of investing Charles of Anjou with the throne of Sardinia, to which Henry might again aspire. But the hatred of Charles was deep in Henry's heart; he openly displayed the banner of Conradin. Galvano Lancia, the kinsman and most active partisan of Manfred, hastened to Rome; and the Pope heard with indignation that the Swabian standard was waving from the hallowed Lateran, where Lancia had taken up his quarters, and was parading his forces before it.[o] The censures of the Pontiff addressed to the authorities of Rome made no impression. The Senator summoned the people to the Capitol; his armed bands were in readiness; he seized two of the Orsini, and sent them prisoners to the strong castle of Monticelli, near Tivoli; two of the Savelli were cast into the dungeons under the Capitol, many others into different prisons; Henry of Castile took possession of St. Peter's and of the Papal palaces.[p]

Henry of Castile.

Rome for Conradin.

The few German troops with which Conradin had crossed the Alps fell off for want of pay:[q] but the Ghi-

[o] "Ac loca, specialiter Laterani, ad quæ ingredienda viri etiam justi vix digni sunt habiti, pompis lascivientibus circuire, ac ibidem hospitium accipere non expavit."—Lib. Pontif. quoted in Raynald., 1267.

[p] See note above from MS. B. M.

[q] It is curious to observe (in Böhmer's Register), of the few acts of Conradin in Italy, how large a part are on the pawning (Verpfändung) of estates or rights for sums of money.—p. 287.

belline interest, the nobler feelings, awakened in favour of the gallant boy thus cruelly deprived of his inheritance, and the growing hatred of the French soon gathered an army around him. He set out from faithful Verona; he was received in Pavia, in Pisa, in Sienna, as the champion of Ghibellinism; as the lawful King of Sicily.[r] In Apulia, the Saracens of Lucera were in arms; in Sicily, Frederick of Castile, with the Saracens and some of Manfred's partisans, who had taken refuge in Africa and now returned. The island was in full revolt; the Lieutenant of Charles was defeated; except Messina, Palermo, and Syracuse, Sicily was in the power of Conradin. Already, in his agony of apprehension, the Pope, finding that Charles was still in Tuscany, pressing his advantages in favour of the Guelfs of Florence, hastily summoned him to return to Naples. "Why do we write to thee as King, while thou seemest utterly to disregard thy kingdom? It is without a head, exposed to the Saracens and to the traitorous Christians; already exhausted by your robberies, it is now plundered by others. The locust eats what the cankerworm has left. Spoilers will not be wanting, so long as its defender is away. If you love the kingdom, think not that the Church will incur the toil and cost of conquering it anew; you may return to your Countship, and, content with the vain name of king, await the issue of the contest. Perhaps, in reliance on your merits, you expect a miracle to be wrought in your favour; that God will act in your behalf, while you thus follow your own counsels, and despise those of others. I had resolved not to write to thee on this affair: my venerable brother, Rudolph, Bishop of Alba, has prevailed on me to send you these few last words." [s]

Movements of Conradin. A.D. 1268.

Charles obeyed, and returned in all haste to Naples; he formed the siege of Lucera, the stronghold of his most dangerous foes, the Saracens. Conradin advanced towards Rome; he marched under the walls of

Conradin advances to Rome.

[r] In Pavia, March 22; in Pisa, April 4; in Sienna, July 7; in Rome, July 7 or August 11. In Rome he is said to have had 5000 German knights, Henry of Castile 800 Spaniards.

[s] Clement, Epist. apud Raynald., A.D. 1269, p. 233.

Viterbo, intending, perhaps, to insult or intimidate the Pope, who had a strong garrison in the city. The affrighted Cardinals thronged around the Pope, who was at prayer. "Fear not," he said; "they will be scattered like smoke." He even ascended the walls, beneath which Conradin and his young and faithful friend Frederick of Austria were prancing on their stately coursers. "Behold the victims for the sacrifice."[t]

The dark vaticinations of the Pope, though sadly verified by the event (perhaps but the echo of the event), if bruited abroad in Rome, had no more effect than the ecclesiastical thunders which at every onward step Clement had hurled with reiterated solemnity at the head of Conradin. Notwithstanding these excommunications, the Romans welcomed with the loudest acclamations Conradin, called by the Pope "the accursed branch of an accursed stem, the manifest enemy of the Church:" "Rome had calmly seen that son of malediction, Galvano Lancia, who had so long walked the broad road to perdition, from whose approach they should have shrunk with scorn, displaying the banner of Constantine from the Lateran." It was an event as yet unheard, which disturbed the soul of the Pontiff, that although occasional discords, and even the scandal of wars, had taken place between the Pope and his City, now their fidelity should revolt to the persecutor of the Church; that Rome should incur the guilt of matricide.[u] Yet not the less did the Senator and Rome welcome the young Swabian. Henry the Senator marched at the head of the Roman forces in Conradin's army, having first plundered the churches and monasteries. The Pope heard with deeper resentment that the Lateran, the churches of St. Paul, St. Basil on the Aventine, Santa Sabina, and other convents, had been obliged to surrender their treasures, which were expended upon the army of the excommunicate.[x]

Battle of Tagliacozzo.

But the destiny which hovered over the house of Hohenstaufen had not yet exhausted its vials of wrath. At the battle of Tagliacozzo, the French for once

[t] Raynald. c. xxii. Freher. [u] Apud Raynald. A.D. 1269. [x] Ibid.

condescended to depend not on their impetuous valour alone, but on prudence, military skill, and a reserve held by the aged Alard de St. Valery, a French knight, just returned from that school of war, Palestine. St. Valery's eight hundred men retrieved the lost battle. Conradin, Frederick of Austria, Henry of Castile, were in the hands of the remorseless conqueror. Conradin had almost bribed John Frangipani, Lord of Astura, to lend him a bark to escape. The Frangipani sold him for large estates in the princedom of Benevento.[y]

Christendom heard with horror that the royal brother of St. Louis, that the champion of the Church, after a mock trial, by the sentence of one judge, Robert di Lavena—after an unanswerable pleading by Guido de Suzaria, a famous jurist,—had condemned the last heir of the Swabian house—a rival king, who had fought gallantly for his hereditary throne—to be executed as a felon and a rebel on a public scaffold. So little did Conradin dread his fate, that when his doom was announced, he was playing at chess with Frederick of Austria. "Slave," said Conradin to Robert of Bari, who read the fatal sentence, "do you dare to condemn as a criminal the son and heir of kings? Knows not your master that he is my equal, not my judge?" He added, "I am a mortal, and must die; yet ask the kings of the earth if a prince be criminal for seeking to win back the heritage of his ancestors. But if there be no pardon for me, spare, at least, my faithful companions; or if they must die, strike me first, that I may not behold their death."[z] They died devoutly, nobly. Every circumstance aggravated the abhorrence: it was said—perhaps it was the invention of that abhorrence—that Robert of Flanders, the brother of Charles, struck dead the judge who had presumed to read the iniquitous sentence.[a] When Conradin knelt, with up-

Execution of Conradin.

[y] "En 1256, quatre ans après les Vêpres Siciliennes, un amiral de Jacques d'Arragon emporta Astura, qu'il réduisit en cendres. Les biens des Frangipani furent ravagés; Jacob, le fils de Jean, périt dans le combat. Sa postérité s'éteignit, et, de cette branche, dont le blason était taché du sang royal, il ne reste qu'un souvenir de déshonneur." Astura was near the spot where Cicero was killed.—Cherrier, iv. p. 212.

[z] Bartholomeo di Neocastro apud Muratori, p. 1027.

[a] There is evidence, it appears, that this judge, or prothonotary, was alive some years after.

lifted hands, awaiting the blow of the executioner, he uttered these last words—"O my mother! how deep will be thy sorrow at the news of this day!" [b] Even the followers of Charles could hardly restrain their pity and indignation. With Conradin died his young and valiant friend, Frederick of Austria, the two Lancias, two of the noble house of Donaticcio of Pisa. The inexorable Charles would not permit them to be buried in consecrated ground.

The Pope himself was accused as having counselled this atrocious act One of those sentences, which from its pregnant brevity cleaves to the remembrance, lived long in the memory of the Ghibellines: "The life of Conradin is the death of Charles, the death of Conradin the life of Charles." But to have given such advice, Clement must have belied his own nature, his own previous conduct, as well as his religion. Throughout he had been convinced of the impolicy, and was doubtless moved with inward remorse at the cruelties of Charles of Anjou. Clement had tried to mitigate the tyranny of the King. Even the colder assent, at least the evasive refusal to interfere on the side of mercy—"It becomes not the Pope to counsel the death of any one," is hardly in the character of Clement IV.[c] There is another, somewhat legendary, story. Ambrose of Sienna, afterwards a Saint, presented himself on the first news of the capture of Conradin before the Pope; he dwelt on the parable of the prodigal son, received with mercy into his father's house. "Ambrose," said the Pope, "I would have mercy, not sacrifice." He turned to the Cardinals, "It is not the monk that speaks, it is the Spirit of the Most High." [d]

But if he was responsible only for not putting forth the full Papal authority to command an act of wisdom as of compassion, Clement himself was soon called to answer before a higher tribunal. On the 29th October the head of Conradin fell on the scaffold; on the 29th November

[b] "Ad cœlum jungebat palmas, mortemque inevitabilem patienter expectans, suum Domino spiritum commendabat: nec divertebat caput, sed exhibebat se quasi victimam et cesoris truces ictus in patientiâ expectabat." —Malespina apud Muratori, viii. 851.

[c] Compare the fair and honest Tillemont, Vie de Saint Louis, vi. 129.

[d] Vit. S. Ambrosii Senen. apud Bollandistas, c. iii.

died Pope Clement IV. It is his praise that he did not exalt his kindred—that he left in obscurity the husbands of his daughters.[e] But the wonder betrayed by this praise shows at once how Christendom had already been offended; it was prophetic of the stronger offence which nepotism would hereafter entail upon the Papal See.

[e] "Nec invenitur exaltâsse parentes, totus Deo dicatus." — Ptolem. Luc. xxxviii. Tillemont has collected the passages (and they are many) to the praise of Clement IV. Tillemont is not perhaps less inclined to admire him because he was a Frenchman.—Vie de St. Louis, iv. p. 350 *et seq.*

CHAPTER IV.

GREGORY X. AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

After the death of Clement IV. there was a vacancy of more than two years in the Pontificate. The cause of this dissension among the fifteen Cardinals[a] nowhere transpires: it may have been personal jealousy, where there was no Prelate of acknowledged superiority to demand the general suffrage. The French Cardinals may have been ambitious, under the dominant influence of the victorious Charles of Anjou, to continue the line of French Pontiffs: the Italians, both from their Italian patriotism and their jealousy of the power of Charles, may have stubbornly resisted such promotion. During this vacancy, Charles of Anjou was revenging himself with his characteristic barbarity on his rebellious kingdom, compressing with an iron hand the hatred of his subjects, which was slowly and sullenly brooding into desperation. He was thus unknowingly preparing his own fall by the terrible reaction of the Sicilian Vespers. He was becoming in influence, manifestly aspiring to be, through the triumphant Guelfic factions, the real master of the whole of Italy.

At this period was promulgated an Edict,[b] before briefly alluded to, apparently unobserved, but which,

[a] Ciacconius gives 17—5 or 6 French, 4 Romans.—p. 178.

[b] See back, page 23. Ordonnances des Rois, i. 97, March, 1268. Sismondi, viii. p. 104. I cannot see the force of the objection to the authenticity of the Ordinance, to which Mr. Hallam seems to give some weight, that St. Louis had not any previous difference with the See of Rome. The right of patronage seems to have been a standing cause of quarrel throughout Christendom, as we have seen in England. See, too, in Tillemont, iv. p. 408-412—the king (Louis) asserting his rights of patronage to the prebends of Rheims and the arch-deaconry of Sens against the Pope. Tillemont does not doubt its authenticity, and refers to these disputes as a possible cause. See also the strange account of John of Canterbury, who paid 10,000 livres Tournois for confirmation in the Archbishopric of Rheims. John had expended it for the honour of his Holiness and the Roman court. The Pope *blushed* at this great expense for his honour.—p. 410. Clement, Epist. p. 308.

nevertheless, in the hands of the great lawyers, who were now establishing in the minds of men, especially in France, a rival authority to that of the clergy, became a great Charter of Independence to the Gallican Church. The Pragmatic Sanction, limiting the interference of the court of Rome in the elections of the clergy, and directly denying its right of ecclesiastical taxation, being issued by the most religious of Kings, by a King a canonised Saint, seemed so incongruous and embarrassing, that desperate attempts have been made to question its authenticity: Louis IX. might seem, in his servile time, himself servilely religious, to be suddenly taking the lofty tone of Charlemagne. But it was this high religiousness of Louis which suggested, and which enabled him to promulgate this charter of liberty: as he intended none, so he might disguise even to himself the latent, rather than avowed hostility to the power of Rome. Among the dearest objects to the heart of Louis was the reformation of the clergy; that reformation aiming not at the depression, but tending to the immeasurable exaltation of their power, by grounding it on their piety and holiness. It is to this end that he asserts the absolute power of jurisdiction in the clergy, the rights of patrons, the right of free elections in the cathedrals and other churches. The Edict was issued in the name of "Louis by the grace of God, King of the French. To ensure the tranquil and wholesome state of the Church in our realm; to increase the worship of God, in order to promote the salvation of the souls of the faithful in Christ; to obtain for ourselves the grace and succour of Almighty God, to whose dominion and protection our realm has been ever subject, as we trust it will ever be, we enact and ordain by this edict, maturely considered and of perpetual observance:—

Pragmatic Sanction.

"I. That the prelates, patrons, and ordinary collators to benefices in the churches of our realm, have full enjoyment of their rights, and that the jurisdiction of each be wholly preserved.

"II. That the cathedral and other churches of our realm have full freedom of election in every point and particular.

"III. We will and ordain that the pestilential crime of simony, which undermines the Church, be for ever banished from our realm.

"IV. We will and ordain in like manner that promotions, collations, provisions and dispositions of the prelacies, the dignities, the benefices, of what sort soever, and of the ecclesiastical offices of our realm, be according to the disposition, ordinance, and determination of the common law, the sacred counsels of the Church of God, and the ancient institutions of the Holy Fathers.

"V. We will that no one may raise or collect in any manner exactions or assessments of money, which have been imposed by the court of Rome, by which our realm has been miserably impoverished, or which hereafter shall be imposed, unless the cause be reasonable, pious, most urgent, of inevitable necessity, and recognised by our express and spontaneous consent, and by that of the Church of our realm.

"VI. By these presents we renew, approve, and confirm the liberties, franchises, immunities, prerogatives, rights, privileges, granted by the Kings our predecessors of pious memory, and by ourselves to all churches, monasteries, holy places, religious men and ecclesiastics in our realm."

This Edict appeared either during the last year of Clement IV., when the Pope absolutely depended on the protection of Charles of Anjou against the reviving Ghibellinism under Conradin, and he might be reduced to take refuge under the tutelage of Louis; or during the vacancy in the Pontificate. In either case it would have been dangerous, injurious, it would have been resented by the common voice of Christendom, if the acts of Louis had been arraigned, or even protested against as impious aggressions on the rights of Rome. The Edict itself was profoundly religious, even submissive in its tone; at all events, the assertion of the supremacy, of the ultimate right of judgement in the temporal power, was very different coming from Louis of France than from Frederick II., or any of his race. Louis was almost Pope in the public mind; his piety, his munificence, his devotion to the

Crusade, in which he was again about to embark, his profound deference in general to the clergy and to the Pope himself, which had almost already arrayed him in worshipped sanctity, either allayed the jealousy of the Roman See, or made it imprudent to betray such jealousy. Hence it was that neither at the time of its publication, nor subsequently, did it provoke any counter protestation; it had already taken its place among the Ordinances of the realm, before its latent powers were discovered, denounced, condemned. Then, seized on by the Parliaments, defended, interpreted, extended by the legists, strengthened by the memorable decree of the *Appeal against abuses*, it became the barrier against which the encroachments of the ecclesiastical power were destined to break; nor was it swept away till a stronger barrier had arisen in the unlimited power of the French crown.

During this vacancy in the Pontificate, St. Louis closed his holy life in the most ignoble, and not the least disastrous of the crusades, into Africa. It was the last, except the one desperate (in some degree brilliant) struggle, which was even now about to take place under our Prince Edward, for the narrow remnant of the Holy Land. Again the beauty of the passive virtues of Louis, his death, with all the submissive quietness of a martyr, blinded mankind to his utter incompetency to conduct a great army, and to the waste of noble blood; the Saint in life assumed in the estimation of mankind the crown of martyrdom.[c] Nothing was wanting but his canonisation; and canonisation could add no reverence to the name of St. Louis.

Aug. 25, 1270. Death of St. Louis.

Year after year had passed, and still the stubborn fifteen Cardinals persisted in their feud; still Christendom was without a Pontiff; and might discover (at least the dangerous question might arise) the fatal secret that a supreme Pontiff was not necessary to Christendom. They withstood the bitter mockery of one of their brethren, the Bishop of Porto, that it were well to remove the roof of their chamber, that the Holy Ghost might

Papacy still vacant.

[c] Joinville. Tillemont has collected all the striking circumstances of the death of St. Louis.—Vol. v. p. 169.

descend upon them. The Franciscans seem to have been astonished that the virtues and learning of the pride of their order, S. Bonaventura, did not command the general homage. They fabled, at least the annalist of the Church declares it a fable, that Bonaventura would not condescend to the proffered dignity.[d] At length the Cardinals determined to delegate to six of their members the full power of the conclave.

The wisdom or felicity of their choice might, if ever, justify the belief in a superior overruling counsel.

Gregory X. It fell upon one, towards whom it is difficult to conceive how their thoughts were directed, a man neither Cardinal nor Prelate, of no higher rank than Archdeacon of Liege, and dispossessed of his Archdeaconry by the unjust jealousy of his bishop; upon one now absent in the Holy Land on a pilgrimage. Gregory X., such was the name he assumed, was of a noble house, the Visconti of Piacenza, but having early left his country, was not committed to either of the great Italian factions: he was unembarrassed with family ties; he was an Italian, but not a Roman, not therefore an object of jealousy and hatred to rival houses among that fierce baronage. He had been a canon of Lyons, but was by no means implicated with French interests. One great religious passion possessed his soul: the Holy Land, with its afflictions and disasters, its ineffaceable sanctity, had sunk into the depth of his affections; the interests of that land were his highest duties. It was to this end that Gregory X. devoted himself with all the energy of a commanding mind, or rather to a preparatory object, perhaps greater, at all events indispensable to that end. It was in order to organise a Crusade, more powerful than any former Crusade, that he aspired to pacify, that he succeeded for a time in pacifying, Western Christendom. This greatest of pontifical acts, but this alone, Gregory X. was permitted to achieve.

The reception of this comparatively obscure ecclesiastic,

Inauguration. Jan. 21, 1272. thus suddenly raised to the chair of St. Peter, might encourage his most holy hopes. He landed at Brundusium, was escorted by King Charles to

[d] Raynald. sub ann.

Capua, and from thence, passing by Rome, to Viterbo, where the Cardinals met him with reverential unanimity. He was crowned at Rome with an elaborate ceremonial, published by himself as the future code, according to which the Roman Pontiffs were to be elected, inaugurated, invested: the most minute particulars of dress were arranged, and the whole course of processional service.[e] Gregory X. took up his residence at Orvieto. March 27, 1272.

Gregory had hardly ascended the Pontifical throne, when he determined to hold a great Ecumenic Council. That it might be a Council worthy of the title, he summoned it for two years later. The pacification of Christendom was the immediate, the reconquest of the Holy Land the remote object of this great diet of Christendom. The place of the Council was debated with grave prudence. Within the Alps it was more convenient, perhaps it was more dignified for the Pope to receive the vassal hierarchy; but beyond the Alps alone was there hope of re-awakening the slumbering enthusiasm for the sepulchre of the Saviour. Lyons was the chosen city. Gregory in the meantime laboured assiduously at the great work which was to be consummated in the Council—the pacification of Christendom. Three measures were necessary: I. The extinction of the wars and feuds in Italy. II. The restoration of the Empire, in the person of a great German Prince. III. The acknowledgment of the Greek Emperor of Constantinople, and the admission of that Emperor into the league of Christian princes; with the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches. Determines on a Council.

Gregory began his work of pacification in Lombardy: he did not at once withdraw himself from the head of the Guelfic confederacy; he still asserted the power of Charles of Anjou as Vicar of the Empire; he even confirmed the

[e] The Jews were to offer, as a regular part of the ceremony, their congratulations, and to present the book of the Old Testament. The Pope was seated on the Sedes Stercoraria, emblematic of the verse in the Psalm "de stercore erigit pauperem." This is noticed on account of misapprehensions sometimes prevalent on this singular usage. See on the Sedes Stercoraria, Mabillon, Iter Italicum, p. 59.

excommunication against the Ghibelline cities, Pisa, Pavia, Verona, and the Duke of Tyrol: nor did he take up the cause of Otho Visconti, the exiled Ghibelline Archbishop of Milan, against the della Torres, who held that city.[f] But he began gradually to feel his strength. He negotiated peace between Genoa and Venice, rivals for the mastery of the sea; between Venice and Bologna, rivals for the command of the navigation of the Po. Pisa was reconciled to the Church; the archiepiscopal dignity restored to the city. In Florence, on his way to the Council, Gregory attempted to awe into peace the Guelfs and Ghibellines. The Guelfs heard this strange doctrine applied to their enemies, "They are Ghibellines, it is true, but they are citizens, men, Christians."[g] He made the two factions, both at Florence and Sienna, swear to a treaty of peace, and to the re-admission of the exiles on both sides, in his own presence and in that of Charles of Anjou, and Baldwin of Constantinople. But the hatred of Guelf and Ghibelline was too deeply rooted; Charles of Anjou openly approving the treaty, secretly contrived a rupture; the Ghibellines were menaced with assassination; the Pope paused on his journey to cast back an excommunication on the forsworn and disobedient Florence. Nor would Genoa enter into terms of reconciliation with Charles of Anjou. Yet on the whole there was at least a surface of quiet; though under the smouldering ashes lay everywhere the fires, nursing their strength, and ready to burst out again in new fury.

A.D. 1273.

Richard, Earl of Cornwall, died, having squandered his enormous wealth for the barren honour of bearing the imperial title of King of the Romans for fourteen years, and of displaying in London the splendour and majesty of his imperial pomp.[h] Notwithstanding the claim of Alfonso of Castile, who had exercised no other right than sending a few troops into Lombardy, the Pope commanded a new election. Perhaps he already

April 2, 1272.

[f] Annal. Mediolanen. Muratori, Ann. sub ann. 1272.

[g] S. Antonin. ii. tit. 20, s. 2.

[h] The Germans soon saw, according to Paris, the contempt in which England held Richard of Cornwall; and withdrew, ashamed of their Emperor. He passed as much time in England as in Germany.—Matt. Paris, pp. 953-4.

anticipated the choice of Rodolph of Hapsburg, the founder of the great house of Austria. The Pope confirmed the choice; he tried all means of soothing the pride; he used the gentlest, most courteous persuasions, but he paid no regard to the remonstrances of the King of Castile. Rodolph of Hapsburg, whose great activity and abilities had been already displayed in the internal affairs of Germany, who had commanded the suffrages of all the electors, except the hostile Ottocar, King of Bohemia,[1] was the sovereign whose accession any Pope, especially Gregory X., might hail with satisfaction. He seemed designated as the chief who might unite Christendom in the Holy War.[k] He had none of the fatal hereditary claims to possessions in Italy, or to the throne of Naples. In the north of Italy he might curb the insatiate ambition, the restless encroachments of Charles of Anjou: the Pope exacted his promise from Rodolph that he would not assail Charles in his kingdom of Sicily or in Tuscany. Gregory X. aspired to include within the pale of the great Christian confederacy, to embark in the common crusade, even a more useful ally, the Greek Emperor of Constantinople. A Greek was again Emperor of the East; Michael Palæologus ruled in Constantinople; Baldwin II., the last of the Latin emperors, was an exile in Europe. Instead of espousing his cause, or encouraging the ambition of Charles of Anjou, who had married his daughter to the heir of Baldwin, and aspired to the dominion of the East in the name of his son-in-law, Gregory embraced the wiser and bolder policy of acknowledging the title of the Greek. Palæologus consented to pay the great price of this acknowledgment, no less than submission to the Papal supremacy, and

Sept. 29, 1273.

A.D. 1272.

[1] The electors were, Wernher of Eppstein, Archbishop of Mentz; Henry of Fustingen, Archbishop of Treves; Engelbert of Falkinstein, Archbishop of Cologne; Louis, Palatine of the Rhine and Duke of Bavaria; John, Duke of Saxony; John, Margrave of Brandenburg. According to some authorities, Ottocar, King of Bohemia, declined the crown. The reader will find a fair popular account of the elevation of Rodolph of Hapsburg in Coxe's House of Austria.

[k] Rodolph was besieging the Bishop of Basle when he received the intelligence of his election. The city at once surrendered to the King of the Romans. The Bishop was furious. "Sit firm," he cried, "O Lord God, or Rodolph will occupy thy throne." "Sede fortiter, Domine Deus, vel locum Rudolfus occupabit tuum."—Albert. Argentan. p. 100.

the union of the Greek with the Latin Church.[m] Palæologus had no great reason for profound attachment to the Greek clergy. The Patriarch Arsenius, with boldness unusual in the Eastern hierarchy, had solemnly excommunicated the Emperor for his crime in cruelly blinding the young John Lascaris, in whose name he held the empire. Arsenius had been banished on a charge of treason; a new patriarch sat on the throne, but a powerful faction of the clergy were still Arsenites. On his death, they compelled the burial of the banished prelate in the sanctuary of Santa Sophia; absolution in his name alone reconciled the Emperor to God. Palæologus, though the ruling Patriarch was more submissive, might not be disinclined to admit larger authority in a more remote power, held by a Pope in Italy rather than a Patriarch in Constantinople. By every act, by bribery, intimidation, by skilfully softening off the points of difference, and urging the undoubted blessings of union, he wrung a slow consent from the leading clergy of the East: they were gradually taught to consider that the procession of the Holy Ghost, from the Father and the Son, was not a doctrine of such repulsive heterodoxy, and to admit a kind of vague supremacy in the Pope, which the Emperor assured them would not endanger their independence, as dear to him as to themselves.[n] Ambassadors arrived at Rome with splendid offerings for the altar of St. Peter, and with the treaty of union and of submission to the Roman see, signed by the Emperor, his son, thirty-five archbishops and metropolitans, with their suffragan synods. The Council of Lyons witnessed with joy this reunion—a reunion unhappily but of few years—of the Church of Basil, the

[m] Pachymer, ii. 15; iii. 1, 2; v. 10; p. 369, &c. Nicephorus Gregoras, iii. 1; iv. 1. Gibbon, edit. Milman, xi. 313, *et seq.*

[n] Pachymer complains, not without bitterness, that the Latins called the Greeks, in their contempt, "white Hagarenes." προσίσταστο γὰρ τὸ σκάνδαλον, καὶ τὸ λευκοὺς Ἀγαρηνοὺς εἶναι Γραικοὺς παρ' ἐκείνοις μεῖζον ἤριστο.—Lib. v. p. 367, edit. Bonn. The Greek clergy were secretly determined to maintain their independence, to acknowledge no primacy, and not to subject themselves to the judgement of traders and low men. I presume they thought all Italians, like the Genoese of Pera, merchants. ἀλλὰ μενοῦν καὶ αὖθις ἐν τῇ κυρίᾳ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἡγούμενοι, καθὼς καὶ ἀρχῆθεν εἶχε, καὶ μὴ παρὰ καπήλων κινδυνεύειν κρίνεσθαι καὶ βαναύσων.—p. 368. Strange collision of Greek and Roman pride! The sovereign did not like the φρέριοι, who were very busy.

Gregories, and Chrysostoms, with that of Leo and Gregory the Great.

Nothing could contrast more strongly than the first and second Councils of Lyons. The first was summoned by Innocent IV., attended by hardly one hundred and fifty prelates, to represent the whole clergy of Christendom; its aim to perpetuate a desperate war, and to commit the Empire and the Papacy in implacable hostility; its authority disclaimed by the larger part of Christendom, cordially and fully accepted by scarcely one of the great kingdoms. At the second Council of Lyons, Gregory X. took his seat at the head of five hundred bishops, seventy abbots, and at least a thousand dignified ecclesiastics. Every kingdom of the West acknowledged its ecumenic power. The King of Arragon was present; the Latin patriarchs of Constantinople and of Antioch, fourteen cardinals, ambassadors from Germany, France, England, Sicily, the Master of the Templars, with many knights of St. John. Of the two great theologic luminaries of the age, the Dominican Thomas Aquinas and the Franciscan Bonaventura, Thomas died on his way to the Council:° Bonaventura was present, preached during its sittings, but died before its dissolution. The Council of Lyons aspired to establish peace throughout Christendom; the recognition of an Emperor, elected with the full approval, under the closest bonds of union with the Pope; the re-admission of the Eastern Empire, and of the Greek Church, within the pale of Western Christendom. Such was the function of this great assembly, perhaps the first and last Council which was undisturbed by dispute, and uttered no sentence of interdict or excommunication. The declared objects for which the Council was summoned were succour to the Holy Land, the reconciliation of the Greek Church, the reformation of manners. The session

Council of Lyons.

May 7, 1274.

° Dante has given perpetuity to the charge against Charles of Anjou of having poisoned St. Thomas; adduced also by Villani, ix. 218:—

"Carlo venne in Italia, e per ammenda
Vittima fè di Corradino, e poi
Respinse al ciel Tommaso per ammenda."
Purgat. xx. 67.

Compare commentary of Benvenuto da Imola (apud Muratori). The Guelf Villani assigns as the motive the fear that St. Thomas (a Neapolitan), the oracle of Christendom, would expose his cruelty and wickedness. It is probably an invention of the profound Neapolitan hatred.

opened with great solemnity. The Pope himself officiated in the religious ceremonial, assisted by his cardinals. For the first object, the succour to the Holy Land, a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues was voted for six years. The Council, as it awaited the arrival of the Greek ambassadors, occupied itself on regulations concerning the discipline and morals of the clergy. On the 24th June arrived the ambassadors. After the edict of the Emperor of Byzantium, sealed with a golden seal, had been exhibited and read, the act for the union of the two Churches was solemnly passed; the Pope himself intoned the *Te Deum* with tears of joy; the Latin clergy chanted the creed in Latin; the Greek, those of the embassy, assisted by the Calabrese bishops, chanted it in Greek. As they came to the words, "who proceedeth from the Father and the Son," they repeated it, with more emphatic solemnity, three times. The representative of the Eastern Emperor acknowledged in ample terms (such were his secret instructions) the supremacy of St. Peter's successor.

Law of Papal Election.

Gregory X. did not permit this Council to be dissolved until he had secured the Papacy from the scandals which had preceded his own election; but to the stern law with which he endeavoured to bind the cardinals, he found strong opposition. It was only by his personal authority with each single prelate, that he extorted their irrevocable signature and seal to the statute which was to regulate the proceedings of the conclave on the death of a Pope. The statute retained to the cardinals the proud prerogative of sole election; but it ordained that only ten days after the death of the Pope, they were to be shut up, without waiting for absent members of the college, in a single chamber in the deceased Pope's palace, where they were to live in common; all access was to be strictly prohibited, as well as writing or message: each was to have but one domestic; their meals were to be received through a window too narrow to admit a man. Any communication with them was inhibited under the menace of interdict. If they agreed not in three days, their repast was to be limited, for five days, to a single dish; after that only bread and wine; so they were to be starved

into unanimity. If the Pope died out of Rome, in that city where he died was to be this imprisonment of the conclave, under the municipal magistrates, who were sworn to allow the liberty permitted by statute, but no more. All offenders against this decree, of whatever rank, were at once excommunicate, infamous, and could rise to no dignity or public office; any fief or estate they might hold of the Church of Rome, or any other Church, was forfeit. All former pacts, conventions, or agreements, were declared null and void; if under oath, the oath was abrogated, annulled. In every city in Christendom public prayers were to be offered up to God to infuse concord, speedy and wise decision, into the hearts of that venerable conclave.[p] So closed the second Council of Lyons. One act of severity alone, the degradation of Gregory's old enemy, the Bishop of Liege, appears in the annals of this Council. The Christian world was on the other hand highly edified by the appearance and solemn baptism of certain Tartars.

Gregory X., after an interview with the King of Castile at Beaucaire, whom he strove to reconcile with the loss of the Empire, and an interview with the Emperor Rodolph at Lausanne, repassed the Alps. He Oct. 18, 1275. was received with deserved honours; only into excommunicated Florence—excommunicated, no one could deny, with perfect Christian justice—the peaceful prelate refused to enter. The world was anxiously awaiting the issue of these sage and holy counsels; the pontificate of peace, peace only to be broken by the discomfiture of the infidels in the East, was expanding, it was to be hoped, into many happy and glorious years. Suddenly Gregory sickened on his road to Arezzo; he died, and with him broke Jan. 10, 1276. up the whole confederation of Christendom. The world again, from the conclave to the remotest limits not of Europe alone, but of Christianity, became one vast feud. With Gregory X. expired the Crusades; Christianity lost this principle of union, the Pope this principle of command, this title to the exaction of tribute from the vassal world. From this time he began to sink into an Italian prince, or into the servant of one of the great monarchies

[p] Mansi et Labbe, sub ann.

of Europe. The last convulsive effort of the Popedom for the dominion of the world, under Boniface VIII., ended in the disastrous death of that Pope; the captivity of the Papacy at Avignon.

Rapid succession of Popes.

After the death of Gregory X., in hardly more than three years three successive Popes rose and passed like shadows over the throne of St. Peter, and a fourth commenced his short reign. The popular superstition and the popular hatred, which, unallayed by the short-lived dignity, holiness, and wisdom of Gregory X., lay so deep in the public mind, beheld in these deaths which followed each other in such darkening rapidity, either the judicial hand of God or the crime of man. The Popes were no sooner proclaimed than dead, either, it was believed, smitten for men's sins or their own, or cut off by poison.[q] The first of these, Peter of Tarantaise (Innocent V.), was elected in January, took up his residence in Rome, and died in June. Ottobuoni Fieschi, the nephew of Innocent IV., answered his kindred, who crowded around him with congratulations on his election, "Would that ye came to a cardinal in good health, not to a dying Pope." He just lived to take the name of Hadrian V., to release his native Genoa from interdict, and to suspend with his dying breath the constitution of Gregory X. concerning the Conclave. He was not crowned, consecrated, or even ordained priest. Hadrian V. died at Viterbo.

Innocent V. 1276.

Hadrian V. Elected July 9, died Aug. 18.

The immediate choice of the cardinals now fell on Pedro Juliani, a Portuguese, the Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum. Though the cardinals had already obtained from the dying Hadrian the suspension of the severely restrictive edict of Gregory X. concerning the Conclave, the edict was popular abroad. There were many, and among them prelates who declared that, excepting under that statute, and in conformity with its regulations, the cardinals had no right to the sole election of the Pope.[r] There was a great uproar in Viterbo, insti-

John XXI.

[q] "Papæ quatuor mortui, duo divino judicio, et duo veneno exhausti."—Chronic. Foro Livien. Muratori, S. I. xxii.

[r] "In tantam prorupere temeritatis insaniam, ut in dubium auctoritatem et jurisdictionem collegii ejusdem Ecclesiæ revocarent, et de illis in derogationem ipsarum disputantes utilibet, enervare immo et evacuare pro viribus niterentur

gated by these prelates. The Archbishop of Corinth, with some other ecclesiastics who were sent forth to read the suspension of the edict by Hadrian V., confirmed by John XXI., the new Pope, was maltreated; yet, even if the ceremonial was not rigidly observed, there had been the utmost speed in the election of John XXI. The Pope was a man of letters, and even of science; he had published some mathematical treatises which excited the astonishment and therefore the suspicion of his age. He was a Churchman of easy access, conversed freely with humbler men, if men of letters, and was therefore accused of lowering the dignity of the Pontificate. He was perhaps hasty and unguarded in his language, but he had a more inexpiable fault. He had no love for monks or friars: it was supposed that he meditated some severe coercive edicts on these brotherhoods. Hence his death (he was crushed by the falling of the roof, in a noble chamber which he had built in the palace of Viterbo) was foreshown by gloomy prodigies, and held either to be a divine judgement, or a direct act of the Evil One. John XXI. was contemplating with too great pride the work of his own hands, and burst out into laughter; at that instant the avenging roof came down on his head. Two visions revealed to different holy men the Evil One hewing down the supports, and so overwhelming the reprobate Pontiff. He was said by others to have been, at the moment of his death, in the act of writing a book full of the most deadly heresies, or practising the arts of magic.[8] May 15 (?) 20? 1277.

For six weeks, the cardinals, released from the coercive statute, met in conclave without coming to any conclusion. At length the election fell on John Gaetano, of the noble Roman house, the Orsini, a man of remarkable beauty of person and demeanour. His name, "the Accomplished," implied that in him met all the graces of the handsomest clerks in the world; but he was a man likewise of irreproachable morals, of vast ambition, and of great ability. This age of short-lived Popes was the age of magnificent designs as short-lived as Nov. 25, 1277. Nicolas III. il comperto.

manibus argumentis."—Rescript. Joann. XXI., apud Raynald. 1276.

[8] Ptolem. Luc. xxvi. Nangis, however, says that he died "perceptis omnibus sacramentis ecclesiasticis."—Subann. 1277. Siffred. in Chronic.

their authors. The nobler, more comprehensive, more disinterested scheme of Gregory X. had sunk into nothing at his death; that of Nicolas III. had deeper root, but came not to maturity during his reign, or in his line. An Italian, a Roman, was again upon the throne of St. Peter. The Orsini at first took up his residence at Rome. He built a splendid palace, the Vatican, near St. Peter's, with gardens around, and fortified with a strong wall.[u] He repaired, enlarged, and strengthened the Lateran Palace. Unlike his rash predecessor, he was a friend to the great Monastic orders: he knew how completely the Preachers and other Mendicants still, notwithstanding the hatred of the clergy, now they had taken possession of the high places of theology, ruled the public mind. To Thomas of Aquinas and S. Bonaventura the world looked up as to its guiding lights; nor had they lost their power over the popular passions.

Nicolas III. did not in any degree relax the Papal superintendence over Christendom to its extreme limits: he is interfering in the affairs of Poland and Hungary, mediating in the wars between France and Spain, watching over the crumbling wreck of the Christian possessions in the Holy Land. In the East he not merely held the justly alarmed Emperor, Michael Palæologus, to his plighted fidelity and allegiance, but insisted on the more ample recognition of the Papal supremacy.[x] He demanded that a solemn oath of subordination should be taken by the Patriarch and the clergy. To the prudent request of the Emperor, that the obnoxious words which asserted the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, should not be forced at once into the creed, he returned a haughty reply that no indulgence could be granted, though some toleration might be conceded for a time on the other points in which the Greek differed from the Roman ritual. He even required that the Greek Church should humbly seek absolution for the sin of their long schism. A strong

[u] Bunsen und Platner, Roms Beschreibung, ii. p. 231.

[x] Raynald. sub ann. 1279, 80. Pachymer (vi. 10, p. 461) calls the Pope νεβανος. The Jesuit Possin, Chronol. in Pachymerum, conjectures Ουρσινος, the Orsini—perhaps a blunder of the Greeks. The whole long intrigue may be traced through two or three books of Pachymer.

faction broke out in the Empire, in Constantinople, in the Court, in the family of the Emperor. They branded the Pope, the Patriarch, the Emperor, as heretics. Palæologus became that most odious of persecutors, a persecutor without the excuse of religious bigotry; confiscation, scourging, mutilation, punished the refractory assertors of the independence of the Greek Church. The Pope's Legates were gratified by the sight of four princes of the blood confined in a loathsome prison. But discontent led to insurrection. The Prince of Trebisond, who had always retained the title of Emperor, espoused the cause of Greek orthodoxy. His generals betrayed the unhappy Palæologus; his family, especially his nieces, intrigued against him. He hesitated; for his hesitation he was excommunicated at Rome by Martin IV., the slave of his enemy, Charles of Anjou. On his death the Greeks with one consent threw off the yoke; the churches were purified from the infection of the Latin rites; the creed resumed its old form; Andronicus, the son of Palæologus, refused burial to his schismatic father.[y] Return of the Greek Church to independence.

But Italy was the scene of the great achievements, it was to be that of the still greater designs, of Nicolas III. The Emperor Rodolph was not yet so firmly seated on his throne (he was involved in a perilous war with Ottocar of Bohemia) as to disdain the aid of the Roman Pontiff. He could not but look to the resumption at least of some imperial rights in Lombardy; if the Pope should maintain the cause of Charles of Anjou, Italy was entirely lost. From the magnificence, the policy, or the fears of Rodolph, the Pope extorted the absolute cession to the Roman See, not only of Romagna, but of the exarchate of Ravenna. The Chancellor of the Emperor had exacted an oath of allegiance from the cities of Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forlì, Cesena, Ravenna, Rimini, Urbino, and some other towns. Rodolph disclaimed the acts of his Chancellor, recognised the donation of the Emperor Louis, and made a new donation, in his own name, of the whole territory from Radicofani to Ceperano, the March May 29, 1278.

[y] Raynald. 1279, ii.

of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, the county of Bertinoro, the lands of the Countess Matilda, the exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, Ferrara, Comachio, Montefeltro, and Massa Trabaria, absolutely; and with all his full rights to the See of St. Peter. The Pope obtained a confirmatory acknowledgment of his sovereignty, as well as over Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, from the great electors of the Empire.[z] This document is signed by the Archbishop of Salzburg and other prelates, by the Chancellor of the Empire, by Albert the eldest, and Hartman the second son of the Emperor, by many of the nobles with their own hand, by some with that of their notaries.[a] This cession Nicolas determined should not be, as it had heretofore been, an idle form in the officers of the Empire; and the Legates of the Pope presented themselves at the gates of the greater cities, demanding the acknowledgment of the Papal sovereignty. The independent principalities, the republics which had grown up in these territories, made no resistance; they were released from their oath to the Emperor, and took the oath to the Pope; even Bologna submitted on certain terms. The Pope was actual ruling sovereign of the whole of the dominions to which the Papal See had advanced its pretensions.[b] The extent of this sovereignty was still vague and undefined: the princes maintained their principalities, the republics their municipal institutions and self-government. They admitted no rulers appointed by the Pope; his power of levying taxes was certainly not unrestricted, nor the popular rule absolutely abrogated. Thus strong in the manifest favour of the Emperor Rodolph, Nicolas III. made a great merit to Charles of Anjou that he had stipulated that the Emperor should abstain from all warlike operations against Charles. The ambitious Frenchman overawed, quietly allowed himself to be despoiled first of his vicariate of Tuscany, and then of his senatorship of Rome. Charles humbly entreated that he might not suffer the indignity of surrendering that

Feb. 14, 1279.

Sept. 16 in the following year.

[z] Raynald. p. 473.

[a] Boehmer observes of this document, that the two sons of the Emperor could write; the Burgrave of Nuremburg and the Archbishop of Salzburg! could not.—Regesta, p. 98.

[b] "Ma quello, che i cherici prendono, tardi sanno rendere."—Villani, vii. 53.

office, which, on the expulsion of Henry of Castile, had been regranted to him for ten years by Pope Clement IV., before the expiration of that term, now almost elapsed. Nicolas condescended to grant his humble petition; but on the abdication of Charles he passed a rigorous edict that the senatorship from that time should never be held by emperor, king, prince, marquis, duke, count, or baron, or any man of great rank or power, or even by their brother, son, or grandson; no one could hold it for above a year; no one without special licence of the Apostolic See.[c] This hostility to Charles may have been the deliberate policy of the Pope: it was said that the Pope had demanded the niece of Charles in marriage for his nephew; Charles contemptuously answered, the Pope was no hereditary prince; and that notwithstanding the red shoes he wore, he must not presume to mix his blood with that of kings.[d] There can be no doubt that Charles had used his influence in the conclave to oppose the elevation of the Roman Orsini. Schemes of Charles of Anjou.

Charles retired to his dominions to brood over revenge, to meditate a league against the Eastern Empire which was to compensate for his losses in the West. The Popes had taken the reconciled Greeks, the submissive Palæologus (the fear of Charles had been a chief motive for the religious tractableness of the Greeks[e]), under their protection. Gregory X. had refused to sanction or to consecrate the banner which Charles was prepared to unfold in the name of the Latin Philip; Charles had been seen to gnaw his ivory sceptre in wrath, in the antechamber of the Pope, at this desertion of what he asserted to be the cause of legitimate right and orthodox belief.[f] Charles was now negotiating with the Latins of the Eastern Empire and the republic of Venice to take arms and replace the son of Baldwin on the throne of Constantinople. Even in Sicily Charles of Anjou was not absolutely secure: the Pope was understood to entertain secret relations with the enemies of the French rule.

[c] Nicolai III., Regesta. Raynald. sub ann.

[d] Ricordano Malespina, 204. Villani, vii. 53.

[e] This appears throughout the Byzantine accounts.

[f] Pachymer, v. 26, p. 410.

But Nicolas III. had ulterior schemes, which seem to foreshow and anticipate the magnificent designs of later nepotism. Already, under pretence of heresy, he had confiscated the castles of some of the nobles of Romagna, that particularly of Suriano, and invested his nephews with them. The castle of St. Angelo, separated from the Church, was granted to his nephew Orso. His kinsmen were by various means elected the Podestàs of many cities. Three of his brethren, four more of his kindred, had been advanced to the Cardinalate. Bertoldo Orsini, his brother, was created Count of Romagna. His favourite nephew, by his sister's side, Latino Malebranca (a Brancaleone), the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, a powerful preacher, had great success in allaying the feuds in many of the cities,[g] even in Bologna wearied by the long strife of the Lambertazzi and the Gerromei; wherever the Cardinal established peace, the Count of Romagna assumed authority. Himself he had declared perpetual Senator of Rome. His nephew Orso was his vicar in this great office. But these were but the first steps to the throne which Nicolas III. aspired to raise for the house of Orsini. It was believed that he had laid before the Emperor Rodolph a plan by which the Empire was to become hereditary in his house, the kingdom of Vienna was to be in Charles Martel, nephew of Charles of Anjou, the son-in-law of the Emperor. Italy was to be divided into the two kingdoms of Insubria and Tuscany, besides that of Sicily; and on these thrones were to be placed two of the house of Orsini.[h]

Nepotism of Nicolas III.

A sudden fit of apoplexy at his castle of Soriano cut short all these splendid designs.[i] From this favourite residence he had dated his Bulls, a practice which had given great offence. The Pope was, as it were, merging himself in the stately Italian sovereign.

Aug. 22, 1280. Death of Nicolas III.

Charles of Anjou heard with the utmost joy the unex-

[g] Villani, ii. c. 55. Villani calls Bertoldo Orsini nepote of Nicolas III.

[h] Muratori, Annal. sub ann. 1280, with authorities.

[i] Nicolas is in Dante's hell for his unmeasured nepotism:—

"Sappi che io fui vestito del gran manto;
E veramente fui figliuol del Orsa,
Cupido si per avanzar l' Orsatti,
Che su l' havere, e qui mi misi in borsa."
Inferno, xix. 66.

"Però ti sta; chè tu sei ben punito,
E guarda ben la mal tolta moneta,
Ch' esser ti fece contra Carlo ardito."—95.

pected tidings of the death of his enemy Nicolas III. He instantly took measures to secure himself against the calamity of a second hostile Pope, to wrest the Pontificate from the aspiring family of the Orsini, and form an independent Italian interest.[k] The family of the Annibaldeschi rivalled that of the Orsini in wealth and power. There was a rising in Rome; the divided people had recourse to the vain step for the preservation of peace, the creation of two Senators, one out of each of the rival houses. This, as might have been expected, increased the confusion; Rome became a scene of strife, murder, anarchy. But Viterbo, where the conclave of Cardinals was assembled, was even of more importance, an Annibaldeschi was Lord of that city.[m] The people of Viterbo were won, by force or bribery, to the party of Charles. The constitution of Gregory X. was utterly forgotten; the conclave prolonged its sittings. The Pope had crowded the college with Orsinis and their dependants. The Viterbans surrounded the chamber; they accused the Orsini Cardinals as disturbing or arresting the freedom of election, dragged forth two of them, and cast them into prison. With them they seized and incarcerated Malebranca the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia: the rest were kept on the statutable bread and water; the French Cardinals, it was said, were furtively provided with better viands. Yet the strife endured for nearly six months before the stubborn conclave would yield to the election of the Cardinal of Santa Cecilia, a Frenchman, the slave and passive instrument of Charles of Anjou.

The conclave at Viterbo.

Feb. 22, 1281. Latino.

Martin IV. was born at Mont Pencè in Brie; he had been Canon of Tours. He put on at first the show of maintaining the lofty character of the Churchman. He excommunicated the Viterbans for their sacrilegious maltreatment of the Cardinals; Rinaldo Annibaldeschi, the Lord of Viterbo, was compelled to ask pardon on his knees of the Cardinal Rosso, and forgiven only at the intervention of the Pope.[n] Martin IV. retired to Orvieto.

Martin IV.

[k] Villani, vii. c. 57. [m] Muratori, sub ann. 1281.
[n] Ptolem. Luc. xxiv. 2.

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But the Frenchman soon began to predominate over the Pontiff; he sunk into the vassal of Charles of Anjou. The great policy of his predecessor, to assuage the feuds of Guelf and Ghibelline, was an Italian policy; it was altogether abandoned. The Ghibellines in every city were menaced or smitten with excommunication; the Lambertazzi were driven from Bologna. Forlì was placed under interdict for harbouring the exiles; the goods of the citizens were confiscated for the benefit of the Pope. Bertoldo Orsini was deposed from the Countship of Romagna; the office was bestowed on John of Appia, with instructions everywhere to coerce or to chastise the refractory Ghibellines.[o] The Pope himself was elected Senator of Rome, in defiance of the decree of Nicolas III.; Charles of Anjou was his vice-gerent. Nor did excommunication confine itself to Italy; Charles was now in a state to carry on his league for the subjugation of the Eastern Empire, in conjunction with the exiled Latin Sovereign and the Venetian republic. Palæologus, who had surrendered the liberties of the Greek Church to the supremacy of Rome, who, at the command of the Pope, had persecuted, had provoked his subjects, his kindred to rebellion, had raised up a rival Greek Patriarch to contest Constantinople, who had been denounced as worse than a heretic, as an apostate, was now, because something was yet thought wanting to his base compliance, or rather because he maintained his throne in defiance of Charles of Anjou, solemnly excommunicated by Martin IV.[p] The last hope of union between the Churches was thus cut away by the Pope's suicidal hand; Palæologus died repudiated as a renegade by his own Church, under the interdict of the Church of Rome. His son Andronicus, as has been said, dissolved the inauspicious alliance; and the Churches were again for above two centuries in implacable oppugnancy.

Charles of Anjou, with the Pope as his obsequious minister, might seem re-instated in more than his former

[o] "Che votò l' erario delle smuniche per fulminar tutti i Ghibellini, e chiunque era nemico o poco amico del medesimo Re Carlo." So writes the calm Muratori, p. 185.

[p] This passionate and partial excommunication shocked his own age. From the date of this act, writes Ptolemy of Lucca, all went wrong with Charles and with the Church. See back, p. 97.

plenitude of power; he resided with the Pope at Orvieto, as it were to dictate his counsels. Though Martin did not yet venture to dispossess the Emperor Rodolph of the Vicariate of Tuscany, Charles might have been justified in the noblest hopes of his ambition in Italy, but he was looking with more wide-grasping predilection to the East. Under the pretext of a Crusade to the Holy Land, he was aspiring to add Constantinople to his realm.

CHAPTER V.

SICILIAN VESPERS.

But a mine had long been working under his throne, which in the next year burst with all the suddenness and terror of one of his kingdom's volcanoes. While he contemplated the sovereignty of the East, Sicily was lost to his house. Around one man has gathered all the glory of this signal revolution; John of Procida has been handed down as almost the sole author of the expulsion of the French, and the translation of the crown of Sicily to the house of Arragon: Peter of Arragon, the Emperor Palæologus, Nicolas III., the revolted Barons of Sicily were but instruments wielded by his strong will, brought into close alliance through negotiations conducted by him alone; excited, sustained, guided by his ubiquitous presence. Even the Vespers of Palermo were attributed to his secret instigation: John of Procida perhaps achieved not all which is ascribed to him alone; in the vast system of secret agency he was not the sole mover; much which was traced to his suggestion arose out of the natural passions, the resentment, revenge, ambition, interest, patriotism, love of power and glory in those who conspired to this memorable work. A fatal revelation, but too trustworthy, shows John of Procida in his early career (he had been already physician to Frederick II. and to Conrad, and confidential counsellor of Manfred) as basely abandoning the cause of the fallen Manfred, crouching at the feet of the Pope at Viterbo, protesting that he had only bowed beneath the storm of Manfred's tyranny; he was commended to the mercy of Charles of Anjou by the Pope, as his beloved son, as the future faithful servant of King Charles. How far he was admitted to favour appears not, but three years after he is involved in a charge of high treason, and flies

Discontent of Sicily.

John of Procida.

from Naples. But however base instead of noble, revenge, disappointed treachery and ambition are hardly less strong and obstinate motives to action than generous indignation at tyranny, and holy love of country.[a]

In all the conspiracy, a conspiracy of thoughts, feelings, passions, if not of compacts and treaties, the most fatal to Charles was the insupportable, unexampled, acknowledged tyranny of the French dominion.[b] Sicily had groaned and bled under the cruel despotism of the Emperor Henry; the German rudeness aggravated the harshness of his rule. Frederick II., as also his son, had been severe, though just; if his fiscal regulations were oppressive, they were repaid by the brilliancy of his court, by his wise laws, by noble foundations, by the national pride in beholding Naples and Sicily the most civilised kingdom in the world. Charles and his French and Provençal nobles, with the haughtiness and cruelty of foreign rulers, indulged without restraint those outrages which gall to madness. Charles from the first treated the realm as a conquered land; after the insurrection in favour of Conradin, as a revolted kingdom. The insurgents, or reputed insurgents, were hunted down, torn from their families: happy if only put to a violent death;[c] to the exactions of Charles there were no limits. The great fiefs seized, confiscated on the slightest suspicion of disaffection, were granted to French nobles; the foreign soldiers lived at free quarters; they were executioners commissioned to punish a rebellious race; to all complaints of cruelty, outrage, extortion, Charles replied with a haughty scoff, as though it were fit treatment for the impious rebels against himself and the Pope. The laws, severe enough before, were aggravated by still more sanguinary enactments, and by their execution with refined mercilessness. But there were worse cruelties than these; those women only were safe who, being heiresses, were compelled to marry French nobles; of these there was a regular register; of all others the honour was at the

Tyranny of the French.

[a] See the document among the Pièces justificatives in Cherrier, iv. 524, from a copy in the Royal Library at Paris. Compare Amari's preface and document first edit. iv., Florence, 1851; St. Priest, Histoire de la Conquête de Naples, Paris, 1847.

[b] "Sub tyrannicæ turbine tempestatis."

[c] Amari, c. iii., for a full account of these horrors, with his authorities.

mercy of those who in this respect knew no mercy: there was no redress, no pity; it might seem as if Sicilian women were thought honoured by being defiled by French and Provençal brutality.[d] Over this tyranny, which himself had inflicted on this beautiful land, Clement IV. had groaned in bitter remorse. Charles in his impartial rapacity spared not the property of the Church; if in his cruelty he respected the sacred persons of ecclesiastics, he taxed even the Templars and Knights of St. John. The Pope had sent remonstrances, embassies, to warn, to threaten, but in vain.[e] He had entreated the intervention of the holy Louis. Gregory X. menaced that for the tyrannies of the same kind which Charles exercised in Tuscany the wrath of God would fall on such a tyrant. "I know not," answered Charles, "what that word tyrant means; this I know, that so far I have been protected by God; I doubt not that he will still protect me." The Archbishop of Capua denounced him at the Council of Lyons; he laughed to scorn the complaints of the Prelates, the Legates of the Council, the letters of the Pope to Philip of France. In Sicily all the abuses of the government were felt in their extreme weight: Naples was the residence of the court, and derived some glory or advantage from its splendour; Palermo sank to a provincial town, Sicily to a province. The Parliament had fallen into desuetude; it was an iron reign of force without justice, without law, without humanity, without mercy, without regard to morality, without consideration of any one of the rights, or of the interests or the welfare of mankind.

House of Arragon.

The race of Sicily's old kings was not utterly extinct. In Constance, the daughter of Manfred, the wife of Peter of Arragon, lingered the last drops of Swabian blood: it was said that on the scaffold Conradin had cast down his glove, to be borne to the King of Arragon, as the heir of his rights, the avenger of his death. To the court of the King of Arragon had fled those

[d] See these enactments, quoted in Amari. On the forced marriages, p. 61. His fourth chapter we read with a revulsive shudder; and would fain disbelieve; but the industry of Amari has been too searching, his facts and documents are too strong even for charitable palliation.

[e] See two letters especially, in Raynaldus, 1267; also in Martene and Durand, Thes. Nov. Anecd. ii. 530, 537, &c.

Sicilians of the Swabian party who had the good fortune to become exiles — among these three of great name, Roger Loria, Conrad Lancia, John of Procida. John of Procida was an exile soon after the failure and death of Conradin. His hatred to the French is said to have been deepened by the worst outrage, perpetrated on his wife and his daughter. Existing grants to his wife Landolfina intimate that she was under the protection of some powerful influence, not improbably of a French paramour.[f] John of Procida was born at Salerno; though a noble, he was profoundly skilled, as in other learning, in the science of his native city, that of medicine. He rose in the favour of Peter of Arragon, became his bosom counsellor, was endowed with lands; the lands of Luxen, Benezzano, and Palma, in the kingdom of Valencia; he was a Valencian noble.[g]

Peter of Arragon. Peter of Arragon, with his court and his confidential council, thus occupied by Sicilian exiles, who were constantly urging upon him the odious tyranny of Charles the usurper, and the discontent, disaffection, despair of the Sicilians; with his Queen not likely to forget her own hereditary claims, or the wrongs of her noble father Manfred and his ancient house; lord but of his own narrow kingdom hardly won from the Moors, and held, as it were, in a joint sovereignty with his Nobles, was not likely to avert his eyes from the prospect of a greater monarchy which expanded before him. He had made treaties of peace with the rival Kings his neighbours, a treaty for five years with the King of Granada, a league with Castile; and over King Sancho of Castile he held the menace of letting loose the two young princes, nearer to the throne than Sancho, and resident at the court of Arragon.[h] He kept up friendly relations with Philip of France, the husband of his sister; he even made advances to Charles of Anjou; there was a proposal of marriage between his son and the daughter of Charles. Peter was embarked in suspicious negotiations with the Saracens in Tunis.[i] At the

[f] Amari, note, p. 82.
[g] See Amari's note, p. 83.
[h] Montaner, c. 40, 45; in Buchon, Collection des Mémoires, D'Esclot, c. 76.
[i] Amari, p. 86, with his notes.

same time he was making great preparations for war; in his arsenals in Valencia, Tortosa, and Barcelona was gathering a powerful fleet; his subjects granted subsidies; provisions, stores, arms, accoutrements of war were accumulated as for some momentous design. How far John of Procida instigated these designs, or only encouraged the profound ambition of the King for dominion, of the Queen for revenge for her injured house, none can know: nor how far Procida acted from his own intense patriotism or revenge, or but as an instrument in the hand of others.

John of Procida.

There can be no doubt that there was a secret understanding, that there was direct communication between the enemies of Charles, the Emperor of the East, Pope Nicolas III., the King of Arragon, perhaps the Sicilian nobles, Alaimo da Lentini and his colleagues: Procida may have been, no doubt was, one of the chief of those agents;[k] if not actually commissioned, tacitly recognised. He was once, if not twice, at the court of Constantinople. There he needed not to rouse the fears and jealousy of Paleologus; the designs of Charles against the Eastern Empire were, if not avowed, but half disguised. Charles was the open ally of Philip, the Latin claimant of the Empire. Paleologus might well enter into correspondence, or admit to a secret interview, the bosom counsellor of King Peter of Arragon. To Procida Paleologus may have entrusted his secret offers of large sums of money for the Pope, the hundred thousand byzantines, not to detach him from the interests of Charles of Anjou, against whom he had already taken hostile measures, but to enable him to defy the power of the Angevine.[m] Procida, according to the common account—an account contradicted only by the silence of other writers—left Constantinople, pretending to be driven away by the Em-

[k] Amari is inclined to treat as romance this primary organisation of the whole confederacy by John of Procida; his ubiquitous agency; his disguises; especially his frequent intercourse with the Sicilian nobles. But there seems a great difficulty as to the growth of this romance, and this elevation of Procida into the sole hero of the war, and the great deliverer, after his apostacy from the cause of Arragon, and after he had incurred the hatred of the Arragonese party.

[m] "E guarda ben la mal tolta moneta,
Ch' esser ti fece contra Carlo urdito."
Dante, *Inf.* xix. 98.
Amari's new interpretation of this verse is to me quite unsatisfactory.

peror; he disguised himself as a Mendicant Friar, reached Malta, landed in Sicily, had frequent interviews with the disaffected nobles, Walter of Caltagirone, Palmerio Abbate, Alaimo da Lentini. From them he obtained an invitation to Peter of Arragon to advance his claims to the inheritance of his wife. In the friar's garb he made his way to Nicolas III. in Soriano, revealed himself to the Holy Father, explained the extent, the success of his negotiations; laid the treasures of Paleologus at his feet. Nicolas consented to recognise the claims of Peter of Arragon, and by letters of the most profound secrecy promised him the investiture of the realm. Procida appeared at Barcelona with these animating tidings to rekindle the somewhat slumbering ambition of the King. The warlike preparations were urged with greater activity. Procida set forth on a second mission: he landed at Pisa; at Viterbo he saw the Pope; at Trapani conferred with the Sicilian nobles; passed to Negropont undiscovered, reached Constantinople. He was welcomed by the Emperor; negotiations were commenced for an alliance by marriage between the courts of Arragon and Constantinople. Accardo, a Lombard knight, was secretly despatched by the Emperor to the court of Peter with thirty thousand ounces of gold. Procida embarked on board a ship of Pisa, Accardo was concealed in the ship. At Malta they met the Sicilian conspirators, with the news of the death of Nicolas III. The Sicilians would have abandoned the hopeless enterprise; Procida reinvigorated them by the introduction of Accardo, and the sight of the Byzantine gold. All Procida's eloquence, all his ability, it is said, but very improbably, was needed to dissuade the King of Arragon from the abandonment of the hopeless enterprise. Again the plan was fully organised; the manner, the time of the insurrection arranged.[n]

It is certain that the warlike preparations of the King of Arragon had not escaped the jealous observation of Charles of Anjou; he could not but know the claims, the wrongs, of the Queen of Peter of Arragon; the stern,

[n] The sons of Manfred were living, but in prison, from whence they never came forth.

reserved, ambitious character of Peter; perhaps he had obtained some clue to the great league which was secretly forming against him. The vague rumours industriously propagated of designs against the Saracens of Africa by Peter of Arragon, however at other times they might have justified vast and secret armaments, could not blind the Angevine's keen apprehensions. Charles had himself demanded explanations. Among the first acts of Martin IV. was to require, through Philip of France, and from Peter himself directly, the scope and object of these menacing preparations: if they were against the infidels, he offered his sanction, his prayers, his contributions. Peter baffled his inquiries with his dexterous but inflexible reply. He implored the prayers of the Pope on his design; "but if he thought his right hand knew his secret, he would cut it off, lest it should betray it to his left."

Charles, on his part, had been making great preparations; he had a large fleet in the ports of Sicily and Naples; a powerful land force was assembled for embarkation. He had increased the burthens of the kingdom to provide this army, compelled the Sicilian nobles to furnish vessels; and he was as little disposed to disclose his own secret objects as the King of Arragon. The ostensible object was the deliverance of the Holy Land; the immediate one the subjugation of the Greek Empire. These forces were still in the garrisons and towns of Sicily. Forty-two castles had been built, either in the strongest positions, or to command the great cities, and were held by French feudatories. They were provided with arms, and could summon at an instant's notice all their French sub-feudatories, or the Sicilians on whom they could depend for aid. Heribert of Orleans, the King's Lieutenant, was in Messina; in Palermo, John di San Remi, the Justiciary of the Val di Mazzara.

Sicilian Vespers.

At this juncture the crisis was precipitated by one of those events which no sagacity could have foreseen,[o] which all the ubiquitous activity ascribed to John of Procida could not have devised—an outburst of

[o] Amari, c. v. p. 89. "Da trame coi Ghibellini e con alcuni Baroni di Napoli o di Sicilia, non si possono ormai revocare in dubbio. Falsa è che la pratica, si strettamente condotta, fosse a punto riuscita a produrre lo scoppio del Vespro." I fully subscribe to this latter clause.

popular fury excited by one of those acts of insulting tyranny which goad an oppressed people to madness. The insurrection of Palermo received the darkly famous name of the "Sicilian Vespers."

The Sicilians still crowded to their religious festivals with all the gaiety and light-heartedness of a southern people. Even their churches, where they assembled for the worship of that God whose representative on earth had handed them over to their ruthless tyrant, where alone they found consolation under the grinding tyranny, were not secure against the all-present agents of that tyranny. The officers of the revenue watched the doors of those churches: as all who had not paid their taxes went in or came forth, even from within the sanctuary itself they dragged off their miserable victims, whom they branded with the name of heretics—"Pay, ye Paterins, pay!"

It was at a festival on Easter Tuesday that a multitude of the inhabitants of Palermo and the neighbourhood had thronged to a church, about half a mile out of the town, dedicated to the Holy Ghost. The religious service was over, the merriment began; tables were spread, the amusements of all sorts, games, dances under the trees, were going gaily on; when the harmony was suddenly interrupted, and the joyousness chilled by the appearance of a body of French soldiery, under the pretext of keeping the peace. The French mingled familiarly with the people, paid court, not in the most respectful manner, to the women; the young men made sullen remonstrances, and told them to go their way. The Frenchmen began to draw together. "These rebellious Paterins must have arms, or they would not venture on such insolence." They began to search some of them for arms. The two parties were already glaring at each other in angry hostility. At that moment the beautiful daughter of Roger Mastrangelo, a maiden of exquisite loveliness and modesty, with her bridegroom, approached the church. A Frenchman named Drouet, either in wantonness or insult, came up to her, and under the pretence of searching for arms, thrust his hand into her bosom. The girl fainted in her bridegroom's arms. He uttered in his agony the

March 31.

fatal cry, "Death to the French!" A youth rushed forward, stabbed Drouet to the heart with his own sword, was himself struck down. The cry, the shriek, ran through the crowd, "Death to the French!" Many Sicilians fell; but of two hundred on the spot, not one Frenchman escaped. The cry spread to the city: Mastrangelo took the lead; every house was stormed; every hole and corner searched; their dress, their speech, their persons, their manners, denounced the French. The palace was forced; the Justiciary, being luckily wounded in the face, and rolled in the dust, and so undetected, mounted a horse, and fled with two followers. Two thousand French were slain. They denied them decent burial, heaped them together in a great pit. The horrors of the scene were indescribable: the insurgents broke into the convents, the churches. The friars, especial objects of hatred, were massacred; they slew the French monks, the French priests. Neither old age, nor sex, nor infancy, was spared; it is a charge more than once repeated in the Papal acts, that they ripped up Sicilian women who were pregnant by Frenchmen, in order to exterminate the hated brood. A government was hastily formed; Roger Mastrangelo, Arrigo Barresi, Niccoloso d'Ortoleva (knights), with Niccolo de Ebdemonia, were summoned by acclamation to be Captains of the people. They then proclaimed the "Good estate and liberty," unfolded the banner of the city, an eagle on a field of gold; the keys of the Church were still quartered upon it.[p]

Insurrection general.

The Justiciary was pursued to Vicari, thirty miles distant; the people rose at the cry of "Death to the French!" The garrison at first refused to capitulate, and to be sent safe to Provence; it was now too late, the Justiciary was shot down by a random arrow, every Frenchman massacred. Sicily was everywhere in arms; Corleone first followed the example of Palermo. Everywhere the French were hunted down and murdered. One man alone was spared. William Porcelet, Governor of Calatafimi, who had ruled with justice and humanity, was, by common consent, sent safe on board ship by

[p] Muoian le Francese. In this account I am quite with Amari against Mon. de St. Priest, who cannot forget to be a Frenchman.—See Amari's authorities, p. 103, and Appendix.

the Palermitans, and returned to Provence. In Messina was the strength of the French force, under the Viceroy, Heribert of Orleans. Messina rose. Heribert was compelled to submit to terms; he swore to transport himself and all his soldiers to Aigues Mortes, in Provence. He broke his oath, and landed in Calabria; the Messinese revenged his perjury on every Frenchman who was left behind. In one month, that of April, Sicily was free; the French had disappeared.

Such was the revolution which bears in history the appalling name of the Sicilian Vespers, sudden, popular, reckless, sanguinary, so as to appear the unpremeditated explosion of a people goaded to phrenzy by intolerable oppression; yet general, simultaneous, orderly, so as to imply, if not some previous organisation, some slow and secret preparation of the public mind. John of Procida, the barons in league with John of Procida, appear not during the first outburst; the fleets of Peter of Arragon are yet within their harbours. The towns take the lead; they assert their own independence, and form a league for mutual defence. Acts are dated as under the rule of the Church and the Republic. The Church is everywhere respected; it might seem as if the Sicilians supposed Nicolas III. still on the Pontifical throne, or that they would not believe that the Pope was so servile an adherent of the Angevine. They were soon disabused. When Charles first heard of the revolt, of the total loss of Sicily, and the massacre of at least two thousand Frenchmen, he lifted his eyes to Heaven in devout prayer: "O Lord God, if it hath pleased thee to visit me with adverse fortune, grant at least that it may come with gentle steps."[q] As though he had satisfied his religion by this one stern act of humility, no sooner had he reached Naples than he burst into the most furious paroxysms of wrath. Now he sat silent, glaring fiercely around him, gnawing the top of his sceptre; then broke forth into the most horrible vows of vengeance: "if he could live a thousand years, he would go on razing the cities, burning the lands, torturing the rebellious slaves. He would leave

Conduct of Charles of Anjou.

[q] Villani, vii. 71.

Sicily a blasted, barren, uninhabited rock, as a warning to the present age, an example to the future." Pope Martin, less violent in his demeanour, was hardly less so in his public acts. The Palermitans sent an embassy declaring their humble submission to the Papal See. The messengers were monks. They addressed the Pope—"O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us!" Martin compared them to the Jews, who smote the Saviour, and cried "Hail, King of the Jews."[r] His bull of excommunication describes in the blackest terms the horrors of the massacre.[s] A crusade was proclaimed against the Sicilians: all ecclesiastics, archbishops, bishops, abbots, who favoured the insurgents, were at once deprived and deposed; all laymen stripped of their fiefs or estates. The people of Palermo sternly replied, that "they had unfolded the banner of St. Peter, in hopes, under that protection, to obtain their liberties; they must now unfold the banner of another Peter, the King of Arragon."[t]

Charles made the most vigorous preparations for war. The age and state of public mind are singularly illustrated by the following story: a Mendicant Friar, Bartolomeo Piazza, appeared in his camp, a man of blameless morals and some learning; he disdained the disguise of a spy. He was led before the King. "How darest thou," Charles abruptly accosted him, "come from that land of traitors?" "Neither am I a traitor, nor come I from a land of traitors. I come, urged by religion and conscience, to warn my holy brethren that they follow not your unjust arms. You have abandoned the people committed by God to your charge to be torn by wolves and hounds; you have hardened your heart against complaints and supplications; they have avenged their wrongs, they will defend, they will die for, their holiest rights. Think of Pharaoh!" Either awe, or the notion that Bartolomeo would bear back a true account of his overwhelming forces, induced the King to endure this affront; the Friar returned to Messina.[u]

The Mendicant Friar.

[r] Villani, vii. 62.

[s] Saba Malespina. The Bull in Raynald. sub ann. 1282.

[t] Compare Amari, Documento x.; a long oration, assuredly made after the time.

[u] Bartolom. de Neocastro, cap. 32, 34.

Before Messina appeared Charles with all his army, burning for revenge. At first he obtained some successes; but the popular leader, Manfrone, was deposed, the Noble Alaimo da Lentini placed at the head of the garrison. The resistance became obstinate. The women were most active, as perhaps most exposed to the vengeance of the French. Their delicate hands bore stones, ammunition; they tended the sick and wounded.[x] The Legate of the Pope, the Cardinal Gerard, accompanied the King; he was armed with the amplest powers. He demanded, or was invited to enter the city. He was received with general jubilation, escorted to the Cathedral; Alaimo da Lentini laid at his feet the keys of the city and his own staff of command. They entreated him to accept the dominion of the city in the name of the Church, to appoint a governor; "to the Church they would willingly pay their tribute, but away with the French! in the name of God let them be driven from the lands of the Church!" Gerard replied, if not in the fierce and criminatory tone ascribed to him by one historian as to insolent rebels, yet with a haughty condescension.[y] "Heinous as were their sins, they were not beyond the mercy of their mother the Church; he would reconcile the Messinese to their King; subjects must not speak of terms to their sovereign. Let them trust the magnanimity, the clemency of Charles; the savage murderers alone would meet with condign punishment. Let Messina lay herself in the lap of the Church; in her name to be restored to King Charles." "To Charles! Never!" shouted Alaimo; he seized his staff from the hand of the astonished Prelate. "To the French, never! so long as we have blood to shed and swords to wield." The whole people took up the cry; Gerard made one more effort: thirty citizens were appointed to treat with the Legate; but all was vain. They knew too well the mercy of Charles. "O, candid counsel of the Church to lay our necks down before the headsman. We are sold to the French; we must ransom ourselves by

Charles before Messina.

[x] "Deh com' egli è gran pietate,
Delle doune de Messina,
Veggendole scapigliate,
Portando pretia e calcina.
Iddio gli dia briga e travaglia,
A chi Messina vuol questar."
—Popular song, quoted by Villani, vii. 77.

[y] Neocastro, Villani, Malespina, &c.

arms. We offer to the Pope the sovereignty of the land; Martin declines it. Instead of being the mild and gentle Vicar of Christ, he is but the tool of the French. Go tell the Angevine tyrant that lions and foxes shall never more enter into Messina."

In the mean time, the fleets of Peter of Arragon were upon the seas; still disguising his aim, as if he designed to make war only on the Saracens of Africa, he landed his forces on the coast of Tunis. He appeared as the ally of the Prince of Constantina. He disembarked in the port of Collo: he had some vigorous engagements with the Saracens.[z] He despatched ambassadors to Rome to implore the blessing of the Pope on his Crusade against the infidels, the protection of the Church for his dominions in Spain, the presence of a Legate, the right to levy the tenths for a war against the infidels. This specious embassage was received with specious civility by the Pope at Monte Fiascone.

Peter of Arragon. June 3. June 28.

The Parliament had met at Palermo; it had been determined to offer the throne of Sicily to Peter. He received the ambassadors of the Sicilians with grave solemnity; as offering to him unexpected, unsolicited honours. The Holy War was at an end; Peter and his fleet in the port of Trapani. At Palermo he was saluted by acclamation King of Sicily. The relief of Messina was the first aim of the new King. He ordered a general levy of all who could bear arms: men crowded to his banner. To Charles he sent an embassy of the noble Catalonians, Pietro Queralto, Ruy Ximenes de Luna, William Aymeric, Justiciary of Barcelona. He demanded safe-conduct by two Carmelite Friars. In two days Charles declared that he would give them audience; two days —during which he hoped to find himself master of Messina. But his terrific assault by sea and land was repelled; instead of receiving the ambassadors of the King of Arragon as a haughty conqueror, he received them weary with toil, boiling with rage and baffled pride. He was seated on his bed, which was covered with rich

King of Sicily. Aug. 30. Sept. 14.

[z] Zurita.

silk drapery. He threw disdainfully aside on his pillow the letter of the King of Arragon: he awaited the address of the ambassador Queralto. If Queralto's words were those of the letter, they ran thus: "The illustrious Peter, King, by the grace of God, of Arragon and Sicily, commands you, Charles, Count of Provence and King of Jerusalem, to depart from his kingdom; to give him free passage into his city of Messina, which you are besieging by sea and land; he is astonished at your presumption in impeding the passage of the King through his own dominions."[a] The ambassadors no doubt asserted the hereditary claim of the King of Arragon. Charles, with the gesture constantly ascribed to him, bit his sceptre in his wrath; his reply had his usual pride, but, by one account, something of dejection. He told the ambassadors to survey his vast forces; he expressed utter astonishment that the King of Arragon should presume to interfere between him and his rebellious subjects; he held Naples and Sicily as a grant from the Pope; but he intimated that he might withdraw his weary troops to refresh them in Calabria: it would only, however, be to return and wreak his vengeance on Sicily; the Catalonian dominions of the King of Arragon would not be safe from his resentment.

Ambassadors to Charles.

From this period the mind of Charles, never strong, but so insolent and tyrannical in prosperity, sank into a strange prostration, in which fits of an absurd chivalry alternated with utter abjectness. He would neither press vigorously, nor abandon the siege of Messina. Now he wreaked his vengeance on all the lands in his possession, burned churches and monasteries; now offered advantageous terms to the Sicilians; now endeavoured openly to bribe Alaimo da Leontini, who cast back his offers with public scorn. At length, threatened by the fleets of Arragon, he withdrew to his continental dominions.

Conduct of Charles.

The climax of this strange state of mind was his challenge to the King of Arragon, to determine their quarrel by single combat. In vain the Pope denounced the impiety, and remonstrated against the wild im-

[a] See, in Amari, the variations in the copies of this letter, p. 166, note.

policy of this feudal usage, now falling into desuetude. The King of Arragon leaped at the proposition, which he could so easily elude; and which left him full time to consolidate undisturbed his new kingdom, to invade Calabria, to cover the sea with his fleets. This defiance to mortal combat, this wager of battle, was an appeal according to the wild justice of the age, to the God of Battles, who, it was an established popular belief, would declare himself on the righteous side. Charles of Anjou had the opportunity of publicly arraigning before Christendom his hated rival of disloyal treachery, of secret leaguing with his revolted subjects, of falsehood in his protestations of friendship. The King of Arragon stood forth on the broad ground of asserting his hereditary right, of appearing as the deliverer of a people most barbarously oppressed, as summoned to the crown by the barons and people of Sicily. He was almost admitted as possessing an equal claim with him who had received the Papal investiture. The grave and serious manner in which the time, the place, the manner of holding those lists were discussed might seem to portend a tragic close; this great ordeal would be commended to still greater honour and acceptance by the strife of two monarchs for one of the noblest kingdoms of the earth, the kingdom of Naples. Italy itself offered no fair or secure field. The King of England, Edward I., was the one powerful and impartial monarch, who might preside as umpire; his Gascon territories, a neutral ground, on which might be waged this momentous combat. All proceeded with the most serious and solemn dignity, as if there could be no doubt that the challenge so given, so accepted, could come to direct and inevitable issue. Bourdeaux was chosen as the scene of the kingly tournament. The lists were prepared at great cost, and with great splendour. Each King proceeded to enrol the hundred knights who were to have the honour of joining in this glorious conflict with their monarch. The noblest and bravest chivalry of France offered themselves to Charles of Anjou; his brother, Philip the Hardy, offered to enter the lists with him. On the side of Peter of Arragon were the most valiant Spanish knights, men accustomed to joust

with the Moor, to meet the champions of the Crescent from Cordova or Granada. A Moorish Prince presented himself; if God gave the victory to Peter, not only would the Moor share the triumph, but submit to baptism in the name of the Christian's God. The Pope was overborne; the Church had pronounced its condemnation on judicial combats. Martin had condemned this on general grounds,[b] on the special objection, that it was setting on the issue of arms that which had already been solemnly adjudged by the supreme Pontiff; it was to call in question the Pope's right of granting the kingdom of Naples. He commanded Charles to desist from the humiliating comparison of himself and his heaven-sanctioned claims, with those of a presumptuous adventurer, of one already under the censure, under the excommunication of the Roman See; he offered to absolve the King from all his oaths: yet even on this point the Pope was compelled to yield his reluctant consent to the imperious will of his master.

The Pope endeavours in vain to prohibit the battle.

The wrath of the Pope on the first intelligence of the insurrection, still more at the invasion of the realm by Peter of Arragon, had been hardly less violent than that of Charles of Anjou. At Orvieto he proclaimed more than the excommunication, the degradation of Peter. He denounced again the crime of the Palermitans in the massacre of the French; the impious rebellion of the realm of Sicily; he boasted the mild attempts of the Church, especially through Cardinal Gerard in Messina, to reconcile them to their lawful Sovereign. "Since Peter, King of Arragon, under the false colour of an expedition to Africa, has invaded the island of Sicily—the peculiar territory of the Roman Church—with horse and foot; has set up the claim of his wife, the daughter of the accursed Manfred, to the throne; has usurped the name of King of Sicily;[c] has openly countenanced the Messinese as he before secretly

His censure on the King of Arragon. March 21, 1283.

[b] Martin writes to King Edward of England that he had power "impediendi tam detestanda tam nociva."—MS. B. M., vol. xiv. Orvieto, April 15, 1284.

[c] The Pope seems here to charge Peter of Arragon with being the prime mover of the rebellion. "Sicque non solum Panormitanos eosdem, quos alias pluries ad hæc solicitasse per nuncios dicebatur, in inchoatæ contra præfatum regem seditionis et rebellionis contumaciâ obfirmavit," &c. &c.—Raynald. 1283, xix.

instigated the Palermitans to rebellion against their Sovereign; he has incurred the severest penalties, of usurpation, sedition, and violence. His crime is aggravated by the relation of the crown of Arragon to the See of Rome. That crown was granted by the Pope; his grandfather, Peter of Arragon, received it from the Pope, and swore fealty in his own name and in that of his successors to the successor of St. Peter. The King was now not only in rebellion; he had practised an impious fraud on his holy Father; he had implored the aid of the Pope, his blessing on his army, as though designed against the African barbarians. For these reasons not only was Peter adjudged a lawless usurper of the realm of Sicily, but deposed from his kingdom of Arragon: his subjects were discharged from all their oaths of fealty. His kingdom was to be seized and occupied by any Catholic Sovereign, who should be duly commissioned to that end by the Pope. The Cardinal of St. Cecilia was sent into France to offer the forfeited throne of Arragon to any one of the King's sons who would undertake the conquest: the only provision was the exclusion of the heir of the French throne: the two kingdoms could not be united under the same Sovereign. The subjugated realm was to be held of Pope Martin and his successors in the Apostolic See. The forfeiture comprehended the whole dominions of Peter, the kingdom of Arragon, the kingdom of Valencia, Catalonia, and Barcelona.

Wager of battle.

The wager of battle between the Kings, which maintained its solemn dignity up almost to the appointed time, ended in a pitiful comedy, in which Charles of Anjou had the ignominy of practising base and disloyal designs against his adversary; Peter, that of eluding the contest by craft, justifiable only as his mistrust of his adversary was well or ill grounded, but much too cunning for a frank and generous knight. He had embarked with his knights for the South of France; he was cast back by tempests on the shores of Spain. He set off with some of his armed companions, crossed the Pyrenees undiscovered, appeared before the gates of Bourdeaux, and summoned the English Seneschal. To him he pro-

Peter at Bourdeaux.

claimed himself to be the King of Arragon, demanded to see the lists, rode down them in slow state, obtained an attestation that he had made his appearance within the covenanted time, and affixed his solemn protest against the palpable premeditated treachery of his rival, which made it unsafe for him to remain longer at Bourdeaux. Charles, on his part, was furious that Peter had thus broken through the spider's web of his policy. He was in Bourdeaux, when Peter appeared under the walls, and had challenged him in vain. Charles presented himself in full armour on the appointed day, summoned Peter to appear, proclaimed him a recreant and a dastardly craven, unworthy of the name of knight. May 31.

Pope Martin's enmity was as indefatigable as the ambition of Peter of Arragon. He strained his utmost power to break off a marriage proposed between Alfonso, the elder son of Peter, with Eleanora, the daughter of Edward of England. He expostulated with Edward on the degradation of allying his illustrious house with that of an excommunicated prince; he inhibited the marriage as within the fourth degree of consanguinity. By enormous charges on the Papal treasury he bought off the Venetians from a treaty, which would have placed their fleet on the enemy's side.[d] He borrowed still larger sums on the security of the Papal revenues, above 28,393 ounces of gold: the tenths decreed by the Council of Lyons were awarded to this new Crusade. The annual payment of 8000 ounces of gold for the kingdom of Naples was postponed, on account of the inability of the Prince of Salerno to discharge the debt. Thrice in the following year, on Holy Thursday, on Ascension Day, on the Dedication of St. Peter's church, the excommunication was promulgated at Orvieto, in Rome, in every city in Italy which would admit this display of Papal authority. The Cardinal Gerard, of S. Sabina, was commissioned to preach everywhere the Crusade: he might offer unlimited indulgences to all who would take A.D. 1283.

[d] Five thousand ounces of gold, which were likewise to hire and man twenty galleys for the fleet of Charles.

up arms against Peter and the Sicilian rebels. The kingdom of Arragon, with the County of Barcelona and the kingdom of Valencia, were solemnly adjudged to Charles of Valois, the son of the King of France. Great forces were prepared in France to invade these Spanish realms of Peter. But in the mean time, Martin himself might tremble in his dominions. Guido of Montefeltro was in arms, hardly kept in check by John of Epps, the Papal General. At Rome were threatening commotions; the Pope endeavoured to maintain his influence by the purchase of corn in great quantities in Apulia during a famine, its free or cheap distribution, and by other concessions. But the King of Arragon was not without his secret allies within the city.

Worse than this, Charles of Anjou returned to Italy; he was met by the disastrous tidings of the utter destruction of his fleet by Roger Loria, and the capture of his son Charles, Prince of Salerno. This precious hostage was in the power of his enemies; on him they might wreak their vengeance for the death of the young Conradin. Charles put on a haughty equanimity: "I had rather have heard of his death than of his captivity." He overwrought this proud endurance. He assembled the nobles; he enjoined them to rejoice with him that he had lost a priest, who had only impeded the vigour and success of his arms.[e] He entered Naples, and declared it mercy that he impaled only one out of a hundred and fifty, who were suspected or accused of tampering with the victorious Arragonese.

But his arms were to be arrested by a mightier power. One fatal year was to witness the death of all the great personages engaged in this conflict; it was to be bequeathed to a new generation of combatants. In the midst of his preparations for a more determined invasion of Sicily, Charles, exhausted by disappointment and sorrow, died at Foggia: the Papal writers aver he made a most Christian end. Philip of France, after a doubtful campaign in Catalonia, for the conquest of the

June 7, 1225.

[e] Ptolem. Luc. xiv. 9. Compare Annal. sub annis, throughout Raynaldus, and Muratori, with their authorities.

Spanish dominions of Peter of Arragon, in behalf of his brother, Charles of Valois, died at Perpignan: Oct. 5. Peter of Arragon about a month later at Villa Franca di Penades. Nov. 11. Alfonso, the elder son, quietly succeeded to his father's Arragonese crown; the infant James, according to his father's will, to that of Sicily. On the 29th of March before had died at Orvieto Pope Martin IV., who had emptied the whole armoury of excommunication against the enemies of Charles of Anjou.[f] Such was the issue of all the interdicts, the anathemas, the crusades, and all the blood shed to determine the possession of the throne of Arragon.

There was now no commanding interest to contest the Pontificate. The Emperor Rodolph did not busy himself much in Italian politics. A Roman Prelate, John Boccamazza, Archbishop of Monreale, Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum, resided as Legate in Germany; he presided over a Council at Wurtzburg, in the presence of the Emperor Rodolph. A chronicler of the times compares him with the Dragon in the Revelations, dragging his venomous tail (a host of corrupt Bishops) through Germany, which he contaminated with his simoniac perversity, amassing riches from all quarters, selling privileges, which he instantly revoked to sell them again, bartering with utter shamelessness the patrimony of the Crucified: he was insulted by the lofty German Prelates; he retired muttering vengeance.[g] In Italy the Angevine cause was paralysed by the death of Charles, and the imprisonment of his son. The house of Arragon had no footing in the conclave. Under such circumstances the great families of Rome had usually some Prelate of sufficient weight and character, if parties among themselves were not too equally balanced, to advance to the highest eminence in the Church.

An Orsini had but now occupied the Papal throne, then a Savelli, and then a Pope of humble birth, Honorius IV. April 2, 1285. enslaved by a nepotism of favour, not of blood, to the family of Colonna, followed in rapid succession. The Savelli, Honorius IV., was a man of great ability, a martyr to the gout. Almost his only important acts

[f] Muratori, sub ann. 1285. Fontes, ii. 111. Labbe, Concil. sub ann.
[g] Gothofridus Esm. apud Boehmer, 1286.

were the publication of two Edicts, matured under his predecessor Martin, which if issued and carried out under the Angevine reign in Naples and Sicily, might perhaps have averted the revolt. One was designed to propitiate the clergy of the realm: it asserted in the highest terms their independence, immunities, freedom of election, and other privileges. The second re-enacted the laws, and professed to renew the policy of William the Good, the most popular monarch who had ever reigned in Sicily.[h] But they came too late. Sicily first under James, the second son of Peter of Arragon, afterwards, on the accession of James to the throne of Arragon, under Frederick, defied the Papal authority, and remained an independent kingdom. The captive Charles, now King of Naples, had framed a treaty for his own deliverance; he bought it at the price of his kingdom of Sicily and the city of Reggio. Although the Pope annulled the treaty which granted away the dominion of the Apostolic See, it was held to be of force by the contracting parties. This was the last act of Honorius IV.[i]

James crowned. Feb. 2, 1286.

The Conclave met; for months, the hot summer months, they sate in strife: six of them died. The Cardinal Bishop of Prænestè, by keeping a constant fire in his chamber, corrected the bad air, and maintained his vigour; the rest fled in fear. In February they met again: their choice fell on the Cardinal of Prænestè, the General of the Franciscan Order, the first of that Order who had ascended the Papal throne. The Bishop of Prænestè, born, it is said, of lowly race, at Ascoli, owed his elevation to the Cardinalate to the Orsini, Nicolas III. In gratitude to his patron he took the name of Nicolas IV. His first promotion of Cardinals, though it seemed impartially distributed among the great local and religious interests, betrayed his inclinations. There was one Dominican, Matthew Acquasparta, the General of the Order; an Orsini, Napoleon; one of the house of Colonna, Peter; there was one already of that house in the Conclave, Jacobo Colonna. On the Colonnas were heaped all the wealth and honours; under their safeguard

Feb. 22, 1288. Nicolas IV.

[h] Raynald. sub ann. Sept. 17.

[i] He died April 3, 1287.

the Pope, who at first took up his residence at Reate, ventured to occupy the Papal palace at Rome.

The liberation of Charles the Lame, the King of Naples, from his long captivity, was the great affair of Christendom. The mediation of Edward of England, allied with the houses of Arragon and of Anjou, and now the most powerful monarch in Europe, was employed to arrange the terms of some treaty which should restore him to freedom. The King of Arragon would not surrender his captive, still in prison in Catalonia, but at the price of the recognition of the Arragonese title to the kingdom of Sicily; Charles, weary of bondage, had already at Oleron acceded to this basis of the treaty.

By the treaty of Oleron,[k] Charles was to pay fifty thousand marks of silver. He pledged himself to arrange a peace in a manner satisfactory to the Kings of Arragon and of Sicily: in the meantime there was to be truce between the two realms, including Sicily. Charles was to obtain the ratification of the Pope, and the cession of Charles of Valois, who still claimed, as awarded by the Pope, the crown of Arragon; or at the close of that period he was to return into captivity. He was to surrender his three sons, and sixty Provençal Nobles and Barons, as hostages: the Seneschals of the fortresses in Provence were to take an oath that if the King did not terminate the peace or return into bondage, they were to surrender those fortresses to the King of Arragon. This treaty had been annulled first during the vacancy by the College of Cardinals, again at Reate by Nicolas IV. The King of England was urged to find some other means of releasing the royal captive. King Alfonso was forbidden to aid the cause of his brother James of Sicily; in that cause Alfonso himself had grown cool. A new treaty was framed at Campo Franco; it was written by a Papal notary. Charles was to pay at once twenty thousand marks (England lent ten thousand); he was to give security for the rest. He was to pledge his word to the other conditions of the compact.[m] In this

July 15, 1287.

Oct. 20, 1288.

[k] The treaty and documents in Rymer, 1286-7.

[m] Rymer, p. 368 *et seq.* The whole progress of the negotiation is well and accurately traced by Amari, in a note to c. 13, p. 321.

treaty there was a vague silence concerning the kingdom of Sicily: within one year Charles was bound to procure peace between France and Arragon: for this he left his three sons as hostages; and solemnly swore that if this peace was not ratified, he would return to his prison. He obtained his freedom.

Liberation of Charles the Lame. Nov. 1288.

Nicolas IV. on his accession had not dared to take up his residence at Rome; Charles appeared before him at Reate. He was crowned, if not in direct violation of the words, of the whole spirit of the treaty, King of Naples and Sicily; for the whole of the dominions claimed by the house of Anjou he did homage and swore fealty to the Pope.[n] The Pope boldly and without scruple annulled the treaty written by his own notary, signed, executed without any protest on his part, by which Charles the Lame had obtained his freedom. This decree of Nicolas was the most monstrous exercise of the absolving power which had ever been advanced in the face of Christendom: it struck at the root of all chivalrous honour, at the faith of all treaties. It declared in fact that no treaty was to be maintained with any one engaged in what the Holy See might pronounce an unjust war, that is a war contrary to her interests, a war such as that now waged between James of Arragon, as King of Sicily, and the crusading army of the son of Charles the Lame. The war of the house of Arragon against the house of Anjou being originally unjust, no compact was binding. The kingdom of Naples, including Sicily, having been granted by the Holy See as a fief, the title of Charles was indefeasible; himself had no power of surrendering it to another. It declared that all obligations entered into by a prince in captivity were null and void, even though oaths had been interchanged, and hostages given for their performance. Charles had no right to pledge the Roman See and the King of France, and the King of Arragon, (Charles of Valois had assumed that title) to such terms. If Charles had sworn that should those Kings not accede to the treaty, he would return into captivity, the Pope replied that the imprisonment having been from the first

[n] May 29 (Muratori), June 19 (Amari), 1289.

unjust, Charles was not bound to return to it: his services being imperiously demanded as a vassal and special athlete for the defence of the Church, he was bound to fulfil that higher duty.[o] On these grounds Pope Nicolas IV. declared the King and his heirs altogether released from all obligations and all oaths. He went further; he prohibited Charles the Lame from observing the conditions of the treaty, and surrendering his eldest son, according to the covenant, as one of the hostages. Nor was the Pope content with thus entirely abrogating the treaty; he anathematised King Alfonso for exacting, contrary to the commands of the Church, such hard terms; he ordered him, under pain of the highest ecclesiastical censure, to release Charles from all the conditions of the treaty; he even threatened the King of England with interdict, if, as guarantee of the treaty, he should enforce its forfeitures. But Charles the Lame himself would not be content with the Papal absolution: he satisfied his chivalrous honour with a more miserable subterfuge. He suddenly appeared near the castle of Panicas, on the borders of Arragon, proclaimed that he was come in conformity to his oath to surrender himself into captivity. But as no one was there on the part of the King of Arragon to receive him, he averred that he had kept his faith, and even demanded the restoration of the hostages and of the money left in pawn.

The war continued: James, not content with the occupation of Sicily, invaded Apulia; before Gaeta he suffered an ignominious failure. Charles, weakly, to the disgust of the Count of Artois and his other French followers who returned to France, agreed to a truce of two years. The death of his brother Alfonso made James King of Arragon: he left his younger brother Frederick his Viceroy in Sicily. Frederick became afterwards the founder of the line of Arragonese Kings of the island. Spring, 1289. 1289-1291. June 18, 1291.

Nicolas IV. closed his short Pontificate in disaster,

[o] "Nominatæ Ecclesiæ incommoda multa proveniant, dum ipse ejusdem ecclesiæ vassallus præcipuus, et specialis athleta ab illius per hoc defensione subtrahitur."—Bulla Nicolai IV. Compare Raynaldus, sub ann.

shame, and unpopularity. He had in some respects held a lofty tone; he had declared the kingdom of Hungary a fief of the Holy See; and rebuked the Emperor Rodolph for causing his son, Albert, without the Pope's permission, to be chosen King of the Romans.[p] But the total loss of the last Christian possessions in the East, the surrender of Berytus, Tripoli, even at last Acre,[q] to the irresistible Sultan: the fatal and ignominious close of the Crusades, so great a source of Papal power and Papal influence, the disgrace which was supposed to have fallen on all Christendom, but with special weight upon its Head, bowed Nicolas down in shame and sorrow. The war between Edward of England and Philip of France, in which his mediation, his menace, were loftily rejected, or courteously declined, destroyed all hopes of a new Crusade; that cry would no longer pacify ambitious and hostile Kings.

Close of Crusades.

Nicolas had become enslaved to the Colonnas. No doubt under their powerful protection he had continued to reside in Rome.[r] They were associated in his munificence to the Churches. On the vault of S. Maria Maggiore, repaired at their common cost, appeared painted together the Pope and the Cardinal James Colonna. John Colonna was appointed Marquis of Ancona, Stephen Colonna Count of Romagna: this high office had been wrested from the Monaldeschi. Cesena, Rimini after some resistance, Imola, Forlì were in his power. In attempting to seize Ravenna he was himself surprised and taken prisoner by the sons of Guido di Polenta. But they were afterwards overawed by the vigorous measures of the Pontiff, urged by the Colonnas. Ildobrandino da Romagna, Bishop of Arezzo, was invested with the title of Count of Romagna; the subject cities leagued under his influence;[s] the sons of Polenta were compelled to pay three thousand florins of gold for their daring attack on

Nicolas IV. and the Colonnas.

[p] Raynald. sub ann.

[q] Read the siege of Acre (Ptolemais) in Michaud, iv. 458, *et seq.* Wilken, vii. p. 735, *et seq.* Acre fell, May 18, 1291. Michaud quotes the emphatic sentence of a Mussulman writer on this, it seems, final close of the Crusades:—"Les choses, s'il plaît à Dieu, resteront ainsi jusqu'au dernier jugement."—P. 487.

[r] Franciscus Pipon., S. R. I., t. ix.

[s] Muratori, sub annis 1290, 1291.

the Pope's court.[t] The Romans seemed to enter into the favouritism of the Pope. James Colonna was created Senator; he was dragged, as in the guise of an Emperor, through the city, saluted with the name of Cæsar; he gratified the Romans by marching at their head to the attack of Viterbo and other cities over which Rome, whenever occasion offered, aspired to extend her sovereignty.[u]

There were acts in these terrible wars that raged in almost every part of Italy which might have grieved the heart of a wise and humane Pontiff more than the loss of the Holy Land. The mercy of Christendom might seem at a lower ebb than its valour. The Bishop of Arezzo, an Ubaldini, was killed in a battle against the Florentines; the Florentines slung an ass, with a mitre fastened on his head, into his beleaguered city.[x] The Marquis of Montferrat, the most powerful prince in northern Italy, was taken prisoner by the Alexandrians, shut up in an iron cage, in which he languished for nearly two years and died.[y] Dante has impressed indelibly on the heart of man the imprisonment and death of the Pisan Ugolino (a man, it is true, of profound ambition and treachery) with that of his guiltless sons. A.D. 1290.

Nicolas is said to have died in sorrow and humiliation; he died accused by the Guelfs of unpapal Ghibellinism,[z] perhaps because he was more sparing of his anathemas against the Ghibellines, and had consented, hardly indeed, but had consented to the peace between France and Arragon, Naples and Sicily: still more on account of his favour to the Colonnas, Ghibelline by descent and by tradition, and hereafter to become more obstinately, furiously and fatally Ghibelline in their implacable feud with Boniface VIII.[a] April 4, 1292.

[t] Rubeus, Chronic. Ravennat., Chronic. Parm., Chronic. Forliviens. S. R. I. xxii.

[u] The play upon the name of Colonna, which Petrarch afterwards enshrined in his noble verse, had long occurred to the Saturnalian wit of Rome. In the frontispiece of a book, entitled "The Beginning of Evils," the Pope Nicolas IV. was represented as a column crowned by his own mitred head, and supported by two other columns.—Muratori.

[x] 1289. Villani, vii. c. 130. Muratori, sub ann.

[y] Annal. Mediolanens. S. H. T. t. xvi.

[z] Rodolph of Hapsburg, the Emperor, died July 15, 1291.

[a] "Ma molto favoreggiò i Ghibellini." So writes the Guelf Villani, vii. c. 150.

CHAPTER VI.

CŒLESTINE V.

Conclave.

Nicolas IV. died on the 4th of April, 1292. Only twelve Cardinals formed the Conclave. The constitution of Gregory X. had been long suspended, and had fallen altogether into disuse. Six of these Cardinals were Romans, of these two Orsinis and two Colonnas; four Italians; two French.[a] Each of the twelve might aspire to the supreme dignity. The Romans prevailed in numbers, but were among themselves more implacably hostile; on the one side stood the Orsinis, on the other the Colonnas.[b] Three times they met, in the palace of Nicolas IV., near S. Maria Maggiore, in that of Honorius IV. on the Aventine, and in S. Maria sopra Minerva.[c] The heats of June, and a dangerous fever

[a] The list in Ciacconius:—

Romans.

1. Latino Malebranca, a Franciscan, Cardinal of Ostia, the nephew of, and created by, Nicolas III.
2. John Buccamuzza, Cardinal of Tusculum (once Legate in Germany), created by Martin IV.
3. Jacobo Colonna, Cardinal of S. Maria in Viâ Latâ, created by Nicolas III.
4. Peter Colonna, Cardinal of S. Eustachio, created by Nicolas IV.
5. Napoleon Orsini, Cardinal of S. Hadrian, created by Nicolas IV.
6. Matteo Rosso (Rubeus), Cardinal of S. Maria in Porticu, created by Urban IV.

Italians.

7. Gerard Bianchi of Parma, Cardinal Sabinus, created by Honorius IV.
8. Matthew Acquasparta, Cardinal of Porto, created by Nicolas IV.
9. Peter Peregrosso, a Milanese, Cardinal of S. Mark, created by Nicolas IV.
10. Benedetto Gaetani of Anagni, Cardinal of S. Silvester (afterwards Boniface VIII.), created by Martin IV. He was dangerously ill, retired to his native Anagni, and recovered.

Frenchmen.

11. Hugh de Billiom, Cardinal of S. Sabina, created by Nicolas III.
12. Jean Cholet, Cardinal of S. Cecilia, died of fever in Rome, Aug. 2, 1292.

[b] The proceedings of each member of the Conclave, during this interval, are described in the preface to the poem of the Cardinal St. George.—Muratori, v. p. 616. The Cardinal describes himself as being "veluti præsens, videns, ministrans, palpans, et audiens, notusque Pontifici, quia Pontificibus carus."—P. 614.

[c] The Cardinal of St. George highly disapproved of the building of new palaces, by Honorius IV. on the Aventine, by Nicolas IV. near S. Maria Maggiore. It implied the desertion of the Lateran and the Vatican:—

"nec utile mundo
Exemplum, nam quisque suas (e?) ducet in altum
Ædes, et capitis Petri delubra relinquet,
Ac Lateranenses aulas, regalia dona,
Despiciet, gaudens propriqs habitare penates."
—P. 621.

(of which one, the Frenchman, Jean Cholet, died), drove them out of Rome; and Rome became such a scene of disorder, feud, and murder (the election of the Senator being left to the popular suffrage), that they dared not reassemble within the walls. Two rival Senators, an Orsini and a Colonna, were at the head of the two factions.[d] Above a year had elapsed, when the Conclave agreed to meet again at Perugia. The contest lasted eight months more. At one time the two Colonnas and John of Tusculum had nearly persuaded Hugh of Auvergne and Peter the Milanese to join them in electing a Roman, one of the Colonnas. The plan was discovered and thwarted by the Orsini, Matteo Rosso. The Guelfic Orsini were devoted to the interests of Charles, the King of Naples; they laboured to advance a prelate in the Angevine interest. The Colonnas, Ghibelline because the Orsini were Guelf, were more for themselves than for Ghibellinism. Charles of Naples came to Perugia, by his personal presence to overawe the refractory members of the Conclave. The intrepid Benedict Gaetani, the future Boniface VIII., haughtily rebuked him for presuming to interfere with the office of the Holy Spirit. No one of the Cardinals would yield the post to his adversary, and expose himself to the vengeance of a successful rival; yet all seemed resolute to confine the nomination to their own body.

Oct. 18, 1293. St. Luke's day.

In Perugia.

Suddenly a solitary monk was summoned from his cell, in the remote Abruzzi, to ascend the Pontifical throne. The Cardinal of Ostia, Latino Malebranca, had admired the severe and ascetic virtues of Peter Morrone, a man of humble birth, but already, from his extraordinary austerities, held by the people as a man of the highest sanctity. He had retired from desert to desert, and still multitudes had tracked him out in vast swarms, some to wonder at, some to join his devout seclusion. He seemed to rival if not to outdo the famous anchorites of old. His dress was haircloth, with an iron cuirass; his food bread and water, with a few herbs on Sunday.

Latino Malebranca.

[d] One of the Senators was Peter the son of Stephen, father of the author; the other, Otho de San Eustazio.—See Cardinal St. George.

Peter Morrone has left an account of his own youth. The brothers of his Order, who took his name, the Cœlestinians vouched for its authenticity. His mother was devoutly ambitious that one of her eleven children should be dedicated to God. Many of them died, but Peter fulfilled her most ardent desires. His infancy was marked with miracles. In his youth he had learned to read the Psalter; he then knew not the person of the Blessed Virgin, or of St. John. One day they descended bodily from a picture of the Crucifixion, stood before him, and sweetly chanted portions of the Psalter. At the age of twenty he went into the desert: visions of Angels were ever round him, sometimes showering roses over him. God showed him a great stone, under which he dug a hole, in which he could neither stand upright, nor stretch his limbs, and there he dwelt in all the luxury of self-torture among lizards, serpents, and toads. A bell in the heavens constantly sounded to summon him to prayers. He was offered a cock; he accepted the ill-omened gift; for his want of faith the bell was thenceforth silent. He was more sorely tried; beautiful women came and lay down by his side.[e] He was encircled by a crowd of followers, whom he had already formed into a kind of Order or Brotherhood; they were rude, illiterate peasants from the neighbouring mountains.[f]

Peter Morrone.

Either designedly or accidentally the Cardinal Malebranca spoke of the wonderful virtues of the hermit, Peter Morrone; the weary Conclave listened with interest. A few days after the Cardinal declared that a vision had been vouchsafed to a Holy Man, that if before All-Saints' Day they had not elected a Pope, the wrath of God would fall on them with some signal chastisement. "This, I presume," spake Benedetto Gaetani, "is one of the visions of your Peter Morrone." In truth it was; Malebranca had received a letter purporting to be in his hand. The

[e] One vision is too coarse almost to allude to; but how are we to judge of the times or the men without their coarseness? The question was whether he should offer mass "post pollutionem nocturnam." The vision which sets his mind at rest is that of "aselli stercorandi" on the steps of a palace, that of the Holy Trinity. One of these awful persons is represented as pointing the moral of this foul imagination.

[f] "Non culta satis sed rustica turba Montibus altisonis."—*Card. St. George.*

Conclave was in that perplexed and exhausted state, when men seize desperately on any strange counsel to extricate themselves from their difficulty. To some it might seem a voice from heaven. Others might shelter their own disappointment under the consolation that their rivals were equally disappointed: all might think it wise to elect a Pope without personal enmity to any one. It might be a winning hazard for each party, each interest, each Cardinal; the Hermit was open to be ruled, as ruled he would be, by any one. Malebranca saw the impression he had made; he pressed it in an eloquent speech. Peter Morrone was declared supreme Pontiff by unanimous acclamation.[g] Election of Cœlestine V.

The fatal sentence was hardly uttered when the brief unanimity ceased. Some of the cardinals began to repent or to be ashamed of their precipitate decree. No one of them (this they were hereafter to rue) would undertake the office of bearing the tidings of his elevation to the Pope. The deputation consisted of the Archbishop of Lyons, two Bishops, and two notaries of the Court.

The place of Morrone's retreat was a cave in a wild mountain above the pleasant valley of Sulmona. The ambassadors of the Conclave having achieved their journey from Perugia, with difficulty found guides to conduct them to the solitude. As they toiled up the rugged ascent, they were overtaken by the Cardinal Peter Colonna, who had followed them without commission from the rest, no doubt to watch their proceedings, and to take advantage of any opportunity to advance his own interests. The cave, in which the saint could neither sit upright nor stretch himself out, had a grated window with iron bars, through which he uttered his oracular responses to the wondering people. None even of the brethren of the order might penetrate into the dark sanctuary of his austerities. The ambassadors of the Conclave found an old man with a long shaggy beard, sunken eyes overhung with heavy brows, and lids swollen with perpetual weeping, pale hollow cheeks, and limbs meagre with fast- His retreat. Ambassadors before him.

[g] The Cardinal St. George describes the order and manner in which the Cardinals gave their accession to this vote.—P. 617.

ing: they fell on their knees before him, and he before them. The future Cardinal-Poet was among the number: his barren Muse can hardly be suspected of invention.[h]

So Peter Morrone the Hermit saw before him, in submissive attitudes, the three prelates, attended by the official notaries, who announced his election to the Papacy. He thought it was a dream; and for once assuredly there was a profound and religious reluctance to accept the highest dignity in the world. He protested with tears his utter inability to cope with the affairs, to administer the sacred trust, to become the successor of the Apostle.[i] The news spread abroad; the neighbouring people came hurrying by thousands, delighted that they were to have a saint, and their own saint, for a Pope. The Hermit in vain tried to escape; he was brought back with respectful force, guarded with reverential vigilance. Nor was it the common people only who were thus moved. King Charles himself may not have been superior to the access of religious wonder, for to him especially (if indeed there was no design in the whole affair) this sudden unanimity among the ambitious Cardinals might pass for a miracle, more miraculous than many which were acknowledged by the common belief. The King of Naples, accompanied by his son, now in right of his wife entitled King of Hungary, hastened to do honour to his holy subject, to persuade the Hermit, who perhaps would be dazzled by royal flatterers into a useful ally, to accept the proffered dignity. The Hermit-Pope was conducted from his lowly cave to the monastery of Santo Spirito, at the foot of the mountain. He still refused to be invested in the pontifical robes. At length arrived the Cardinal Malebranca: his age, dignity, character, and his language, urging the awful responsibility which Peter Morrone would incur by resisting the manifest will of God, and by keeping the Popedom longer vacant (for all which he would be called to give account on the day of judgement), prevailed over the awe-struck saint. Not the

[h] Cardinal St. George, apud Muratori.

[i] The Cardinal St. George, however, asserts that Cœlestine hardly affected reluctance; and the Cardinal says that he was among a great multitude of all ranks, who clambered up the mountain,

"cursu conscendere montem
Gliscebam vates, membris vultuque resudans,"

to catch a glimpse of the Pope.

least earnest in pressing him to assume at once the throne were his rude but not so unambitious hermit brethren: they too looked for advancement; they followed him in crowds wherever he went, to Aquila and to Naples. Over his shaggy sackcloth at length the Hermit put on the gorgeous attire of the Pontiff; yet he would not go to Perugia to receive the homage of the Conclave. Age and the heat of the season (he had been accustomed to breathe the mountain air) would not permit him to undertake the long unwonted journey. He entered the city of Aquila riding on an ass, with a King on each side of him to hold his bridle. Some of the indignant clergy murmured at this humiliation of the Papal majesty (the successor of St. Peter was wont to ride on a stately palfrey), but they suppressed their discontent.

Peter Morrone Pope.

If there had been more splendid, never was there so popular an election. Two hundred thousand spectators (of whom the historian, Ptolemy of Lucca, was one[k]) crowded the streets. In the evening the Pope was compelled again and again to come to the window to bestow his benediction; and if hierarchical pride had been offended at the lowliness of his pomp, it but excited greater admiration in the commonalty: they thought of Him who entered Jerusalem "riding on an ass's colt." Miracles confirmed their wonder: a boy, lame from the womb, was placed on the ass on which the Pope had ridden; he was restored to the full use of his limbs.

Inauguration.

But already the Cardinals might gravely reflect on their strange election. The Pope still obstinately refused to go to Perugia, or even to Rome, though they suggested that he might be conveyed in a litter. The Cardinals declared that they were not to be summoned to the kingdom of Naples. Two only, Hugh of Auvergne and Napoleon Orsini, condescended to go to Aquila. Malebranca probably had begun to droop under the illness which ere long carried him off. But the way in which the Pope began to use his vast powers still more appalled and offended them. He bestowed the offices in his court and about his person on rude and unknown Abruzzese; and to

The Cardinals repent.

[k] "Quibus ipse interfui."—Ptolem. Luc.

the great disgust of the clergy, appointed a layman his secretary. High at once in his favour rose the French Prelate, Hugh Ascalon de Billiom, Archbishop of Benevento under Nicolas IV., Cardinal of S. Sabina. He had been the first to follow Malebranca in the acclamation of the Pope Morrone. On the death of Malebranca he was raised to the Bishopric of Ostia and Velletri, and became Dean of the College of Cardinals. Large pensions, charged on great abbeys in France, gilded his elevation. The Frenchman seemed destined to rule with undivided sway over the feeble Cœlestine: the Italians looked with undisguised jealousy and aversion on the foreign Prelate.[m]

Hugh of Ascalon.

The Cardinal, Napoleon Orsini, assisted at the inauguration, gave to the Pope the scarlet mantle, the mitre set with gold and jewels; he announced to the people that Peter had taken the name of Cœlestine V. The foot of the lowly hermit was kissed by kings, cardinals, bishops, nobles. He was set on high to be adored by the people.[n] The numbers of the clergy caused singular astonishment; but the Cardinals, though reluctant, would not allow the coronation to proceed without them; they came singly and in unwilling haste.[o] Last of all came Benedetto Gaetani: he had deeply offended Charles of Naples by his haughty rebuke at Perugia. Yet still, though all assisted at the ceremony, the place of honour was given to the French Cardinal: he anointed the new Pope, but the Pontiff was crowned by Matteo Rosso, after Malebranca's death, probably the elder of the Cardinals present.[p]

Coronation.

A few months showed that meekness, humility, holiness, unworldliness, might make a saint; they were not the virtues suited to a Pope. To Naples he had been led, as it were, in submissive triumph by King Charles; he took up his residence in the royal palace, an

Cœlestine V. in Naples.

[m] Compare on Hugh Ascalon de Billiom, Hist. Littér. de la France, xx. 73.

[n] "Quod stupori erat videre, quia magis veniebant ad suam obtinendam benedictionem, quam pro præbendæ acquisitione."—Ptolem. Luc.

[o] "Domini Jacobus de Colonna, et Dominus Rubeus, et Dominus Hugo de Ascalon"—(he must have been there before)—"Aquilam veniunt, factique sunt domini Curiæ, quod alii Cardinales videntes Aquilam properant."—Ptolem. Luc. Annal. p. 1298.

"Hæc postquam videre Rubri, seu morte Latini Fracti animos, celerant ad tanta pericula cursim."—*Cardin. St. George, p. 635.*

[p] He was created by Urban IV.

unsuspecting prisoner, mocked with the most ostentatious veneration. So totally did the harmless Cœlestine surrender himself to his royal protector, that he stubbornly refused to leave Naples. His utter incapacity for business soon appeared; he lavished offices, dignities, bishoprics, with profuse hand; he granted and revoked grants, bestowed benefices, vacant or about to be vacant.[q] He was duped by the officers of his court, and gave the same benefice over and over again; but still the greater share fell to his brethren from the Abruzzi. His officers issued orders of all kinds in his name. He shrunk from publicity, and even from the ceremonial duties of his office; he could speak only a few words of bad Latin. One day, when he ought to have sat on the pontifical tribunal, he was sought in vain; he had taken refuge in the church, and was with difficulty persuaded to resume his state. His weakness made him as prodigal of his power as of his gifts.[r] At the dictation of King Charles he created at once thirteen new Cardinals, thus outnumbering the present Conclave.[s] Of these, seven were French; the rest Italians; of the latter, three Neapolitans, not one Roman. In order to place the Conclave more completely in the power of Charles, who intended to keep him till his death in his own dominions, he re-enacted the Conclave law of Gregory X.

His conduct.

Sept. 1294.

The weary man became anxious to lay down his heavy burthen. Some of the Cardinals urged upon him that he retained the Papacy at the peril of his soul. Gaetani's powerful mind (once at Naples, he re-

Wishes to abdicate.

[q] "Dabat enim dignitates, prælationes, officia et beneficia, in quibus non sequebatur curiæ consuetudinem, sed potius quorundam suggestionem, et suam rudem simplicitatem."—Jacob. a Vorag. apud Muratori S. R. T. ix. p. 54. Multa fecit de plenitudine potestatis, sed plura de plenitudine simplicitatis, *ibid.* The favouritism of the French Cardinal of S. Sabina, by this author's account, was generally odious.

"O quam multiplices indocta potentia formas
Edidit, indulgens, donans, faciensque recessu,
Atque vacaturas concedens atque vacantes."
Card. St. George.

—See also Ptolem. Luc. lxxiv. c. 29.

[r] There was a small monkish tyranny about the good Cœlestine. He compelled the monks of the ancient and famous abbey of Monte Casino to wear the dress of his own order. The Cardinal-Poet is pathetic on this:—

"Syderei collis, Montisque Casini
Compulit, heu! monachos habitus assumere fratrum
Degentum sub lege Petri: (Morrone) nonnullus ab inde,
Dum parere negat, monachus tunc exulat. O quam
Deciperis!"

[s] See the list in Ciacconius. One, a Beneventan, Cardinal of S. Vitale, died the next year.

sumed the ascendancy of his commanding abilities) had doubtless great influence in his determination. He was soon supposed to rule the Court and the Pope himself, to be Cœlestine's bosom counsellor.[t] It was reported, and the trick was attributed to Gaetani his ambitious successor, that through a hole skilfully contrived in the wall of his chamber, a terrible voice was repeatedly heard at the dead of night, announcing itself as that of a messenger of God. It commanded the trembling Pontiff to renounce the blandishments of the world, and devote himself to God's service. Rumours spread abroad that Cœlestine was about to abdicate. The King secretly, the monks of his brotherhood openly, worked upon the lower orders of Naples, and instigated them to a holy insurrection. Naples was in an uproar at this rumoured degradation of the Pope. A long and solemn procession of all the clergy, of whom Ptolemy of Lucca was one, passed through the city to the palace. A Bishop, a kind of prolocutor, addressed him with a voice like a trumpet, urging him to abandon his fatal design. The speech was heard by Ptolemy of Lucca. Another Bishop from the walls announced that the Pope had no such intention. The Bishop below immediately broke out into a triumphant *Te Deum*, which was taken up by a thousand voices. The procession passed away.[u]

Benedetto Gaetani.

But Advent was drawing on. Cœlestine would not pass that holy season in pomp and secular business. He had contrived a cell within the royal palace, from whence he could not see the sky. He had determined to seclude himself in all his wonted solitude and undisturbed austerities, like a bird, says the Cardinal poet, which hides its head from the fowler, and thinks that it is unseen.[x] He had actually signed a commission to three Cardinals to administer during his seclusion the affairs of the Popedom: it wanted but the seal to be a Papal Bull. But this perhaps more dangerous step of putting the Papacy in commission was averted.

Advent.

[t] "Gaetani—eo quod Regem Carolum Perusii multum exasperâsset, qui statim suis ministeriis et artibus factus est Dominus Curiæ et amicus Regis." — Ptolem. Luc. p. 1299.

[u] Ptolem. Luc. apud Muratori.

[x] P. 638.

Long and inconclusive debates took place on the legality of a Papal abdication. Could any human power release him who was the representative of Christ on earth from his obligations? Could the successor of St. Peter, of his own free will, sink back into the ordinary race of men? Holy Orders were indelible: how much more indelible must be the consecration to this office, the fount and source of all Apostolic ordination? Cœlestine himself, from irresolution doubtless rather than artful dissimulation, had lulled his supporters, even the King himself, into security.[y] On a sudden, on the day of S. Lucia, the Conclave was summoned to receive the abdication of the Pope. The trembling Cœlestine alleged as the cause of his abdication, his age, his rude manners and ruder speech, his incapacity, his inexperience. He confessed humbly his manifold errors, and entreated the Conclave to bestow upon the world of Christendom a pastor not liable to such infirmities. The Conclave is said to have been moved to tears, yet no one (all no doubt prepared) refused to accept the abdication. But the Pope was urged first, while his authority was yet full and above appeal, to issue a Constitution declaring that the Pope might at any time lay down his dignity, and that the Cardinals were at liberty to receive that voluntary demission of the Popedom. No sooner was this done than Cœlestine retired; he stripped off at once the cumbrous magnificence of his Papal robes and his two-horned mitre; he put on the coarse and rugged habit of his brotherhood. As soon as he could, the discrowned Pope withdrew to his old mountain hermitage.

Debates in conclave.

Abdication.

The abdication of Cœlestine V. was an event unprecedented in the annals of the Church, and jarred harshly against some of the first principles of the Papal authority. It was a confession of common humanity, of weakness below the ordinary standard of men in him whom the Conclave, with more than usual certitude, as guided by

[y] "Dissimulans, ceu vera loquens, aliisque vacare,
Sollicitus, quo ad illa domus secreta, Patresque
Credidérint, hunc nolle quidam dimittere primum.
Cumque foret generata fides, omnesque putarent,
Rex etiam, miri cæpisse oblivia facti,
Immemorem variumque Petrum," &c.
Card. St. George.

the special interposition of the Holy Ghost, had raised to the spiritual throne of the world. The Conclave had been, as it seemed, either under an illusion as to this declared manifestation of the Holy Spirit, or had been permitted to deceive itself. Nor was there less incongruity in a Pope, whose office invested him in something at least approaching to infallibility, acknowledging before the world his utter incapacity, his undeniable fallibility. That idea, formed out of many conflicting conceptions, yet forcibly harmonised by long traditionary reverence, of unerring wisdom, oracular truth, authority which it was sinful to question or limit, was strangely disturbed and confused, not as before by too overweening ambition, or even awful yet still unacknowledged crime, but by avowed weakness, bordering on imbecility. His profound piety hardly reconciled the confusion. A saint, after all, made but a bad Pope.

How thought of in his own time.

It was viewed, in his own time, in a different light by different minds. The monkish writers held it up as the most noble example of monastic, of Christian perfection. Admirable as was his election, his abdication was even more to be admired. It was an example of humility stupendous to all, imitable by few.[z] The divine approval was said to be shown by a miracle which followed directly on his resignation;[a] but

Dante.

the scorn of man has been expressed by the undying verse of Dante, who condemned him who was guilty of the baseness of the "great refusal" to that circle of hell where are those disdained alike by mercy and justice, on whom the poet will not condescend to look.[b] This sentence, so accordant with the stirring and passionate soul of the great Florentine, has been feebly

Petrarch.

counteracted, if counteracted, by the praise of Petrarch in his declamation on the beauty of a solitary life, for which the lyrist professed a somewhat hollow and poetic admiration.[c] Assuredly there was no

[z] "Præbuit humilitatis exemplum, stupendum cunctis, imitabile paucis."—Jordan. MS., quoted by Raynaldus.

[a] Bernard, in Chron. Roman. Pontif.

[b] "Che fece per viltà il gran rifiuto." *Inferno*, iii 60. I cannot for an instant doubt the allusion to Cœlestine; perhaps it was embittered by Dante's hatred of Boniface VIII.

[c] "Petrarch de Vitâ solitariâ," a rhetorical exercise.

magnanimity contemptuous of the Papal greatness in the abdication of Cœlestine: it was the weariness, the conscious inefficiency, the regret of a man suddenly wrenched away from all his habits, pursuits, and avocations, and unnaturally compelled or tempted to assume an uncongenial dignity. It was the cry of passionate feebleness to be released from an insupportable burthen. Compassion is the highest emotion of sympathy which it would have desired or could deserve.

But coeval with Dante there was another, a ruder poet, who must be heard, that we may fully comprehend the times. Jacopone da Todi, the Franciscan, had been among those who hailed with mingled exultation and fear the advancement of the holy Cœlestine.[d] "What wilt thou do, Peter Morrone, now that thou art on thy trial?" "If the world be deceived in thee, malediction! Thy fame has soared on high; it has spread through the world. If thou failest, there will be confusion to the good. As the arrow on its mark, the world is fixed on thee. If thou holdest not the balance right, there is no appeal but to God." "The Court of Rome is a furnace which tries the fine gold." "If thou takest delight in thine office (there is no malady so infectious), accursed is that life which for such a morsel loses God." "Thou hast put the yoke on thy neck, must we not fear thy damnation?" "The order of Cardinals has sunk to the lowest level: their sole aim is to enrich their kindred." "Guard thyself from the traffickers which make black white. If thou dost not guard thyself well, sad will be the burthen of thy song."

Jacopone da Todi.

[d] "Che farai, Pier Morrone,
Se' venuto al paragone.
* * * *
Se 'l mondo e in te ingannato,
Seguirà maledizione.
La tua fama alto è salita,
E in molta parte è gita:
Se ti tozza, a la finita,
A i buon sarai confusione.
Come segno a sagitta
Tutto il mondo a tè s' affitta;
Se non tien bilancia ritta,
A Dio ne va appellazione.
* * * *
Questa corte e una fucina,
Ch' l' buon auro si ci afina.
* * * *
Se l' officio ti diletta,
Nulla malsania più infetta;
Bene e vita maladetta,
Perder Dio per tal boccone.
* * * *
Che t' hai posto giogo in coglio,
Da temer tua dannatione.
* * * *
L' ordine Cardinalato,
Posto ha in basso stato;
Che suo parentado
D' arriscar ha intentione.
* * * *
Guardate da barettiere,
Ch' el ner bianco fan videre;
Se non te fai ben schermire,
Canterai mala canzone."—*Satir.* xv.

There are other passages which betray the pride in the elevation of Pier Morrone.

Yet in these mistrustful warnings of the poet there is the manifest pride and hope of a devoted partisan that a new era has begun, that Peter Morrone is destined to regenerate the Papacy. The abdication, no doubt, was the last event to which these hermit followers of Peter Morrone looked forward. Bitter must have been their disappointment when he himself thus frustrated their pious expectations, their passionate vaticinations; yet they adhered to him in his self-chosen lowliness; they were still his stedfast admirers; they denied his right to abdicate, no doubt they disseminated the rumours of the arts employed to frighten him from the throne. Their hatred of Boniface, who supplanted him, was as deep and obstinate as their love of Cœlestine. This poet will appear as at least cognisant of the formidable conspiracy which threatened the power of Boniface VIII. Nor was the poet alone: his was but the voice which expressed, in its coarse but vigorous strains, the sense of a vast and to a certain extent organised party, in every rank, in every order, but especially among the low, and the lowest of the low.

CHAPTER VII.

BONIFACE VIII.

THE Conclave might seem determined to retrieve their former error, in placing the devout but unworldly Cœlestine in the chair of St. Peter, by raising to the Pontificate a prelate of the most opposite character. Human nature could hardly offer a stronger contrast than Benedetto Gaetani and Peter Morrone, Boniface VIII. and Cœlestine V. Of all the Roman Pontiffs, Boniface has left the darkest name for craft, arrogance, ambition, even for avarice and cruelty. Against the memory of Boniface were joined in fatal conspiracy, the passions, interests, undying hostilities, the conscientious partisanship, the not ungrounded oppugnancies, not of individual foes alone, but of houses, of factions, of orders, of classes, of professions, it may be said of kingdoms. His own acts laid the foundation of this sempiternal hatred. In his own day his harsh treatment of Cœlestine and the Cœlestinians, afterwards mingled up or confounded with the wide-spread Fraticelli (the extreme and democratic Franciscans) laid up a deep store of aversion in the popular mind. So in the higher orders, his terrible determination to crush the old and powerful family of the Colonnas, and the stern hand with which he repressed others of the Italian nobles: his resolute Guelfism, his invitation of Charles of Valois into Italy, involved him in the hatefulness of all Charles's tyranny and oppression. This with his own exile goaded the Guelf-born Dante into a relentless Ghibelline, and doomed Pope Boniface to an earthly immortality of shame and torment in the hell of the poet. The quarrel with the King of France, Philip the Fair, brought him during his lifetime into formidable collision with a new power, the strength of which was yet unsuspected in Christendom, that of the lawyers, his fatal foes,

and bequeathed him in later times throughout the writings of the French historians, and even divines (French national pride triumphing over the zeal of the Churchman), as an object of hostility during two centuries of the most profound Roman Catholic learning, and most perfect Roman Catholic eloquence. The revolt against the Papal power at the Reformation seized with avidity the memory of one, thus consigned in his own day, in life and after death, to the blackest obloquy, abandoned by most of his natural supporters, and from whose broad and undisguised assertions of Papal power later Popes had shrunk and attempted to efface them from their records. Thus Boniface VIII. has not merely been handed down, and justly, as the Pontiff of the loftiest spiritual pretensions, pretensions which, in their language at least, might have appalled Hildebrand or Innocent III., but almost all contemporary history as well as poetry, from the sublime verse of Dante to the vulgar but vigorous rhapsodies of Jacopone da Todi, are full of those striking and unforgotten touches of haughtiness and rapacity, many of which cannot be true, many no doubt invented by his enemies, many others are suspicious, yet all show the height of detestation which, either by adherence to principles grown unpopular, or by his own arrogance and violence, he had raised in great part of Christendom. Boniface was hardly dead, when the epitaph, which no time can erase, from the impression of which the most candid mind strives with difficulty to emancipate itself, was proclaimed to the unprotesting Christian world: "He came in like a fox, he ruled like a lion, he died like a dog." Yet calmer justice, as well as the awful reverence for all successors of St. Peter, and the ardent corporate zeal which urges Roman Catholic writers on the forlorn hope of vindicating every act and every edict of every Roman Pontiff, have not left Boniface VIII. without defence; some, indeed, have ventured to appeal to the respect and admiration of posterity.[a]

[a] Cardinal Wiseman has embarked in this desperate cause with considerable learning and more ingenuity. His article in the "Dublin Review," now reprinted in his Essays, was answered at the time by a clever paper in the "British and Foreign Review," in which may be traced an Italian hand. Since that time have appeared Tosti's panegyrical, but not very successful biography; and a fairer, more impartial Life by Drumann; not, however, in my opinion equal to the subject.

The abdication of Cœlestine took place on the feast of S. Lucia. The law of Gregory X., which secluded the Conclave in unapproachable separation from the world, had been re-enacted, but was not enforced to its utmost rigour. Latino Malebranca, the Cardinal who had exercised so much influence in the election of Cœlestine V., had been some months dead. The old Italian interest was represented by the Cardinals of the two great houses, long opposed in their fierce hereditary hostility, Guelf and Ghibelline; Matteo Rosso and Napoleon the Orsinis, and the two Colonnas, of whom the elder, Peter, was a man of bold and unscrupulous ambition. But the preponderance of numbers was with the new Cardinals appointed by Cœlestine at the dictation of Charles of Naples. Of these thirteen, seven (one was dead) were Frenchmen: it might seem that the election must absolutely depend on the will of Charles. Benedetto Gaetani stood alone; he was recommended by his consummate ability; but on that account, too, he was feared, perhaps suspected, by all who wished to rule, and few were there in the Conclave without that wish. The strong reaction might dispose the Cardinals to elect a Pope of the loftiest spiritual views, who might be expected to rescue the Popedom from its present state of impotency and contempt: but that reaction would hardly counterpoise the rival ambition of the Orsinis and Colonnas, and the sworn subserviency of so many to the King of Naples.

Dec. 13. Conclave.

The Cardinal Benedetto Gaetani was of a noble family in Anagni, which city from its patriciate had already given two of its greatest Popes to the chair of St. Peter. He was of blameless morals, and unrivalled in his knowledge of the Canon law, equally unrivalled in experience and the despatch of business. He had been in almost every kingdom of Western Christendom, England, France, Portugal, as the representative of the Pope; was personally known to most of the monarchs, and acquainted with the politics and churches of most of the realms in Europe. It had been at first supposed that Benedetto Gaetani, who had insulted King Charles at Perugia, and had haughtily rebuked him for his interference with the

Benedetto Gaetani.

Conclave, would not venture to Naples. He had come the last, and with reluctance:[b] but his knowledge of affairs, and the superiority of his abilities, soon made him master in the deliberations of the Conclave. The abdication of Cœlestine had been, if not at his suggestion, urged on the irresolute and vacillating Pope by his commanding mind; even if the vulgar artifices of frightening him into the determination were unnecessary, and beneath the severe character of Gaetani. The Conclave sat, in the Castel Nuovo at Naples, for ten days; at the close, Benedetto Gaetani, as it seemed, by unanimous consent, was declared Pope. The secrets of the intermediate proceedings might undoubtedly transpire; the hostility, which almost immediately broke out among all parties, would not scruple to reveal the darkest intrigues; those intrigues would even take the most naked and distinct form. Private mutual understandings would become direct covenants; promises made with reserve and caution, undisguised declarations. The vulgar rumours, therefore, would contain the truth, but more than the truth. It was no sudden acclamation, no deference at once to the superiority of Gaetani. The long delay shows a balance and strife of parties; the conqueror betrays by his success that he conducted most subtly, or adroitly, the game of conquest. Gaetani, it is said, not only availed himself of the irreconcileable hostility between the Orsinis and Colonnas, but played each against the other with exquisite dexterity. Each at length consented to leave the nomination to him, each expecting to be named. Gaetani named himself; the Orsini, Matteo Rosso, submitted; the Colonnas betrayed their indignation; and this, if not the first, was the deepest cause of the mutual unforgiving hatred.[c] From that time (it may however be remembered, that the Colonnas were Ghibelline) was implacable feud between the Pope and that house. But the

[b] See quotation above from Ptolem. Luc. "Venit igitur ultimus, et sic scivit deducere sua negotia, quod factus esset quasi Dominus Curiæ."—c. xxii. Ptolemy was present during most of these proceedings.

[c] Ferretus Vicentinus apud Muratori, S. R. T. t. ix. Ferretus, though a contemporary, is by no means an accurate writer: he has made some singular mistakes, and he wrote at Vicenza. Before it reached him, any private and doubtful negotiation, which we can hardly question took place, would become positive and determinate.

Italian interest, represented by the Orsinis and Colonnas, no longer ruled the Conclave. Charles of Naples must be propitiated, for he held perhaps twelve suffrages. Gaetani suggested, it was said, at a midnight interview with Charles, that a weak Pontiff could not befriend the King with half the power which might be wielded by a strong one. "King Charles, your Pope Cœlestine had the will and the power to aid you, but knew not how; influence the Cardinals, your friends, in my favour, I shall have not only the will and the power, but the knowledge also to serve you."[d] Charles's obsequious Cardinals gave their vote for Gaetani, it may be presumed with the consent or cognisance at least of Charles. Nor in justice can it be denied that if he pledged himself to use every effort for the reconquest of Sicily, he did more than adhere with unshaken fidelity to his engagements, even when it had been perhaps the better Papal policy to have abandoned the cause. It was unquestionably through the Pope's consummate ability rather than by favouring circumstances or the popularity of his character, that Charles afterwards maintained the contest for that kingdom. Guelfism, too, brought Charles and Benedetto Gaetani into one common interest.

Benedetto Gaetani was chosen Pope with all apparent unanimity on the 23rd of December; no doubt it was truly said, not to his own dissatisfaction.[e] He took the name of Boniface; it was reported that he intimated by that name that he was to be known by deeds rather than by words. The abdication, the negotiation with the conflicting Cardinals, with Charles of Naples was the work of ten days, implying by its duration strife and resistance; by its rapidity despatch and boldness in reconciling strife and surmounting difficulty.

But no sooner was Gaetani Pope, than he yearned for the independence, the sole supremacy, of Rome or the Roman dominions; he would not be a Pope, the instrument of, and in thrall to a King at Naples. The most

[d] "Re Carlo, il tuo Papa Celestino t' ha voluto e potuto servire, ma non ha saputo: onde se tu adoperi co' tuoi amici Cardinali chè io son eletto Papa, io saprò e vorrò e potrò."—Villani, viii. 6.

[e] "Electus est ipse non invitus, non gemens."—Pepin. Chronic. apud Muratori, c. xli. Dante suggests the fraudulent means of success:—

"Sei tu si tosto de quel haver sazio,
Per la qual non temesti torre a inganno,
La bella Donna, e di poi farne strazio."
Inferno, xix. 55.

pressing invitations, the most urgent remonstrances, would not induce him to delay; he hurried on by Capua, Monte Casino, Anagni. In his native city he was welcomed with festive dances; everywhere received with humble deference, deference which he enforced by his lofty demeanour. At the gates of Rome he was met by the militia, by the knighthood, by the clergy of Rome, chanting in triumph, as though the Pope had escaped from prison. Italy, Christendom were to know that a true Pope had ascended the throne.

The inauguration of Boniface was the most magnificent which Rome had ever beheld.[f] In his procession to St. Peter's and back to the Lateran palace, where he was entertained, he rode not a humble ass, but a noble white horse, richly caparisoned: he had a crown on his head; the King of Naples held the bridle on one side, his son, the King of Hungary, on the other. The nobility of Rome, the Orsinis, the Colonnas, the Savellis, the Stefaneschi, the Annibaldi, who had not only welcomed him to Rome, but conferred on him the Senatorial dignity, followed in a body: the procession could hardly force its way through the masses of the kneeling people. In the midst, a furious hurricane burst over the city, and extinguished every lamp and torch in the church. A darker omen followed: a riot broke out among the populace, in which forty lives were lost. The day after, the Pope dined in public in the Lateran; the two Kings waited behind his chair. Before his coronation, Boniface took a solemn oath of fidelity to St. Peter and to the Church, to maintain the great mysteries of the faith, the decrees of the eight General Councils, the ritual and Order of the Church, not to alienate the possessions of the Church, and to restore discipline. This oath was unusual (at least in its length), it was attested by a notary, and laid up in the Pontifical Archives.[g]

Inauguration at Rome. Jan. 16, 1295.

[f] There is a very odd account of the difference of the voices of the Italian and French clergy during this ceremony:—

"Ille tonum Romanus avet clarum diapente,
Ille canit, ferit ille gravem quartam diatesaron:
Lubricus in vocem nescit consistere pernix
Italus, ipse notas retricans, ceu nubilâ guttas.
At flatu melior vox Gallica lege mososum
Præcinit, et guerble* geminans retinacula puncti
Instar habet dure percussi incudibus æris."
Cardin. St. George.

[g] Pagi and others have shown that the profession of faith attached to this oath cannot be genuine. Qu.? forged when Boniface was afterwards accused of heresy?

* Wirbel, *Germ.*; warble, *Engl.*

Immediately after the consecration, a Manifesto proclaimed to Christendom the voluntary abdication of Cœlestine, on account of his acknowledged inexperience, incapacity, ignorance of secular affairs, love of devout solitude, and the elevation of Boniface, who had been compelled to accept the throne. But serious and dangerous doubts were still entertained, or might be made the specious pretext of rebellion against the authority of the Pope. Did the omnipotence of the Pope extend to the resignation of the office? His Bull, empowering himself to abdicate, and his abdication, were without precedent, and contrary to some canonical principles. Already, if not openly uttered, might be heard by the quick and jealous ears of Boniface some murmurs even among his Cardinals. No one knew better the versatility of Rome, and of her nobles. Boniface was not the man to allow advantage to his adversaries, and adversaries he knew well that he had, and would have more, and those more formidable, if they should gain possession of the person of Cœlestine, and use his name for their own anarchical purposes. Cœlestine had abandoned the pomp and authority, he could not shake off the dangers and troubles, the jealousies and apprehensions which belonged to his former state. The solitude, in which he hoped to live and die in peace, was closely watched; he was agitated by no groundless fears, probably by intimations, that it might be necessary to invite him to Rome. Once he escaped, and hid himself among some other hermits in a wood. But he could not elude the emissaries of Boniface. He received a more alarming warning of his danger, and fled to the sea-coast, in order to take refuge in the untrodden forests of Dalmatia. His little vessel was cast back by contrary winds; he was seized by the Governor of Iapygia, in the district of the Capitanata. He was sent, according to the order of Boniface, to Anagni. All along the road, for above one hundred and fifty miles, the people, deeply impressed with the sanctity of Cœlestine, crowded around him with perilous homage. They plucked the hairs of the ass on which he rode, and cut off pieces of his garments to keep as reliques. They watched him at night,

Cœlestine V.

till he went to rest; they were ready by thousands in the early morning to see him set forth upon his journey. Some of the more zealous entreated him to resume the Pontificate. The humility of Cœlestine did not forsake him for an instant; everywhere he protested that his resignation was voluntary. He was brought into the presence of Boniface. Like the meanest son of the Church, he fell down at the feet of the Pope; his only prayer, a prayer urged with tears, was that he might be permitted to return to his desert hermitage. Boniface addressed him in severe language. He was committed to safe custody in the castle of Fumone, watched day and night by soldiers, like a prisoner of state. His treatment is described as more or less harsh, according as the writer is more or less favourable to Boniface.[h] By one account, his cell was so narrow that he had not room to move; where his feet stood when he celebrated mass by day, there his head reposed at night. He obtained with difficulty permission for two of his brethren to be with him; but so unwholesome was the place, that they were obliged to resign their charitable office. According to another statement, the narrowness of his cell was his own choice: he was permitted to indulge in this meritorious misery; his brethren were allowed free access to him; he suffered no insult, but was treated with the utmost humanity and respect. Death released him before long from his spontaneous or enforced wretchedness. He was seized with a fever, generated perhaps by the unhealthy confinement, accustomed as he had been to the free mountain air. He died, May 19, 1296, was buried with ostentatious publicity, that the world might know that Boniface now reigned without rival, in the church of Ferentino. The Cardinal Thomas, his own Cardinal, and Theodoric, the Pope's Chamberlain, conducted the ceremonial, to which all the Prelates and clergy in the neighbourhood were summoned.[i] Countless miracles were told of his death: a golden cross appeared to the soldiers shining

Imprisonment.

Death.

[h] Ptolem. Luc., Stefaneschi. Vit. Celest. apud Bollandistas, with other Lives.

[i] Supplementum Vit. S. Celestin. apud Bollandistas.

above the door of his cell: his soul was seen by a faithful disciple visibly ascending to heaven. His body became the cause of a fierce quarrel, and of a pious crime. It was stolen from the grave at Ferentino, and carried to Aquila. An insurrection of the people of Ferentino was hardly quelled by the Bishop on the assurance, after the visitation of the tomb, that the heart of the Saint had been fortunately left behind; they consented to abandon their design of vengeance. Immediately on the death of Boniface, the canonisation of Cœlestine was urgently demanded, especially by the enemies of that Pope. It was granted by Clement V. The monks of the Cœlestinian brotherhood (self-incorporated, self-organised) grew and flourished; they built convents in many parts of Italy, even in France. But the memory of the Pope, who had disdained and thrown aside the Papal diadem, dwelt with no less veneration among the Fraticelli, the only true followers, as they averred, and in one respect justly averred, of St. Francis. The Cœlestinians were not, strictly speaking, Franciscans; they were a separate Order; owed their foundation, as they said, to the sainted Pope, but held the same opinions, sprang from the same class, seem at length to have merged into and mingled with the lower and more fanatic of the Minorites. Of them, and of the place assigned to Cœlestine in the visions of the Abbot Joachim, the Book of the Eternal Gospel, and in all the prophecies spread abroad by these wild sects, more hereafter.

Canonisation. A.D. 1313.

Boniface surveyed Christendom with the haughty glance of a master, but not altogether with the cool and penetrating wisdom of a statesman. Noble visions of universal pacification, of new crusades, of that glorious but impracticable scheme of uniting Europe in one vast confederacy against Saracenic sway, swept before his thoughts. To a mind like his, which held it to be sacrilege or impiety to recede from any claim once made by the See of Rome, and acknowledged by the ignorance, interests, or weakness of the temporal sovereign, the Papacy was a perilous height on which the steadiest head might become dizzy and lose its self-command. From Naples to Scotland the Papal supremacy was in possession of full, established, and

acknowledged power, which took cognisance of the moral acts of sovereigns, their private life, their justice, humanity, respect for the rights of their subjects. It was thus absolutely illimitable. Besides this, the Popes held an actual feudal suzerainty over some of the smaller kingdoms, admitted by their kings in times of weakness, or in order to legalise the usurpation of the throne by some new dynasty. For this power they could cite precedent, more or less venerable, recognised, uncontested; and precedent was universally held the great foundation of such tenure. It was an axiom of the Papal policy that rights, superiorities, sovereignties, once claimed by the Pope, belonged to the Pope: he claimed Corsica and Sardinia, partly as islands, partly as said to have formed a portion of the domains of the Countess Matilda, and then granted Corsica and Sardinia as his own inalienable, incontestable property. Not only Naples and Sicily, Arragon, Portugal, Hungary, Bohemia, Scotland, England—it was averred, though the indignant nation still repudiated, or but reluctantly acknowledged, the submission of John, and, still while it paid irregularly, murmured against the tribute—had been ceded as fiefs, or were claimed as owing that kind of allegiance. Over the Empire the Pope still asserted the privilege of the Pope's at least ratifying the election, of deposing the Emperor who might invade or violate the rights of the Roman See, rights indefinite and interpreted by sole authority, against which lay no appeal. Even in France the ruling dynasty was liable to be reminded that the throne had been conferred by Pope Zacharias on Pepin the father of Charlemagne; so too on the Papal sanction rested its later transference to the House of Capet. Throughout Christendom the Pope had a kingdom of his own within every kingdom. The clergy, possessing a vast portion, in some countries more than half the land and wealth, and of unbounded influence, owed to him their first allegiance. They were assessable and to be taxed only for him or by his authority; and, though occasionally refractory, occasionally more true to their national descent and their national pride than to their sacerdotal interests, and sometimes standing strongly on their separate hier-

archical independence, yet as they held their independence of the civil power, their immunities from taxation, their distinct sacred character, chiefly from the Pope, and looked to his spiritual arms for their security and protection, they were everywhere his subjects in the first instance. And besides the clergy, and compelling the clergy themselves to more unlimited Papal obedience, the monastic orders, more especially the Friars, were his great standing army, his garrison throughout the Christian world.

Boniface had visited many countries in Europe. It is asserted that in his youth he studied law in Paris, and even that he had been canon in that church.[k] He had accompanied the Cardinal Ottobuoni to England, when sent by Alexander IV. to offer the crown of Sicily to the Prince Edmund. He had been joined in a mission with Matteo, Cardinal of Acqua Sparta, to adjust the conflicting claims of Charles of Anjou and Sicily, and of Rodolph, King of the Romans, to the inheritance of Provence. The treaty, which he drew, placed the Pope in the high office of arbiter in temporal as in spiritual matters. In any dispute as to the fulfilment or interpretation of the treaty the two Kings submitted themselves absolutely to the judgement of the Pope.[m] For his success in this legation Gaetani had been rewarded with the Cardinalate. Gaetani had been employed to dissuade Charles of Anjou from his duel at Bourdeaux with the King of Arragon. He had sat in Rome in a commission upon the ecclesiastical affairs of Portugal. The student of law in the University of Paris returned to that city as Papal Legate (with the Cardinal of Parma) from Nicolas IV. They had the difficult commission to demand the refunding the tenths raised by Philip the Bold for a Crusade to the Holy Land, from his son Philip the Fair. He had thus experience of the stern rapacity of Philip the Fair, his defiance of all authority, even that of the Pope, in affairs of money. He had to allay the other most intense and dominant passion of the same Philip the

Boniface as Papal agent and as Cardinal.

[k] Du Boulay, Hist. Univers. Paris. Tosti, Storia di Bonifazio VIII. to p. 31. He was canon also of Auagni, of Todi, of Lyons, of St. Peter in Rome. He was also Apostolic Notary.

[m] Raynald. sub ann. 1280.

Fair, hatred and jealousy of Edward I., King of England. On the first question he presided in a synod held in the church of St. Genevieve, a synod which ended in nothing. On the second point Philip was equally impracticable; he coldly repelled the advice which would reconcile him with his detested rival. The same Legates at Tarascon had been instructed to arrange the treaty between France, Charles of Naples, and Alfonso of Arragon. The peace had been settled, but broken off by the death of King Alfonso.

Feb. 18, 1291.

But in all his travels and his intercourse with these sovereigns, Boniface had not discerned, or his haughty hierarchical spirit had refused to see, the revolution which had been slowly working throughout Christendom: in France the growth of the royal power; in England the aspirations after religious as well as civil freedom; the advance of the Universities; the rise of the civil lawyers, who were to meet the clergy on their own ground, and wrest from them the supremacy, or at least to confront them on equal terms in the field of jurisprudence—a lettered order, bound together by as strong a corporate spirit, and often hostile to the ecclesiastical canonists. Boniface had not discovered that the Papal power had reached, had passed its zenith; that his attempt to raise it even higher, to exhibit it in a more naked and undisguised form than had been dared by Gregory VII. or Innocent III., would shake it to its base.

Boniface and Charles of Naples.

Boniface was bound by gratitude to Charles, King of Naples, claimant of Sicily, perhaps by a plighted or understood covenant during his election. His first act was one of haughty leniency: he granted a remission of any forfeiture of the fief of Naples which might have been incurred by his father, Charles of Anjou, or by Charles himself, for not having fulfilled the conditions of his vassalage. If either should have become liable, not merely to forfeiture, but to excommunication, as having violated any one of the covenants imposed by his liege lord the Church, had neglected or refused to pay the stipulated tribute, and thereby incurred deprivation, the Pope condescended to grant absolution on the

condition of full satisfaction to the Church.[n] On the sudden death of Charles of Hungary, during the absence of King Charles of Naples, the Pope acted at once as Liege Lord of Hungary, appointed his Legate Landulph, and afterwards, yielding to the petitions of the people, the Queen Maria as Regent of the realm.

The interests of the Papal See, no less than his alliance with Charles of Naples, bound Pope Boniface to reconcile, if possible, the conflicting pretensions of the Houses of Anjou and Arragon. The Arragonese, notwithstanding the reiterated grants of the kingdom of Sicily to the Angevine, notwithstanding the most solemn excommunications, and the most strenuous warfare of the combined Papal and Angevine armies, had still obstinately maintained their title by descent, election of the people, actual possession. The throne of Sicily had successively passed down the whole line of brothers, from Peter to Alfonso, from Alfonso to James, from James it had devolved, in fact, if not by any regular grant or title, through assent or connivance, on the more active and ambitious Frederick.

During the reign of the more peaceful James a treaty had been agreed to. Two marriages, to which Pope Cœlestine removed the canonical impediments, ratified the peace. James of Arragon was espoused to Blanche, the daughter of Charles; Robert, son of Charles, to Iolante, the sister of James.[o] Throughout this whole transaction the Pope (now Boniface) assumed, and it should seem without protest, the power to grant the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia. In the surrender of those kingdoms by Charles of Valois, he insisted on the full recognition that he had held them by grant of the Pope. They were regranted to James of Arragon, who on this tenure did not scruple to accept, as the successor of his brother Alfonso, the hereditary dominions of his house. June 24, 1295. All who presumed to impede or to disturb this peace were solemnly excommunicated at Anagni on St. John the Baptist's day.

But the younger branches of the house of Arragon had not been so easily overawed by the terrors of the Church

[n] Bull. apud Raynaldum. [o] Briefs in Raynaldus, 1294.

to abandon the rich inheritance of Sicily, nor was Sicily, yet reeking with the blood shed at the Vespers, prepared to submit to the vengeance of the house of Anjou. The deep, inextinguishable hatred of the French was in the hearts of all orders; it was nursed by the remembrance of their merciless oppressions; the satisfaction of revenge once glutted, and the fear that the revolt, the Vesper massacre, and the years of war, would be even more terribly atoned for. Boniface knew the bold and ambitious character of Frederick, the younger son of the house of Arragon. He had a splendid lure for him—no less than the Empire of Constantinople. The Pope invited him to a conference. Frederick appeared on the coast of Italy with a powerful and well-appointed fleet, accompanied by John of Procida and the great Admiral Roger Loria, at Velletri. The Pope offered him the hand of Catherine Courtenay, the daughter of Philip, titular Latin Emperor of the East: all the powers of the West were to confederate to place her, with her young and valiant husband, on the Byzantine throne. To her likewise he had written, under the magnificent title of Empress of Constantinople, in a tone of parental persuasion and spiritual authority, urging her to give her hand to the brave Prince of Arragon.[p] By so doing she would show herself a worthy descendant of her grandfather Baldwin and her father Philip, a dutiful daughter of the Church; she would not merely gain the glorious crown of her ancestors, but restore the erring and schismatical Greeks to their obedience to the Holy See.[q]

A treaty was formed on the following terms. Charles of Valois fully surrendered his empty title to Arragon, and acquired a title (as empty it proved) to the throne of Corsica and Sardinia, with large subsidies in money. James of Arragon had the full recognition of his right to the throne of Arragon, which he already possessed, peace, and the shame of having abandoned his brother and the claim of the house of Arragon to the throne of Sicily. The Pope secured, as he fondly hoped throughout, the lasting grati-

[p] Nicol. Special. ii. 21. Compare Amari, p. 363, ch. xiv.

[q] Brief of the Pope to Catherine of Courtenay, Raynald. sub ann. 129 (27th June).

tude of Charles of Valois, the glory of having commanded peace, and the vain hope that he had deluded Frederick to surrender the actual possession of the throne of Sicily for a visionary empire in the East, which the Pope assumed the power, not of granting, but of having bestowed with the hand of the heiress, to that barren title Catherine of Courtenay. "A princess without a foot of land must not wed a prince without a foot of land; she was to bring her imperial dowry.[r]"

But the youthful Prince Frederick of Arragon was not so easily tempted by the astute Pontiff. He required time for consideration, and returned with his fleet to Sicily. Nor was James of Arragon so absolutely in earnest, nor so determined on the surrender of his hereditary claims on Sicily. In public he dared not own the treaty. Envoys were sent from Palermo to demand whether he had actually ceded the island to the Pope and the King of Naples. King James was forced to acknowledge that he had done so. On the publication of his answer, there was a cry in the streets of Palermo, "What sorrow is like unto our sorrow?" But in secret, it was said, King James had more than suggested resistance. He was asked, "How, then, shall Prince Frederick act?" "He is a soldier, and knows his duty; ye, too, know your duty." John of Calamandra was sent by the Pope to Messina to offer a blank parchment to the Sicilians, on which they were to inscribe whatever exemptions, immunities, or securities, might tempt the nation to acknowledge the treaty. A noble, Peter de Ansalo, drew his sword, "It is by the sword, not by parchments, that Sicily will win peace." The Papal Envoy left the island with all the haste of terror.[s]

Frederick was crowned in the Cathedral of Palermo, on Easter Day, with the acclamation of all Sicily, March 21, 1296. determined to resist to the utmost the abhorred dominion of the French. He sailed instantly with a powerful fleet, subjected Reggio and the country around, and threatened the whole kingdom of Naples. On Ascension Day the Pope condemned Frederick and the Sicilians

[r] Brief of Pope Boniface. Raynald. 1296, c. 9.
[s] Montaner, Nic. Special. ii. 22.

by a bull, couched, if possible, in more than ordinary terrific phrases. He heaped up charges of perfidy, usurpation, impiety, contempt of God and of his Church; he annulled absolutely and entirely the election of Frederick as King of Sicily; he threatened with excommunication, with the extremest spiritual and temporal penalties, all who should not instantly abandon his cause; he forbade all who owned spiritual allegiance to Rome to enter into treaty with him; and he revoked all indulgences, privileges, or immunities, granted at any time to the kingdom of Sicily, more especially all granted to those concerned in the consecration or rather execration of the usurping King. The Sicilians, strong in their patriotism and their hatred of the French dominion, despised these idle fulminations. Charles must prepare for war, or rather the Pope in the name of Charles. But the resources of Naples were altogether exhausted; King Charles had paid a large sum to James of Arragon for the renunciation of his rights, and borrowed more of the Pope. Boniface was at once rapacious and liberal. He put off the day for the discharge of the first debt, and furnished five thousand ounces of gold. Charles was empowered to tax the Church property in his realm for this pious war, waged to maintain the rights of the Church.

The war of Sicily continued almost to the close of the Pontificate of Boniface VIII. King James of Arragon was summoned by the inflexible Pope to assist in wresting the kingdom from his brother; he received the title of standard-bearer of the Church. James obeyed with enforced but ostentatious obsequiousness. Yet he was suspected, perhaps not without reason, of a traitorous reluctance to conquer. The war dragged on, aggressive on the side of Frederick against Naples, rather than endangering Sicily.[t] Roger de Loria, affronted by an untimely suspicion of perfidy, yielded to the temptation of the principality over two barren islands on the coast

A.D. 1297.

[t] "Quod si sacer Princeps Ecclesiæ ipsum ad hæc per edicta verenda prorsus impellat, se licet invitum, Dei magis quam hominum offensam metuentem, necesse quidem esse favorabiliter obsequi. Cupiebat enim fratris ruinam, sed ut omnis objectio legitimâ causâ vestiretur, compelli voluit."—Ferret. Vicentin. apud Muratori, S. R. T. xi. p. 959.

of Africa, conquered from the Moors. The revolted Sicilian Admiral inflicted a terrible discomfiture on the fleet of his former sovereign, Frederick. July 4, 1299. But in the same year Frederick revenged himself by the total defeat of the army of Charles of Naples on the plains of Formicaria, and the capture of his son Philip of Tarento. In the next year another naval victory raised still higher the fame of Roger Loria, who A.D. 1302. seemed to carry with him, whichever cause he espoused, the dominion of the sea. But the invasion of Sicily was baffled by the prudence and Fabian policy of King Frederick. The Pope, at length weary of the expenditure, suspecting the lukewarm aid of James of Arragon, and not yet in open breach with Philip King of France, summoned Philip's brother, Charles of Valois, whose successes in Flanders had obtained for him the fame of a great general, to aid the final conquest of Sicily. Perhaps he meditated the transference of the crown of Naples and Sicily from the feeble descendants of the house of Anjou to the more powerful Charles of Valois. The sum- Affairs of Sicily. mons to Charles of Valois was, as the invitation to French princes by the Pope to take part in Italian affairs has ever been, fatal to the liberties and welfare of Italy, ruinous to the Popes themselves. He did but crush the liberties of Florence, and left the excommunicated Frederick on the throne of Sicily.[u] "He came," says the historian, "to bring peace to Florence, and brought war; to wage war against Sicily, and concluded an ignominious peace." His invasion of Sicily with an overwhelming force only made more obstinate the resistance of the Sicilians: they met him not in the field; they allowed him to wear away his army in vain successes.[x] Boniface heard before his death that a treaty of peace had been sealed, leaving Frederick in peaceable possession of the whole island for his lifetime, under the title of King of Trinacria. The only price which he paid was the acceptance as his wife of a daughter of the house of Anjou. Frederick of Arragon, notwithstand-

[u] "Tempo veggio non molto doppo anchol
Che tragge un altro Carlo fuor di Francia,
Per far meglio conoscer se e' i suoi;
Senz' arme n' esca solo; e con la lancia
Con la quel giostra Giuda; e quella punta
Si, che a Fiorenza fa scoppiar la pancia."
Purgat. xx. 70.

[x] The war may be read fully and well told in the last chapter of Amari.

ing the terms of the treaty, by which on his death the crown of Sicily was to revert to the King of Naples, handed it quietly down to his own posterity. But we must return hereafter to Charles of Valois.

Boniface a Guelf.

Boniface aspired to be the pacificator of Italy, but it was not by a lofty superiority to the passions of the times, by tempering the ferocity of the conflicting factions, and with a stern but impartial justice repressing Guelf and Ghibelline; it was rather by avowedly proclaiming himself the head of the Guelfic interest, seizing the opportunity of the feebleness of the Empire to crush all the Imperialist faction, and to annul all the Imperial rights in Italy. Anagni had been a Ghibelline city; the Gaetani a Ghibelline family. But in Boniface the Churchman had long struggled triumphantly against the Ghibelline; the Papacy wrought him at once into a determined Guelf. Even before his pontificate he had connected himself with the Orsini, the enemies of his enemies, the Colonnas. The Ghibellines spread stories about Pope Boniface; true or false, naked or exaggerated truth, they found ready credence. The Ghibellines were masters, through the Orsis and Spinolas, of Genoa; the Archbishop Stephen Porchetto was of that family. In the solemn service of the Church, when the Pope strews ashes on the heads of all, to admonish them of the nothingness of man, instead of the usual words, Boniface broke out, "Ghibelline, remember that thou art dust, and with all other Ghibellines to dust thou shalt return." [y]

The Colonnas centered in themselves everything which could keep alive the well-grounded fear, the jealousy, the vindictiveness of the Pope, as well as justify his desire of order, of law, and of peace. They had Ghibellinism, power, wealth, lawlessness, ill-concealed doubts of his title to the Papacy, no doubt ambition to transfer the Papacy to themselves. Under Nicolas IV. they had ruled supreme over the Pope; under Gaetani, would they endure to be nothing? All the Papacy could give or add to their vast possessions,

[y] This, according to Muratori, if ever said, must have been said to Archbishop Porchetto, who succeeded Jacob a Voragine (author of the Legenda Aurea).—Muratori, S. R. I. ix. Note on Jacob a Voragine, p. 10.

titles, ranks, were theirs, or had been theirs but a few years ago. They had long been the great Ghibelline house. In Rome, still more in the Romagna, they had fortresses held to be impregnable—Palestrina, Nepi, Zagaruola, Colonna; and these gave them, if not the absolute command of the region, the power of plundering and tyrannising with impunity. Nor was that power under any constraint of respect for sacred things, of humanity, or of justice. They might become what the Counts and Nobles of former centuries had been, masters of the Papal territories, of the Papacy itself.

The Colonnas were strong, as has been seen, even in the conclave, in which sat two Cardinals of that house. The death of Cœlestine had not removed all doubt as to the validity of the election of Boniface. No one knew better than Boniface how the Colonnas had been deceived into giving their favourable suffrages, how deeply, if silently, they already repented of their weakness; how ready they would be to fall back on the illegality of the whole affair. There can be little question that they were watching the opportunity of revolt as eagerly as Boniface that of crushing the detested house of Colonna. It concerned his own security not less than that of the Papacy: the uncontested sovereignty of the Pope over his own dominions; the permanent rescue of the throne of St. Peter from the tyranny of a fierce and unscrupulous host of bandit chieftains, and from Ghibellines at the gates of Rome, and even in Rome.[2]

The Colonnas were so ill-advised, or so unable to restrain each other, as to give a plausible reason, and more than one reason, for the Pope to break out in just it seemed, if implacable, resentment. The Colonna, who held the city of Palestrina, surprised and carried off on the road to Anagni a rich caravan of furniture belonging to the Pope. The crime of one was the crime of all. But heavier charges were not wanting which involved the whole house. They were accused of conspiracy, as doubtless they had conspired in their own wishes if not in overt acts, with Frederick of Arragon and the Sicilians. It was said that they had openly received in Palestrina Francis Cres-

[2] Compare Raynaldus, sub ann. 1297, p. 233.

centio and Nicolas Pazzi, citizens of Rome, envoys from Frederick of Arragon.[a] There is a dark indication that already France was tampering in the opposition to Boniface.[b]

Papal Bull against the Colonnas.

A Bull came forth denouncing the whole family, their ancestors, as well as the present race, with indiscriminate condemnation, but concentering all the penalty on the two Cardinals.[c] "Having taken into consideration the wicked acts of the Colonnas in former times, their present manifest relapse into their hereditary guiltiness, and our just fears of their former misdeeds, it is clear as daylight that this odious house of Colonna, cruel to its subjects, troublesome to its neighbours, the enemy of the Roman Republic, rebellious against the Holy Roman Church, the disturber of the public peace in the city and in the territory of Rome, impatient of equals, ungrateful for benefits, stranger to humility, and possessed by madness, having neither fear nor respect for man, and an insatiable lust to throw the city and the whole world into confusion, has endeavoured (here follow the specific charges) to instigate our dear sons James of Arragon and the noble youth Frederick to rebellion." The Pope then avows that he had summoned the Colonnas to surrender their castles of Palestrina, Colonna, and Zagaruola, into his hands. Their refusal to obey this imperious demand was at once the proof and the aggravation of their disloyalty. "Believing, then," he proceeds, "the rank of Cardinal held by these stubborn and intractable men to be a scandal to the faithful, we have determined, after trying those milder measures (the demand of the unconditional surrender of their castles), in the strength of the power of the Most High, to subdue the pride of the aforesaid James and Peter, to crush their arrogance, to cast them forth as diseased sheep from the fold, to depose them for ever from their high station." He goes on to deprive them of all their ecclesiastical rank and

[a] Muratori doubts this (p. 256); it is not brought forward as a specific charge by the Pope, but for this the Pope might have his reasons. It is asserted by Villani, viii. 21; Ptolem. Lucen. in Annal. Chronicon Foroliviens. S. H. T. xxii. Tosti has rather ostentatiously brought forward a new cause of hostility. Cardinal James Colonna was trustee for his three brothers, and robbed them of their property. They appealed to the Pope. From Patrini, Memorie Penestrin. Rome, 1795.

[b] See note next page.

[c] The Bull in Raynaldus, A.D. 1297.

revenues, to declare them excommunicate, and to threaten with the severest censures of the Church all who should thenceforth treat them as Cardinals, or in any way befriend their cause. Such partisans were to be considered in heresy, schism, and rebellion, to lose all ecclesiastical rank, dignity, or bishopric, and to forfeit their estates. The descendants of one branch were declared incapable, to the fourth generation, of entering into holy orders. Such was the attainder for their spiritual treason.

The Colonnas had offered, on the mediation of the Senator and the Commonalty of Rome, to submit themselves in the fullest manner to the Pope.[d] But the Pope would be satisfied with nothing less than the surrender of all their great castles. Therefore, when they could no longer avoid it, they accepted the defiance to internecine war. They answered by a proclamation of great length, hardly inferior in violence, more desperately daring than that of the Pope. They repudiated altogether the right of Boniface to the Pontificate; they denied the power of Cœlestine to resign. They accused Boniface of obtaining the abdication of Cœlestine by fraudulent means, by conditions and secret understandings, by stratagems and machinations;[e] they appealed to a General Council, that significant menace, in later times of such fearful power. This long argumentative declaration of the Colonna Cardinals was promulgated in all quarters, affixed to the doors

Reply of the Colonnas.

[d] The senators and commonalty of Rome had persuaded the Colonnas to this course. "Suaserunt, induxerunt quod ad pedes nostros reverenter venirent, nostra et ipsius Romanæ Ecclesiæ absolute ac liberè mandata facturi; ad quæ prædicti schismatici et rebelles ipsis ambasciatoribus responderunt, se venturos ad pedes nostros ac nostra et prædictæ Ecclesiæ mandata facturos."—Epist. Bonifac. ad Pandect. Savelli, Orvieto, 29th Sept.

[e] These words are remarkable:—"Quod in renuntiatione ipsius multæ fraudes et doli, conditiones et intendimenta, et *machinamenta*, et tales et talia intervenisse *multipliciter asseruntur*, quod esto, quod posset fieri renuntiatio, de quo merito dubitatur, ipsam vitiarent et redderent illegitimam, inefficacem, et nullam."—Apud Raynald. sub ann. 1297, No. 34. But the most remarkable fact regarding this document is that it was attested in the Castle of Longhezza *by five dignitaries of the Church of France*, the Provost of Rheims, the Archdeacon of Rouen, three canons, of Chartres, of Evreux, and of Senlis; and by three Franciscan friars, of whom one was *the famous poet Jacopone da Todi*, afterwards persecuted by Boniface. This is of great importance. The quarrel with Philip the Fair had already begun in the year before; the Bull "Clericis Laicos" had been issued; and here is a confederacy of the Colonnas, the agents of the King of France, and the Cœlestinian Franciscans. It bears date May 10, 1297.—Dupuy, Preuves du Différend.

of churches, and placed on the very altar of St. Peter. But the Colonnas stood alone; none other of the Conclave joined them; no popular tumult broke out on their side. Their allies, and allies they doubtless had, were beyond the Faro; within the Alps, Ghibellinism was overawed, and abandoned its champions, notwithstanding their purple, to the unresisted Pontiff. Boniface proceeded to pass his public sentence against his contumacious spiritual vassals. The sentence was a concentration of all the maledictory language of ecclesiastical wrath. No instrument, after a trial for capital treason, in any period, was drawn with more careful and vindictive particularity. It was not content with treating the appeal as heretical, blasphemous, and schismatical, but as an act of insanity. The Pope had an unanswerable argument against their denial of the validity of his election, their undisturbed, unprotesting allegiance during three years, their recognition of the Pope by assisting him in all his papal functions. The Bull denounced their audacity in presuming, after their deposition, to assume the names and to wear the dress and insignia of Cardinals. The penalty was not merely perpetual degradation, but excommunication in its severest form; the absolute confiscation of the entire estates, not only of the Cardinals, but of the whole Colonna family. It included, by name, John de San Vito, and Otho, the son of John, the brother of the Cardinal James and the father of Cardinal Peter, of Agapeto, Stephen, and James Sciarra, sons of the same John, with all their kindred and relatives, and their descendants for ever. It absolutely incapacitated them from holding rank, office, function, or property. All towns, castles, or places which harboured any of their persons fell under interdict; and the faithful were commanded to deliver them up wherever they might be found.

Papal sentence. Dec. 1297.

This proscription, this determination to extinguish one of the most ancient and powerful families of Italy, with the degradation of two Cardinals, was an act of vigour and severity beyond all precedent. Nor was it a loud and furious but idle menace. Boniface had not miscalculated his strength. The Orsini lent all their forces to humble

the rival Colonnas, and a Crusade was proclaimed, a Crusade against two Cardinals of the Church, a Crusade at the gates of Rome.[f] The same indulgences were granted to those who should take up arms against the Cardinals and their family which were offered to those who warred on the unbelievers in the Holy Land. The Cardinal of Porto, Matthew Acquasparta, Bishop of S. Sabina, commanded the army of the Pope in this sacred war. Stronghold after stronghold was stormed; castle after castle fell.[g] Palestrina alone held out with intrepid obstinacy. Almost the whole Colonna house sought their last refuge in the walls of this redoubted fortress, which defied the siege, and wearied out the assailing forces. Guido di Montefeltro, a famous Ghibelline chieftain, had led a life of bloody and remorseless warfare, in which he was even more distinguished by craft than by valour. He had treated with contemptuous defiance all the papal censures which rebuked and would avenge his discomfiture of many papal generals and the depression of the Guelfs. In an access of devotion, now grown old, he had taken the habit and the vows of St. Francis, divorced his wife, given up his wealth, obtained remission of his sins, first from Cœlestine, afterwards from Boniface, and was living in quiet in a convent at Ancona.[h] He was summoned from his cell on his allegiance to the Pope, and with plenary absolution for his broken vows, commanded to inspect the walls, and give his counsel on the best means of reducing the stubborn citadel. The old soldier surveyed the impregnable defences, and then, requiring still further absolution for any crime of which he might be guilty, uttered his memorable oracle, "Promise largely; keep little of your promises."[i] The large promises were

Jan. to Sept. 1298.

[f] Raynaldus, sub ann. 1298. Dante puts these words in the mouth of Guido di Montefeltro:—

"Lo principe di nuovi Pharisei,
Havendo guerra presso a Laterano,
E non con Saracin nè con Giudei;
Che ciascuno suo nimico era Christiano;
E nessun era stato a vincer Acri,
Ne mercatante in terra di Soldano."
Inferno, c. xxvii.

[g] Ptolem. Lucen. p. 1219.

[h] Tosti, the apologetic biographer of Boniface VIII., endeavours to raise some chronological difficulties, which amount to this, that Palestrina surrendered in the month of September, and that Guido di Montefeltro died (at Assisi, it might be suddenly, he was an old worn out man) on the 23rd or 29th of that month.

[i] "Lunga promessa, con attender corto."—Inferno, xx. Comment. di Benvenuto da Imola (apud Murator.), Ferret. Vicent. Pipinus (ibid.). These

made; the Colonnas opened their gates; within the prescribed three days appeared the two Cardinals, with others of the house, Agapeto and Sciarra, not on horseback, but more humbly, on foot, before the Pope at Rieti. They were received with outward blandness, and admitted to absolution. They afterwards averred[k] that they had been tempted to surrender with the understanding that the Papal banners were to be displayed on the walls of Palestrina; but that the Papal honour once satisfied, perhaps the fortifications dismantled, the city was to be restored to its lords. Not such was the design of Boniface. He determined to make the rebellious city an example of righteous pontifical rigour. He first condemned it to be no longer the seat of a Bishop; then commanded, as elder Rome her rival Carthage, that it should be utterly razed to the ground, passed over by the plough, and sown with salt, so as never again to be the habitation of man.[m] A new city, to be called the Papal city, was to be built in the neighbourhood.

Surrender of Palestrina.

The Colonnas found that they had nothing to hope, much to fear from the Pope, who was thus destroying, as it were, the lair of these wild beasts, whom he might seem determined to extirpate, rather than permit to resume any fragment of their dangerous power. Though themselves depressed, humbled, they were still formidable by their connections. The Pope accused them, justly it might be such desperate men, of meditating new schemes of revolt. The Annibaleschi, their relatives, a powerful family, had raised or threatened to raise the Maremma. Boniface seized John of Ceccano of that house, cast him into prison, and confiscated all his lands. The Colonnas fled; some found refuge in Sicily; Stephen was received with honour in France. The Cardinals retired into obscurity. In France, too, after having been

Flight of the Colonnas.

are Ghibelline writers; this alone throws suspicion on their authority. But Dante writes as of a notorious fact. Tosti's argument, which infers from the Colonnas' act of humiliation, of which he adduces good evidence, that the surrender was unconditional, is more remarkable for its zeal than its logic.

[k] In the proceedings before Clement V. apud Dupuy.

[m] "Ipsamque aratro subjici et veteris instar Carthaginis Africanæ, ac salem in eum et fecimus et mandavimus seminari, ut nec rem, nec nomen, nec titulum haberet civitatis."—See the edict in Raynaldus.

taken by corsairs, arrived Sciarra Colonna, hereafter to wreak the terrible vengeance of his house upon the implacable Pope.

Throughout Italy Boniface had assumed the same imperious dictatorship. His aim, the suppression of the interminable wars which arrayed city against city; order against order, family against family, was not unbecoming his holy office; but it was in the tone of a master that he commanded the world to peace, a tone which provoked resistance. It was not by persuasive influence, which might lull the conflicting passions of men, and enlighten them as to their real interests. Nor was his arbitration so serenely superior to the disturbing impulse of Guelfic and Papal ambition as to be accepted as an impartial award. The depression of Ghibellinism, not Christian peace, might seem his ultimate aim. Italy.

Italy, however, was but a narrow part of the great spiritual realm over which Boniface aspired to maintain an authority surpassing, at least in the plain boldness of its pretensions, that of his most lofty predecessors. Boniface did not abandon the principle upon which the Popes had originally assumed the right of interposing in the quarrels of kings, their paramount duty to obey his summons as soldiers of the Cross, and to confederate for the reconquest of the Holy Land. But this object had shrunk into the background; even among the religious, the crusading passion, by being diverted to less holy purposes, was well nigh extinguished; it had begun even to revolt more than stir popular feeling. But Boniface rather rested his mandates on the universal, and, as he declared, the unlimited supremacy of the Roman See.

The great antagonistic power which had so long wrestled with the Papacy had indeed fallen into comparative insignificance. The Empire, under Adolph of Nassau (though acknowledged as King of the Romans he had not yet received the Imperial crown), had sunk from a formidable rival into an object of disdainful protection to the Pope. The Empire. Adolph of Nassau.

On the death of Rodolph of Hapsburg the Princes of

Germany dreaded the perpetuation of the Empire in that house, which had united to its Swabian possessions the great inheritance of Austria. Albert of Austria,
A.D. 1291. the son of Rodolph, was feared and hated; feared for his unmeasured ambition, extensive dominions, and the stern determination with which he had put down the continual insurrections in Austria and Styria; hated for his haughty and overbearing manners, and the undisguised despotism of his character. Wenzel, King of Bohemia, Albert, Elector of Saxony, Otho the Long, Margrave of Brandenburg, were drawn together by their common apprehensions and jealousy of the Austrian. The ecclesiastical Electors were equally averse to an hereditary Emperor, and to one of commanding power, ability, and resolution. But it was not easy to find a rival to oppose to the redoubted Albert, who reckoned almost in careless security on the succession to the Empire, and had already seized the regalia in the Castle of Trefels. Siegfried,
May, 1292. Archbishop of Cologne, suggested the name of Adolph of Nassau, a prince with no qualification but intrepid valour and the fame of some military skill, but with neither wealth, territory, nor influence. Gerhard, the subtle Archbishop of Mentz, seized the opportunity of making an Emperor who should not merely be the vassal of the Church of Rome, but even of the Church in Germany. It was said that he threatened severally each elector that, if he refused his vote for Adolph, the Archbishop would bring forward that Prince who would be most obnoxious to each one of them. Adolph of Nassau was chosen King of the Romans, but he was too poor to defray the cost of his own coronation: the magistrates of Frankfort opposed a tax which the Archbishop threatened to extort from the Jews of that city. The Archbishop of Mentz raised 20,000 marks of silver on the lands of his See; and so the coronation of Adolph took place at Aix-
June 24, 1292. la-Chapelle. But there was no disinterestedness in this act of the Archbishop. The elevation of Adolph of Nassau, if it did not begin, was the first flagrant example of the purchase of the Imperial crown

by the sacrifice of its rights. The capitulations [n] show the times. The King of the Romans was to compel the burghers of Mentz to pay a fine of 6000 marks of silver, imposed upon them by the Emperor Rodolph, for some act of disobedience to their Prelate; he was neither in act nor in counsel to aid the burghers against that Prelate; never to take Ulric of Hanau or Master Henry of Klingenberg into his counsels, or to show them any favour, but always to espouse the cause of the Archbishop and of the Church against these troublesome neighbours; he was to grant to the Archbishop certain villages and districts, with the privilege of a free city; to grant certain privileges and possessions to certain relatives of the Archbishop; to protect him by his royal favour against the Duke of Brunswick, and all his enemies; to grant the toll at Boppard on the Rhine in perpetuity to the Church of Mentz; to pay all the debts due from the Archbishop to the Court of Rome, and to hold the Archbishop harmless from all processes in respect of such debts; to repay all charges incurred on account of his coronation; to grant to the Archbishop the Imperial cities of Muhlhausen and Nordhausen, and to compel the burghers to take the oath of fealty to him. Nor was this all. Among the further stipulations, the Emperor was to make over the Jews of Mentz (the Jews of the Empire were now the men of the Emperor) to the Archbishop; this superiority had been usurped by the burghers of Mentz. The Emperor was not to intermeddle with causes which belonged to the spiritual Courts; not to allow them to be brought before temporal tribunals; to leave the Archbishop and his clergy, and also all his suffragan Bishops, in full possession of their immunities and rights, castles, fortresses, and goods. One article alone concerned the whole princedom of the Empire. No Prince was to be summoned to the Imperial presence without the notice of fifteen weeks, prescribed by ancient usage. The other ecclesiastical electors were not quite so grasping in their demands: Cologne and Treves were content with the cession of certain towns and possessions.

Terms exacted by the Archbishop of Mentz. July 1.

[n] Wurdtwein. Diplom. Moguntiaca, i. 28.

Adolph submitted to all these terms, which, if he had the will, he had hardly the power to fulfil.[o]

The Emperor, who was thus subservient to the Archbishop of Mentz, was not likely to offer any dangerous resistance to the pretensions of the Pope; and to him Pope Boniface issued his mandates and his inhibitions as to a subject. Adolph might at first have held the balance between the conflicting Kings of France and England; his inclinations or his necessities drove him into the party of England. He sent a cartel of defiance to the King of France, to which King Philip rejoined, if not insultingly, with the language of an equal. But the subtle as well as haughty Philip revenged himself on the hostile Empire by taking more serious advantage of its weakness. The last wreck of the kingdom of Arles, Provence, became part of the kingdom of France: the old county of Burgundy, Franche Comté, by skilful negotiations, was severed from the Empire.[p] These hostile measures, and the subsidies of England, were irresistible to the indigent yet warlike Adolph. He declared himself the ally of Edward; and when Boniface sent two Cardinals to command France and England to make peace, at the same time the Bishops of Reggio and Sienna had instructions to warn the Emperor, under the terror of ecclesiastical censures, not to presume to interfere in the quarrel. The Pope's remonstrance was a bitter insult: "Becomes it so great and powerful a Prince to serve as a common soldier for hire in the armies of England?"[q] But English gold outweighed Apostolic censure and scorn. In the campaign in Flanders the Emperor Adolph had 2000 knights in arms on the side and in the pay of England. The rapid successes, however, of the King of France enabled Adolph at once to fulfil his engagements with England without much risk to his subsidiary troops. The Emperor was included in the peace to which the two monarchs were reduced under the arbitration of Boniface.[r]

A.D. 1294.

A.D. 1295.

[o] Compare throughout Schmidt, Geschichte der Deutschen, viii. p. 115, *et seqq.*

[p] Leibnitz, Cod. G. Diplom. x. No. 18, p. 32.

[q] Apud Raynald. 1295, No. 45.

[r] The documents may be read in Raynaldus and in Rymer, sub annis. Schmidt, Geschichte der Deutschen, viii. p. 130, *et seqq.*

The reign of Adolph of Nassau was not long. Boniface may have contributed unintentionally to its early and fatal close by exacting the payment of the debt due from Gerhard of Mentz to the See of Rome, which Adolph was under covenant to discharge, but wanted the will or the power, or both. He would not apply the subsidies of England to this object. There was deep and sullen discontent throughout Germany.

At the coronation of Wenzel as King of Bohemia, Gerhard of Mentz performed the solemn office; thirty-eight Princes of the Empire were present. June 2, 1297. Albert of Austria was lavish of his wealth and of his promises.[8] Gerhard was to receive 15,000 marks of silver. Count Hageloch was sent to Rome to purchase the assent of the Pope to the deposition of Adolph, and a new election to the Empire. Boniface refused all hearing to the offer. But Albert of Austria trusted to himself, his own arms, and to the League, which now embraced almost all the temporal and ecclesiastical Princes, the Elector of Saxony, the young Margrave of Brandenburg, Herman the Tall, the Ambassadors of Bohemia and Cologne. Adolph was declared deposed; Albert of Austria elected King of the Romans. The crimes alleged against Adolph were that he had plundered churches, debauched maidens, received pay from his inferior the King of England. He was also accused of having broken the seals of letters, administered justice for bribes, neither maintained the peace of the Empire, nor the security of the public roads. Thrice was he summoned to answer, and then condemned as contumacious. The one great quality of Adolph of Nassau, his personal bravery, was his ruin; he hastened to meet his rival in battle near Worms, plunged fiercely into the fray, and was slain.

The crime of Adolph's death (for a crime it was declared, an act of rebellion, treason, and murder, against the anointed head of the Empire) placed Albert of Austria at the mercy of the Pope. The sentence of excommunication was passed, which none but the Pope could annul, and which, suspended over the head of July 2, 1298.

[8] Schmidt, p. 137.

the King elect of the Romans, made him dependent, to a certain degree, on the Pope, for the validity of his unratified election, the security of his unconfirmed throne. And so affairs stood till the last fatal quarrel of Boniface with the King of France made the alliance of the Emperor not merely of high advantage, but almost of necessity. His sins suddenly disappeared. The perjured usurper of the Empire, the murderer of his blameless predecessor, became without difficulty the legitimate King of the Romans, the uncontested Sovereign of the Holy Roman Empire.

CHAPTER VIII.

BONIFACE VIII. ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

IF the Empire had sunk to impotence, almost to contempt, the kingdoms of France and England were rising towards the dawn of their future greatness. Each too had begun to develope itself towards that state which it fully attained only after some centuries, England that of a balanced constitutional realm, France that of an absolute monarchy. In England the kingly power was growing into strength in the hands of the able and vigorous Edward I.; but around it were rising likewise those free institutions which were hereafter to limit and to strengthen the royal authority. The national representation began to assume a more regular and extended form; the Parliaments were more frequent; the boroughs were confirmed in their right of choosing representatives; the commons were taking their place as at once an acknowledged and an influential Estate of the realm; the King had been compelled more than once, though reluctantly and evasively, to renew the great charters.[a] The law became more distinct and authoritative, but it was not the Roman law, but the old common law descended from the Saxon times, and guaranteed by the charters wrested from the Norman kings. It grew up beside the canon law of the clergy, each rather avoiding the other's ground, than rigidly defining its own province. Edward was called the Justinian of England, but it was not by enacting a new code, but as framing statutes, which embodied some of the principles of the common law of the kingdom. The clergy were still a separate caste, ruled by their own law, amenable almost exclusively to their own superiors; but they had gradually receded or been quietly

England. Development of Constitution.

[a] Throughout Hallam, Middle Ages, ii. 160, 166.

repelled from their co-ordinate administration of the affairs and the justice of the realm. They were one Estate, but in the civil wars they had been divided: some were for the King, some boldly and freely sided with the Barons; and the Barons had become a great distinct aristocracy, whom the King was disposed to balance, not by the clergy, but by the Commons. The King's justices had long begun to supersede the mingled court composed of the bishops and the barons: some bishops sat as barons, not as bishops. The civil courts were still wresting some privilege or power from the ecclesiastical. The clergy contended obstinately, but not always successfully, for exclusive jurisdiction in all causes relating to Church property, or property to which the Church advanced a claim, as to tithes. There was a slow, persevering determination, notwithstanding the triumph of Becket, to bring the clergy accused of civil offences under the judgement of the King's courts, thus infringing or rather abrogating the sole cognizance of the Church over Churchmen.[b] It was enacted that the clerk might be arraigned in the King's court, and not surrendered to the ordinary, till the full inquest in the matter of accusation had been carried out. On that the whole estate, real and personal, of the felon clerk might be seized. The ordinary thus became either the mere executioner, according to the Church's milder form of punishment, of a sentence passed by the civil court, or became obnoxious to the charge of protecting, or unjustly acquitting a convicted felon. If, while the property was thus boldly escheated, there was still some reverence for the sacred person of the "anointed of the Lord,"[c] even archbishops will be seen, before two reigns are passed, bowing their necks to the block (for treason), without any severe shock to public feeling, or any potent remonstrance from the hierarchy. On the other hand, the singular usage, the benefit of clergy, by expanding that benefit over other classes, tended to mitigate the rigour of the

[b] See the whole course of this silent change in Hallam, ii. pp. 20-23.

[c] The alleged Scriptural groundwork of this immunity, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm" (Ps. cv. 15), was enshrined in the Decretals as an eternal, irrepealable axiom.

penal law, with but rare infringements of substantial justice.[d]

In France the royal power had grown up, checked by no great league of the feudal aristocracy, limited by no charter. The strong and remorseless rule of Philip Augustus, the popular virtues of Saint Louis, had lent lustre, and so brought power to the throne, which in England had been degraded by the tyrannical and pusillanimous John, and enfeebled by the long, inglorious reign of Henry III. In France the power of the clergy might have been a sufficient, as it was almost the only organised counterpoise to the kingly prerogative; but there had gradually risen, chiefly in the Universities, a new power, that of the lawyers: they had begun to attain that ascendancy in the Parliaments which grew into absolute dominion over those assemblies. But the law which these men expounded was not like the common law of England, the growth of the forests of Germany, the old free Teutonic usages of the Franks, but the Roman imperial law, of which the Sovereign was the fountain and supreme head. The clergy had allowed this important study to escape out of their exclusive possession. It had been widely cultivated at Bologna, Paris, Auxerre, and other universities. The clergy had retired to their own stronghold of the canon law, while they seemed not aware of the dangerous rivals which were rising up against them. The Lawyers became thus, as it were, a new estate: they lent themselves, partly in opposition to the clergy, partly from the tendency of the Roman law, to the assertion and extension of the royal prerogative. The hierarchy found, almost suddenly, instead of a cowering superstitious people, awed by their superior learning, trembling at the fulminations of their authority, a grave intellectual aristocracy, equal to themselves in profound erudition, resting on ancient written authority, appealing to the vast body of the unabrogated civil law, of which they were perfect masters, opposing to the canons of the Church canons at least of greater antiquity. The King was to the lawyers

France.

The Lawyers.

[d] On benefit of clergy read the note in Serjeant Stephens's Blackstone, v. iv. p. 466.

what Cæsar had been to the Roman Empire, what the Pope was to the Churchmen. Cæsar was undisputed lord in his own realm, as Christ in his. The Pandects, it has been said, were the gospel of the lawyers.[c]

Edward and Philip the Fair before the accession of Boniface VIII.

On the thrones of these two kingdoms, France and England, sat two Kings with some resemblance, yet with some marked oppugnancy in their characters. Edward I. and Philip the Fair were both men of unmeasured ambition, strong determination of will, with much of the ferocity and the craft of barbarism; neither of them scrupulous of bloodshed to attain his ends, neither disdainful of dark and crooked policy. There was more frank force in Edward; he was by nature and habit a warlike prince; the irresistible temptation of the crown of Scotland alone betrayed him into ungenerous and fraudulent proceedings. In Philip the Fair the gallantry of the French temperament broke out on rare occasions: his first Flemish campaigns were conducted with bravery and skill, but Philip ever preferred the subtle negotiation, the slow and wily encroachment; till his enemies were, if not in his power, at least at great disadvantage, he did not venture on the usurpation or invasion. In the slow systematic pursuit of his object he was utterly without scruple, without remorse. He was not so much cruel as altogether obtuse to human suffering, if necessary to the prosecution of his schemes; not so much rapacious, as finding money indispensable to his aggrandisement, seeking money by means of which he hardly seemed to discern the injustice or the folly. Never was man or monarch so intensely selfish as Philip the Fair: his own power was his ultimate scope; he extended so enormously the royal prerogative, the influence of France, because he was King of France. His rapacity, which persecuted the Templars, his vindictiveness, which warred on Boniface after death as through life, was this selfishness in other forms.

Edward of England was considerably the older of the two Kings. As Prince of Wales he had shown great ability and vigour in the suppression of the Barons' wars;

[c] Compare Sismondi, Hist. des Français, vii. 6, 10, and the eloquent but as usual rather overwrought passage in Michelet.

he had rescued the endangered throne. He had been engaged in the Crusades; his was the last gleam of romantic valour and enterprise in the Holy Land, even if the fine story of his wife Eleanora sucking the poison from his wound was the poetry of a later time. On his return from the East he heard of his father's death; his journey through Sicily and Italy was the triumphant procession of a champion of the Church; the great cities vied with each other in the magnificence of his reception. He had obtained satisfaction for the barbarous and sacrilegious murder of his kinsman, Henry of Almain, son of Richard of Cornwall, in the cathedral of Viterbo during the elevation of the Host, by Guy de Montfort with his brother Simon. The murderer (Simon had died) had been subjected to the most rigorous and humiliating penance.[f]

Since his accession Edward had deliberately adhered to his great aim, the consolidation of the whole British islands under his sovereignty, to the comparative neglect of his continental possessions. He aspired to be the King of Great Britain rather than the vassal rival of France. He had subdued Wales; he had established his suzerainty over Scotland; he had awarded the throne of Scotland to John Baliol, whom he was almost goading to rebellion, in order to find a pretext for the subjugation of that kingdom. Edward, in the early part of his reign, was on the best terms with the clergy: he respected them, and they respected him. The clergy under Henry III. would have ruled the superstitious King with unbounded authority had they not been involved in silent stubborn resistance to the See of Rome. Henry, as has been seen, heaped on them wealth and honours; but he offered no opposition, he shared in their immoderate taxation by Rome; he did not resist the possession of some of the richest benefices and bishoprics by foreigners. If

Nov. 1271.

[f] The documents relating to this strange murder are most of them in Rymer and in the MS. B. M. See especially letter of Gregory X., Nov. 29, 1273. Guy sought to be admitted to this Pope's presence at Florence; he with his accomplices followed the Pope two miles out of the city, without shoes, without clothes, except their shirts and breeches. Guy threw himself at the Pope's feet, wept and howled, "alt et bas sine tenore." On the subsequent fate of Guy of Montfort see Dr. Lingard, note iii. p. 186.

his fear of the clergy was strong, his fear of the Pope was stronger; he was only prevented from being the slave of his own ecclesiastics because he preferred the remote and no less onerous servitude to Rome.[g] But this quarrel of the English clergy with Rome was somewhat reconciled: the short lives of the later Popes, the vacancy in the See, the brief Papacy of Cœlestine, had relaxed, to some extent, the demands of tenths and subsidies. Edward therefore found the hierarchy ready to support him in his plans of insular conquest. John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied him to Wales, and pronounced an excommunication against the rebellious princes; no voice was raised against the cruel and ignominious executions with which Edward secured and sullied his conquest.[h] Against the massacre of the bards, perhaps esteemed by the English clergy mere barbarians, if not heathens, there was no remonstrance. Among the hundred and four judges appointed to examine into the claims of the competitors for the Scottish throne, Edward named twenty-four. Of these were four bishops, two deans, one archdeacon, and some other clergy. The Scots named eight bishops and several abbots. Edward's great financial measure, the remorseless plunder and cruel expatriation of the Jews, was beheld by the clergy as a noble act of Christian vigour. Among the cancelled debts were vast numbers of theirs; among the plunder no inconsiderable portion had been Church property, pawned or sold by necessitous or irreligious ecclesiastics. The great wealth obtained for the instant by the King, might stave off, they would fondly hope, for some time, all demands on the Church.[i]

If Edward of England meditated the reduction of the whole British islands under one monarchy, and had pursued this end since his accession with unswerving determination, Philip the Fair coveted with no less eager ambition the continental territories of England. He too aspired to be King of all France, not mere feudal sovereign

[g] We must not forget his difficulties about Prince Edmond's claim to Sicily.

[h] Collier, i. p. 484.

[i] Hist. of Jews, iii. 352, 354. The documents may be read in Anglia Judaica. Tovey says (p. 244) whole rolls of patents relating to their estates are still remaining in the Tower. Have we not any Jewish antiquaries to explore this mine?

over almost independent vassals, but actual ruling monarch. He had succeeded in incorporating the wreck of the kingdom of Arles with his own realm. He had laid the train for the annexation of Burgundy: his son was affianced to the daughter and heiress of Otho V. Edward, however, had given no cause for aggression; he had performed with scrupulous punctiliousness all the acts of homage and fealty which the King of France could command for the land of Gascony, Guienne, and the other hereditary possessions of the Kings of England.

There had been peace between France and England for the unusual period of thirty-five years, but already misunderstanding and jealousies had begun. Long peace. 1259 to 1294. Peace between two such Kings, in such relation to each other, in such an age, could hardly be permanent. The successes of Edward in his own realm stimulated rather than appalled the unscrupulous ambition of Philip. An accidental quarrel among the mariners of the two nations was the signal for the explosion of these smouldering hostilities. The quarrel led to piratical warfare, waged with the utmost cruelty along the whole British Channel and the western coast of France. The King of France was only too ready to demand satisfaction. Edward of England, though reluctant to engage in continental warfare, could not abandon his own subjects; yet so absorbed was Edward in his own affairs that he became the victim of the grossest artifice. The first offenders in the quarrel had been sailors of Edward's port of Bayonne. It was indispensable for the honour of France that they should suffer condign punishment. Guienne must be surrendered for a time to the Suzerain, the King of France, that he might exercise his unresisted jurisdiction over the criminals. Philip was permitted to march into Guienne, and to occupy with force some of the strongest castles. On the demand of restitution he laughed to scorn the deluded Edward; negotiations, remonstrances, were equally unavailing. The affront was too flagrant and humiliating, the loss too precious; war seemed inevitable. Edward, by his heralds, renounced his allegiance; he would no longer be the man, the vassal, of a King who violated all treaties sworn to by their com-

mon ancestors.' But the Barons and the Churchmen of England were now averse to foreign wars: their subsidies, their aids, their musters, were slow, reluctant, almost refused. Each Sovereign strengthened himself with foreign allies: Edward, as has been said, subsidised the Emperor Adolph of Nassau, and entered into a league with the Counts of Flanders and of Bar, who were prepared to raise the standard of revolt against their Suzerain, the King of France. Philip entered into hardly less dangerous correspondence with the opponents of Edward's power in Scotland.[k]

So stood affairs between the kingdoms of France and England at the accession of Boniface VIII. Philip had now overrun the whole of Gascony, and Edward had renounced all allegiance, and declared that he would hold his Aquitanian possessions without fealty to the King of France; but the Seneschal of Gascony had been defeated and was a prisoner.[m] Duke John of Brabant had risen in rebellion against the King of France; he had been compelled to humiliating submission by Charles of Valois. Almost the first act of Boniface was to command peace. Berard, Cardinal Bishop of Alba, and Simon, Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina, were sent as Legates, armed with the power of releasing from all oaths or obligations which might stand in the way of pacification, and of inflicting ecclesiastical censures, without appeal, upon all, of whatsoever degree, rank, or condition, who should rebel against their authority.[n] The Cardinals crossed to England; they were received in a full Parliament at Westminster. The King of England ordered his brother Edmund and John de Lacy to explain the causes of the war, his grievances and insults endured from the King of France. The Cardinals peremptorily insisted on peace. Edward replied that he could not make peace without the concurrence of his ally the King of the Romans. The Cardinals urged a truce; this Edward rejected with equal determination. They endea-

Accession of Boniface. Dec. 1294.

[k] Documents in Rymer, sub ann. 1294. Westmonast. sub ann. Walsingham, 61. Hume, Edward I.

[m] Jordanus apud Raynald. Matt. 1295.

[n] Instructions in Raynald. sub ann.

voured to prevent the sailing of Edward's fleet, already assembled in the ports of the island. Edward steadily refused even that concession. But Boniface was not so to be silenced; he declared all existing treaties of alliance null and void, and peremptorily enjoined a truce from St. John Baptist's day until the same festival in the ensuing year.[o] To Edward he wrote expressing his surprise and grief that he, who in his youth had waged only holy wars against unbelievers, should fall off in his mature age into a disturber of the peace of Christendom, and feel no compunction at the slaughter of Christians by each other. He wrote, as has been told, in more haughty and almost contemptuous language to the King of the Romans; he reproached him for serving as a base mercenary of the King of England; the King of the Romans, if disobedient, could have no hope or claim to the Imperial Crown; obedient, he might merit not only the praise of man, but the favour and patronage of the Apostolic See. The Archbishop of Mentz was commanded to give no aid whatever to the King of the Romans in this unholy war; on Adolph too was imperatively urged the truce for a year.[p] June 24, 1295, to 1296.

The Cardinal Legates, Alba and Palestrina, discouraged by their reception in England, did not venture to appear before the more haughty and irascible Philip of France with the Pope's imperious mandate; they assumed that the truce for a year, enjoined by the Pope, would find obsequious observance. Boniface did not think fit to rebuke their judicious prudence; but of his own supreme power ordered that on the expiration of the first year the truce should be continued for two years longer.[q]

The blessings of peace, the league of all Christian princes against the Infidel, might be the remote and splendid end which Boniface either had or thought he had in view in his confident assertion of his inhibitory powers, and his right of interposing in the quarrels of Christian princes. But there was one immediate and pressing evil

[o] Raynald. sub ann. 1296.

[p] Letters apud Raynald. 1295. The Nuncios in Germany, the Bishops of Reggio and Sienna, had full powers to release from all oaths and treaties. See above, p. 170.

[q] The Bull in Raynaldus (1296, No. 19), addressed to Adolph, King of the Romans.

which could not well escape his sagacity. Such wars could no longer be carried on without the taxation of the clergy. Not merely was the Pope the supreme guardian of this inestimable immunity, freedom from civil assessments, but it was impossible that the clergy either could or would endure the double burthens imposed on them by their own Sovereigns and by the See of Rome. All the subjects of the Roman See, as they owed, if not exclusive, yet superior allegiance to the Pope, so their vast possessions must be tributary to him alone, at least his permission must be obtained for contributions to secular purposes. Wars, even if conducted on the perfect feudal principle (each Lord, at the summons of the Crown, levying, arming, bringing into the field, and maintaining his vassals at his own cost), were necessarily conducted with much and growing expense for munitions of war, military engines, commissariat however imperfect, vessels for freight, if in foreign lands. But the principle of feudalism had been weakened, war ceased to be the one noble, the one not ignominious calling, the duty and privilege of the aristocracy at the head of their retainers. No sooner had agriculture, commerce, manufactures, become respectable and lucrative; no sooner must armies be raised and retained on service, even in part, by regular pay, than the cost of keeping such armies on foot began to augment beyond all proportion. The ecclesiastics who held Knights' Fees were bound to furnish their quota of vassals; they did often furnish them with tolerable regularity; they had even appeared often, and still appeared, at the head of their contingent; yet there must have been more difficulty, more frequent evasion, more dispute as to liability of service, as the land of the realm fell more and more into the hands of the clergy. Though the great Statute of Mortmain, enacted by successive Kings, the first bold limitary law to the all-absorbing acquisition of land by the clergy, may have been at first more directly aimed at other losses sustained by the Crown, when estates were held by ecclesiastic or monastic bodies, such as reliefs upon succession, upon alienation, upon wardships and

Taxation of the clergy.

Inevitable results of war.

Statute of Mortmain.

marriages, which could not arise out of lands held by perpetual corporations and corporations perpetuated by ecclesiastical descent; yet among the objects sought by that Statute must have been that the Crown should be less dependent on ecclesiastical retainers in time of war.

This Mortmain Statute,[r] of which the principle was established by the Great Charter, only applied to religious houses. The second great Charter of Henry III. comprehended the whole Hierarchy, Bishops, Chapters, and Beneficiaries. The Statute of Edward endeavoured to strike at the root of the evil, and prohibited the receiving land in mortmain, whether by gift, bequest, or any other mode; the penalty was the forfeiture of the land to the Lord, in default of the Lord to the King. But the law, or the interpretation of the law, was still in the hands or at the command of the clergy, who were the only learned body in the realm. Ingenious devices were framed, fictitious titles to the original fief, fraudulent or collusive acknowledgments, refusal or neglect to plead on the part of the tenant, and so recoveries of the land by the Church, as originally and indefeasibly its own; afterwards grants to feoffees in perpetuity, or for long terms of years, for the use of religious houses or ecclesiastics. It required two later Statutes, that of Westminster under Edward I. (in his eighteenth year), finally that of Richard II. (in his fifteenth year), before the skill and ingenuity of the hierarchical invasion of property was finally baffled, and an end put to the all-absorbing aggression of the Church on the land of England.[s]

The Popes themselves had, to a certain extent, given the authority and the precedent in the direct taxation of the clergy for purposes of war; but these were for holy wars. Sovereigns, themselves engaged in crusades, or who allowed crusades to be preached and troops raised and armed in their dominions for that sacred object, occasionally received grants of twentieths, tenths, or more, on the ecclesiastical revenues for this religious use. In many instances the Sovereigns, following the examples, as was believed, of the Popes themselves, had raised the money

[r] 7th Edward I. Compare Hallam, ii. p. 24. [s] Blackstone, ii. ch. 18.

under this pretext and applied it to their own more profane purposes, and thus had learned to look on ecclesiastical property as by no means so sacred, to hold the violation of its peculiar exemptions very far from the impious sacrilege which it had been asserted and believed to be in more superstitious times. But all subsidies, which in latter years had begun to be granted in England, at least throughout the reign of Henry III., had been held to be free gifts, voted by the clergy themselves in their own special Synods or Convocations. Now, however, these voluntary subsidies, suggested by the King's friends among the clergy, but liable to absolute refusal, had grown into imperative exactions. Edward, as his necessities became more urgent, from his conquests, his intrigues, his now open invasion of Scotland, and the impending war with France, could not, if he hoped for success, and was not disposed from any overweening terror of the spiritual power, to permit one-third or one half[t] (if we are to believe some statements), at all events a very large portion of the realm, to withhold its contribution to the public service. The wealth of the clergy, the facility with which, if he once got over his religious fear and scruples, such taxes could be levied; the natural desire of forestalling the demands of Rome, which so fatally, according to the economic views of the time, drained the land of a large portion of its wealth; perhaps his own mistaken policy in expelling the Jews, and so inflicting at once a heavy blow on the trade of the country, and depriving him of a wealthy class whom he might have plundered in a more slow and productive manner without remorse, resistance, or remonstrance; all conspired to urge the King on his course. Certainly, whatever his motives, his wants, or his designs, Edward had already asserted in various ways his right to tax the clergy in the boldest manner, had raised the tax to an unprecedented amount, and showed that he would hesitate at no means to enforce his demands. He had obtained from Pope Nicolas IV. (about 1291) a grant of a tenth of the whole ecclesiastical property, under the pretext of an expedition

[t] See the passage in Turner's Hist. of England, v. p. 166. This subject will be discussed hereafter.

to the Holy Land, a pretext which the Pope would more easily admit from a Prince who had already displayed his zeal and valour in a Crusade, and of which Edward himself, after the subjugation of Wales and Scotland and the security of his French dominions, might remotely contemplate the fulfilment. This grant was assessed on a new valuation,[u] enforced on oath, and which probably raised to a great amount the value of the Church property, and so increased the demands of the King, and aggravated the burthens on the clergy.[x] By another more arbitrary act, before his war in Guienne, Edward had appointed Commissioners to make inquisition into the treasuries of all the religious houses and chapters in the realm. Not only were these religious houses in possession of considerable accumulations of wealth, but they were the only banks of deposit in which others could lay up their riches in security. All these sums were enrolled in the Exchequer, and, under the specious name of loans, carried off for the King's use.

But with the King's necessities, the King's demands grew in urgency, frequency, imperiousness. It was during the brief Pontificate of Cœlestine V., A.D. 1294. when Robert of Winchelsea, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was at Rome to receive his pall from the hands of the Pope, that the King in a Parliament at Westminster demanded of the clergy a subsidy of half of their annual revenue. The clergy were confounded; they entreated

[u] This valuation was maintained, as that on which all ecclesiastical property was assessed, till the time of Henry VIII. It was published in 1802 by the Record Commission, folio.

[x] In the MS. B. M. sub ann. 1278, vol. xiii., is an account of the "Societas" of the Ricardi of Florence, for tenths collected in England. The total sum (the details of each diocese are given, but some, as Canterbury and London, do not appear) is 11,035*l.*, xiv. solidi, 3 denarii. The bankers undertake to deliver the same in London or any place, "ultra et citra mare." They take upon themselves all risks of pillage, theft, violence, fire, or shipwreck. Whence their profits does not appear. "E io Rainieri sopra-dito con la mia mano abo inscrito quie di sotto, e messo lo mio sugello, con quelo dela compagnia." Other signatures follow. In a later account, after the valuation of Nicolas IV., dated Aug. 30, vol. xv., the whole property, with the exception of the goods of the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, and Christ Church, Canterbury, is set at 204,143*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* et oboli; the tenth, 20,404*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* et oboli. Winton and Lincoln, 3977*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* &c.; tenth, 397*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* 10 oboli. Christ Church, 355*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*; tenth, 35*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.* Special tax on pluralities, 73*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* 1. Total collected, 20,855*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* In another place, the Dean of St. Paul's, as treasurer (vol. xiii. p. 110), accounts for the sum of 3135*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* 1, arrears for three years.

permission to retire and consult on the grave question. William Montfort, Dean of St. Paul's, was chosen to persuade the King to desist from, or at least to reduce his demand to some less exorbitant amount. The Dean had hardly begun his speech, when he fell dead at the feet of the King. Edward was unmoved; he might perhaps turn the natural argument of the clergy on themselves, and treat the death of Montfort as a judgement of God upon a refractory subject. He sent Sir John Havering to the Prelates, who were still shut up in the royal palace at Westminster. The Knight was to proclaim that whoever opposed the King's will was to come forth and discover himself; and that the King would at once proceed against him as a disturber of the public peace. The spirit of Becket prevailed not among the Prelates; no one would venture to put to the test the stern and determined Edward. They submitted with ungracious reluctance, in hopes no doubt that their Primate would soon appear among them; and that he, braced, as it were, by the air of Rome, would bear the brunt of opposition to the King.[y]

July.

If the necessities of Edward drove him to these strong measures against the clergy of England, the French hierarchy had still more to dread from the insatiable rapacity and wants of Philip the Fair. That rapacity, the remorseless oppression of the whole people by the despotic monarch, and his loss of their loyal affection, was now so notorious that the Pope, in one of his letters to the King, speaks of it as an admitted fact.[z] Philip had as yet been engaged in no expensive wars; his court might indulge in some coarse pomp and luxury; yet trade might have flourished, even arts and manufactures might have been introduced from Flanders and Italy, but for the stern and exterminating measures of his rude finance. His coffers were always filling, never full; and he knew no way of raising a revenue but by direct and cruel extortion, exer-

[y] Compare Collier, Ecc. Hist. i. p. 493, folio edit.

[z] "Ipsi quidem subditi adeo sunt diversis oneribus aggravati, quod eorum ad te solita et subjecta multum putatur infriguisse devotio, et quanto amplius aggravantur, tanto potius in posterum refrigescat."—Ad Philip. Reg. Dupuy, p. 16.

cised by himself, or by his farmers of the taxes under his seal and authority. Two Italian bankers, the brothers Biccio and Musciatto dei Francesi, possessed his entire confidence, and were armed with his unlimited powers. But the taxes wrung from the tenants of the crown, from the peasants to whom they left not the seed for the future harvest, were soon exhausted, and of course diminished with every year of intolerable burthen: other sources of wealth must be discovered.

The Jews were the first; their strange obstinacy in money-making made them his perpetual victims. Philip might seem to feed them up by his favour to become a richer sacrifice:[a] he sold to particular persons acts of security; he exacted large sums as though he would protect them in fair trade from their communities. At length after some years of this plundering and pacifying, came the fatal blow, their expulsion from the realm with every aggravation of cruelty, the seizure and confiscation of their property.[b] What is more strange, the persecuted and exiled Jews were in five years rich and numerous enough to tempt a second expulsion, a second confiscation. The Jews. A.D. 1306.

But in France the Jews had formidable commercial rivals in the Italian bankers. Philip respected wealthy Christians no more than wealthy misbelievers. The whole of these peaceful and opulent men were seized and imprisoned on the charge of violating the laws against usury; and to warn them from that unchristian practice, they were mercifully threatened with the severest tortures, to be escaped only on the payment of enormous mulcts.[c] Some resisted; but the gaolers had their orders to urge upon the weary prisoners the inflexible determination of the King. Most of them yielded; but they fled the inhospitable realm; and if they left behind much of their actual wealth, they carried with them their enterprise and industry.[d] The Francesis, Philip's odious financiers, de- May 1, 1291.

[a] In 1288 he forbade the arbitrary imprisonment of the Jews at the desire of any monk. This seems to have been a common practice.

[b] Hist. of Jews, iii. p. 319.

[c] Villani, lvii. c. 146.

[d] Villani (vii. 146). The commercial Florentine sees the ruin of France in this ill usage of the Italian bankers. "Onde fu molto ripreso, e d' allora innanzi lo reame di Francia sempre andò abbassando."

rived a double advantage from their departure, the plunder of their riches and the monopoly of all the internal trade, which had been carried on by their exiled countrymen, with the sole liberty no doubt of violating with impunity the awful laws against usury.

The Nobles.

Philip even had strength and daring to plunder his Nobles; under the pretext of a sumptuary law, which limited the possession of such pompous indulgences to those few who possessed more than six thousand livres tournois[e] of annual revenue, he demanded the surrender of all their gold and silver plate, it was averred, only for safe custody; but that which reached the royal treasury only came out in the shape of stamped coin. This stamped coin was greatly inferior, in weight and from its alloy, to the current money. The King could not deny or dissemble the iniquity of this transaction; he excused it from the urgent necessities of the kingdom, promised that the treasury would reimburse the loss; that the royal exchequer would receive the coin at its nominal value; and even promised to pledge the royal domains as security. But Philip's promises in affairs of money were but specious evasions.[f]

The clergy.

As an order, the clergy of France had not been subjected to any direct or special taxation under the name of voluntary subsidy; but Philip had shown on many occasions no pious respect for the goods of the Church; he had long retained the estates of vacant Bishoprics. Their time could not but come. Philip at the beginning of his reign had struck a fatal blow against the clergy, of which the clergy itself, not then ruled by Boniface, perhaps hardly discerned the bearings even on the future inevitable question of their taxation by the state. He banished the clergy from the whole administration of the law: expelled them from the courts, from that time forth to be the special and undisputed domain of their rivals and future foes, the civil lawyers. An Ordinance commanded all dukes, counts, barons, archbishops, bishops, abbots, chapters, who had jurisdiction, to commit

[e] Equal, it is calculated, to 72,000 francs, probably much more.
[f] Ordonnances des Rois, May, 1295.

the exercise of that jurisdiction to bailiffs, provosts, and assessors, not ecclesiastics. The pretext was specious, that if such men abused their power, they could be punished for the abuse. It was also forbidden to all chapters and monasteries to employ an ecclesiastic as proctor. Another Ordinance deprived the clergy of the right of being elected as provost, mayor, sheriff (échevin) or municipal councillor. Bishops could only sit in the Royal Parliament by permission of the President.[g]

Still up to this time the clergy had not been subjected to the common assessments. The first taxation, which bore the odious name of the maltôte (the ill assessed and ill levied), respected them.[h] It had fallen chiefly, if not exclusively, on the traders. But whether emboldened by the success of his rival Edward in England, or knowing that if Edward wielded the wealth of the English clergy, he must wield that of France, in the now extraordinary impost the impartial assessment comprehended ecclesiastics as well as the laity. Taxation of clergy.

Boniface VIII., with all his ability and sagacity, was possessed even to infatuation with the conviction of the unlimited, irresistible power of the Papacy. He determined, once for all, on the broadest, boldest, most uncontestable ground to bring to issue this inevitable question; to sever the property of the Church from all secular obligations; to declare himself the one exclusive trustee of all the lands, goods, and properties, held throughout Christendom by the clergy, by monastic bodies, even by the universities: and that, without his consent, no aid, benevolence, grant, or subsidy could be raised on their estates or possessions by any temporal sovereign in the world. Such is the full and distinct sense of the famous Bull issued by Boniface at the commencement of the second year of his Pontificate. "The laity, such is the witness of all antiquity, have been ever hostile to the clergy: recent experience sadly confirms this truth. They are ignorant that over ecclesiastical persons, over ecclesiastical property, they have no power whatever. But they have dared to exact both from the secular and the regular clergy The Bull "Clericis Laicos."

[g] Ordonnances des Rois, 1287-1289.

[h] Sub ann. 1292.

a twentieth, a tenth, half of their revenue,[1] and applied the money to their own secular uses. Some base and time-serving prelates have been so dastardly as to submit to these wicked exactions." The prohibition of the Pope was as particular and explicit as could be framed in words: "On no title, on no plea, under no name, was any tax to be levied on any property of the Church, without the distinct permission of the Pope. Every layman of whatever rank, emperor, king, prince, duke, or their officers, who received such money was at once and absolutely under excommunication; they could only be absolved, under competent authority, at the hour of death. Every ecclesiastic who submitted to such taxation was at once deposed, and incapable of holding any benefice. The universities which should so offend were under interdict."[k]

England. A.D. 1296.

But the Kings of France and England were not so easily appalled into acquiescence in a claim which either smote their exchequer with barrenness, or reduced them to dependence not only on their own subjects, but also on the Pope. It gave to the Pontiff of Rome the ultimate judgement on war and peace between nations. Edward had gone too far; he had derived too much advantage from the subsidies of the clergy to abandon that fruitful source of revenue. The year after the levy of one-half of the income of the clergy, a Parliament met at St. Edmondsbury. The laity granted a subsidy; the clergy, pleading their inability, as drained by the payment of the last year, or emboldened by the presence of the Primate Robert of Winchelsea, refused all further grant. The King allowed time for deliberation, but in the meantime with significant precaution ordered locks to be placed on all their barns, and that they should be sealed with the King's seal. The Archbishop at once commanded the Bull of Pope Boniface to be read publicly in all the cathedral churches of the

Parliament at Bury.

[1] This seems aimed directly at Edward I. It was believed in England that the bull was obtained by the influence of the English primate, Robert of Winchelsea, then at Rome.

[k] The bull Clericis Laicos, apud Dupuy, Preuves, p. 14. In Raynaldus, sub ann. 1296, January, and Rymer, ii. 706.

realm; but the barns did not fly open at the bidding of the great enchanter. The Primate summoned a provincial Synod or Convocation of the Clergy to meet in St. Paul's, London. The King sent an order warning the Synod against making any constitution which might infringe on his prerogative, or which might turn to "the disadvantage of us, our ministers, or any of our faithful subjects."[m] The majority of the Synod peremptorily refused all grant or concession. Upon this King Edward took the bold yet tenable ground, that those who would not contribute to the maintenance of the temporal power, should not enjoy its protection; if they refused the obligations, they must abandon the rights of subjects. The whole clergy of the realm were declared by the Chief Justice on the Bench to be in a state of outlawry: they had no resort to the King's justice. Nor was this an idle menace. Officers were ordered to seize the best horses both of the secular and regular clergy; if they sought redress, the lawyers were forbidden to plead on their behalf; the King's courts were closed against them. They were now in a perilous and perplexing condition; they must either resist the King or the Pope. They felt the King's hand; the demand took the form not merely of a subsidy but of a fine for the contumacious resistance of the King's authority. Yet the terrible anathemas of the Pope's Bull had hardly died away in their cathedrals. There was division among themselves. A great part of the clergy leaned towards the more prudent course, and empowered the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham, Salisbury, and Ely to endeavour to effect a compromise. A fifth part of their revenue from estates and goods was set apart in some sanctuary or privileged place, to be drawn forth when required by the necessities of the Church or the kingdom. The Papal prohibition was thus, it was thought, eluded: the King remaining judge of the necessity, cared not, provided he obtained the money.[n] The Primate, as though the shrine of Thomas à Becket spoke warning and encourage-

Council of St. Paul's.

They yield.

[m] Spelman, Concilia, sub ann.

[n] Hemingford, 107, 108. Brady, Appendix, 19, 23. Westminster, ad ann. 1296. Collier, i. 491, &c.

ment (he knew, too, what Pope was on the throne), refused all submission, but he stood alone, and alone bore the penalty. His whole estate was seized to the King's use. The Archbishop had but the barren consolation of declaring the rest of the clergy to have incurred the Papal sentence of excommunication. He left the Synod with a solemn admonition to the other Prelates and clergy lest they should emperil their souls by criminal concession. On the other hand the preaching Friars of the Order of St. Dominic, usually the unscrupulous assertors of the Papal power, appeared in St. Paul's, and offered publicly to maintain the doctrine, that in time of war it was lawful for the clergy to contribute to the necessities of the sovereign. Notwithstanding the Papal prohibition, the clergy at length yielded, and granted a fourth of their revenue. The Archbishop alone stood firm; but his lands were in the hands of the King's officers; himself an exile from the court. He retired with a single chaplain to a country parsonage, discharged the humble duties of a priest, and lived on the alms of his flock. Lincoln alone followed his conscientious example; Becket and Grostête had met together. But Lincoln had generously officious friends, who bought the King's pardon.

Archbishop resists.

The war had now broken out; the King was about to leave the realm, and to embark for Flanders. It had been dangerous, if Edward should encounter any of the accidents of war, or be compelled to protracted absence, to leave his young son in the midst of a hostile clergy, and a people embittered by heavy exactions. Edward restored his barony to the Archbishop, and summoned him to attend a Parliament at Westminster; the Archbishop stood by the side of the young Prince of Wales. The prudent King condescended to an apologetic tone: he lamented that the aggressions of his enemies in France and Scotland had compelled him reluctantly to lay these onerous burthens on his subjects. He was about to expose his life to the chances of war; if God should bless his arms with success, he promised to restore to his people the taxes which he had levied: if he should fall, he

The King relents.

commended his young son and heir to their loyal love.[o] The whole assembly was moved; the Archbishop melted into tears. Yet these soft emotions by no means blinded them to the advantage, offered by the occasion, of wresting from the King some further security for their liberties. The two charters, the Great Charter, and that of the Forests, were confirmed, and with them more specific guarantees obtained. All judgements given by the King's justices or ministers of the crown, contrary to the provisions of the charters, were declared null and void.[p] The King commanded that the charters under his seal should be sent to all the cathedral churches in the realm, to be there kept and read in the hearing of the people twice every year. The Archbishops and Prelates at each reading were to declare all who violated these great national statutes by word, deed, or counsel, under actual sentence of excommunication. The Archbishops were to compel by distraint or otherwise the suffragan Prelates who should be remiss in the reiteration of the grave anathemas.[q]

Thus the clergy of England, abandoning their own ground of ecclesiastical immunities, took shelter under the liberties of the realm. Of these liberties they constituted themselves the guardians; and so shrouded their own exemptions under the general right, now acknowledged, that the subject could not be taxed without his own consent. The Archbishop during the next year published an excommunication in which the rights of the clergy and of the people were blended with consummate skill. It condemned the King's officers who had seized the goods and imprisoned the persons of the clergy (perhaps for the arrears of the subsidy), and at the same time all who should have violated the charter. It re-asserted the immunity of all the King's subjects from taxation, to which they had not given their assent. He thus obeyed

[o] Westmonast. sub ann. 1297. Hemingford. Knighton.

[p] The Acts in Rymer.

[q] The civil lawyers, as Sir Edward Coke, maintain that the clergy here acted under the authority and command of the temporal power. High Churchmen, like Collier, insist that the bishops were consenting to the measure; that it was according to the decrees of several provincial councils; that the penalties on refractory prelates were left to the spiritual authority of the archbishops. Compare Collier, i. p. 494.

the royal mandate, aimed a blow at the royal power, and asserted the special exemptions of the clergy.[r]

Bull in France.

The famous Bull was received in France by the more violent and haughty Philip with still greater indignation; it struck at once at his pride, his power, and his cupidity. Philip, in his imperious taxation, had been embarrassed by none of the slow forms, the semblance at least of voluntary grant, to the observance of which the Great Charter, and now usage, had bound the King of England; and which, joined with their own peculiar exemptions, made it necessary that the contributions of the clergy should be voted as an aid, benevolence, or subsidy. Philip, of his sole will, had imposed the tax for the second time (the first was a hundredth of actual property, now a fiftieth), which passed under the detested name of maltôte: the harshness and extortion of his officers, who levied this charge, increased its unpopularity. At first it had been demanded of the merchants, then of all citizens, last of the clergy. But if the wrath of Philip was more vehement, his revenge was more cool and deliberate; it was a retaliation which bore the appearance of moderation, but struck the Popedom deep in the most vital and sensitive part. If the clergy might not be taxed for the exigencies of France, nor might in any way be tributary to the King, France would no longer be tributary to the Pope. From all the kingdoms of Western Christendom vast wealth was constantly flowing to Rome; every great promotion had to pay its fees, no cause could be evoked to Rome without large expenditure in Rome: no pilgrim visited the Eternal City unladen with precious gifts and offerings: the Pope claimed and not seldom had exercised the power of assessing the clergy, not merely for ordinary purposes, but for extraordinary exigencies which concerned the safety or the grandeur of the Pontificate. Philip issued an Ordinance,[s] prohibiting in the most

[r] Westm. sub ann. 1298. Collier, i. p. 495. Spelman, Concilia.

[s] This edict, passed by the King in Parliament, had been preceded and was accompanied by another, prohibiting the entrance of all foreign merchants into the realm, under the strange plea that the internal trade of the country was carried on with sufficient activity by the natives of France. So well indeed had Philip been served by his agents in Rome, that these prohibitory edicts

rigid and precise terms the exportation of gold or silver, either in ingots or in plate, of precious stones, of provisions, arms, horses, or munitions of war, of any article, indeed, of current value without special permission sealed and delivered by the crown.[t]

Thus, at one blow, Rome was deprived of all her supplies from France. The other Edict, which prohibited foreign trading in the land, proscribed the agents, the bankers, who transmitted in other ways the Papal revenues to Rome. Boniface had gone too far: but it was neither in his character, his station, nor in the interest of the hierarchy, to retract. Yet, he was still true to the old Guelfic policy, close alliance with France. He had espoused the cause of the French house of Anjou in Naples with ardour. As Pope, he no doubt contemplated with admiration that model of a Christian King, whom he was called upon by the almost adoring voice of Christendom to canonise, Saint Louis. The Empire, though now abased, might rally again, and resume its hostility; the Colonnas were not yet crushed; Ghibellinism not absolutely under his feet. He had, indeed, under the lofty character which he assumed of arbiter of the world, as the Supreme Pontiff, to whom lay resort against all Christian vassals as well as Sovereigns, received the appeal of the Count of Flanders against his liege Lord, Philip of France. Philip, jealous of the design of the Count of Flanders to marry his daughter to the heir of England, had summoned the Count and Countess with their daughter to Paris. They had been treacherously seized; the Count and Countess had escaped, or had been dismissed, but the daughter was kept as a hostage in the power of Philip, who bred her up with his own family. The Count of Flanders complained to the Pope of this injustice. The Pope had sent his Legate, the Bishop of Meaux, to demand her liberation. The only answer was a lofty rebuke to the Pope for pre-

almost, if not quite, anticipated the formal publication of the Papal bull in France.

[t] The edict, Aug. 17, 1296. Sismondi has mistaken the republication of the bull Clericis Laicos, Aug. 18, in France, for the original promulgation in January (Hist. des Français, viii. 516). Raynaldus and Dupuy place it in January. It was known in England early in the year. The Pope refers to it in his answer, as the cause of the King's hostile ordinance.

suming to intermeddle with temporal affairs beyond his jurisdiction."

Under these conflicting circumstances, Boniface issued his second Manifesto. Never was promulgated by the Papal court a Bull at once so inflexibly imperious, yet so bland; so disguising the haughtiness, the arrogance of a master, under the smooth and gentle language of a parent; so manifestly anxious to conciliate, yet so almost contemptuously offensive. Crimination, expostulation, menace, flattery, explanation bordering on apology, almost on concession, display the Pope the proudest of mankind, yet for the moment conscious that he is addressing a monarch as proud as himself; determined to assert to the uttermost his immeasurable superiority, and yet modifying, tempering his demands: as the head of the Guelfs, reluctant to alienate the protector of the Guelfic interest. And he is still the head of the great Sacerdotal caste, determined to maintain that caste in its inviolable sanctity and power, and to yield up no letter of the pretensions of his haughtiest ancestors. All the acts of Kings, as moral acts, were under the immediate, indefeasible jurisdiction of the Pope. "The Church, by the ineffable love of her spouse, Christ, has received the dowry of many precious gifts, especially that great gift of liberty. Who shall presume against God and the Lord to infringe her liberty, and not be beaten down by the hammer of supreme power to dust and ashes? My son! turn not away thine ears from the voice of thy father; his parental language flows from the tenderness of his heart, though with some of the bitterness of past injuries." The Pope throws the whole blame on the King's evil counsellors. "Let him not permit them to change the throne of his glory into a seat of pestilence." "The King's Ordinance to forbid foreigners all traffic in the land, is not less impolitic than unjust. His subjects are oppressed with intolerable burthens; already their alienated loyalty has begun to decay, it will soon be altogether estranged; it is a grievous loss for a King to forfeit the love of his subjects." The Pope will not believe that the general prohibition against all

The Bull. Sept. 1296.

[u] Compare Dupuy and Baillet.

persons quitting the realm, or exporting money or goods, can be intended to apply to ecclesiastics; this would be worse than impolitic, it would be insane. "Neither thou nor any secular prince hast the power to do this: by the very prohibition is incurred a sentence of excommunication." The Pope reminds the King of the intense anxiety with which he has devoted long days and sleepless nights to his interests; how he has laboured to preserve peace, sent his Cardinals to mediate. "Is this the return for the inestimable favours shown by the Church to you and to your ancestors?" From the appeal to Philip's gratitude he passes to an appeal to Philip's fears. "Lift up your eyes and look around: the powerful Kings of the Romans, of England, of Spain are in league against you. Is this a time to add the Holy See to your enemies? Let not your insolent counsellors drive you to this fatal precipice! Call to mind the goodness of the Holy See, which you may thus compel to abandon you without succour. Call to mind the canonisation of your ancestor, Louis, whose miracles the Holy See has examined with assiduous care. Instead of securing, like him, her love, deserve not her indignation. What is the cause of all this? Our Constitution in defence of ecclesiastical liberty? That Constitution asserted only the principles maintained by Popes and Councils; it only added the awful penalties of excommunication, because men are more affected by the dread of punishment, than by the love of virtue: nor did we by that Constitution precisely ordain that the Prelates and clergy were not to contribute to the necessities of the King; but we declared that this was not to be done without our special permission, bearing in mind the insupportable exactions sometimes wrung from ecclesiastics by the King's officers under his authority. Not only do all divine and human laws, even judgements, attest the abuse of such authority, but the authority itself is absolutely interdicted; and this we have intimated for the perpetual memory of the truth. If you object that such permission has been petitioned for from the Holy See, and the petition has not been granted," if the realm were in danger, urgent and admitted, the Pope pledged himself to permit not only the

levying of taxes, "but the crosses of gold and silver, even the consecrated vessels and furniture of the churches should be sacrificed before a kingdom, so dear to the Apostolic See, should be exposed to peril." "The Constitution did not absolutely prohibit the King from exercising his rights over ecclesiastics who held fiefs of the crown, according to the laws and usages of the realm; but for himself, Boniface was prepared to lay down all, even his life, in defence of the liberties and immunities of the Church against all usurpers whatsoever." He charged the whole guilt of the war on the King of France; it arose from his unjust occupation of Burgundy, an undoubted fief of the Empire, and of Gascony, the inheritance of Edward of England, as Duke of Guienne. On the evils of war he enlarged: peril to the souls of men, the slaughter, the bottomless gulf of expenditure, the damage, arising from the usurpations suggested by his evil counsellors. Those wrongs against the Kings of the Romans and of England were sins, therefore, undoubtedly under the jurisdiction of the Pope;[x] in such aggressions the Pope had full power of judgement. It was shameful for Philip to refuse the mediation, which had been accepted by the King of the Romans and the King of England. The Pope would not proceed at once to the last extremity; he would first attempt the ways of remonstrance and gentleness; and for this end he had sent the Bishop of Viviers to explain more fully his determination.[y]

Answer of the King.

The King of France promulgated an answer, full, not too long, but in language well considered, and of singular force and strength. This document showed the progress of the human mind, and manifestly divulged the new power, that of the civil lawyers, whose style and phrases appear throughout. It began with the bold historic assertion, not only of the superior antiquity of the temporal to the spiritual power in Europe; but that before there were ecclesiastics in the world, the Kings of France had the supreme guardianship of the realm, with full authority to enact all such ordinances, as might

[x] "Dumque in eos super iis *peccare* te asserunt de hoc judicium ad Se- dem eandem non est dubium pertinere."

[y] The document in Dupuy, &c.

be for the public weal. "The King, therefore, had prohibited the exportation of arms, provisions, and other things which might be turned to the advantage of his enemies." But this prohibition was not absolute (he turned the Pope's evasions on the Pope), "it required for such exportation the special license of the King. Such license would not have been refused to ecclesiastics, if they were sure that what they exported was their own property, and could not be applied to the damage of the realm." The King glanced with covert sarcasm at the partiality of the Pope. "That other most dear son of the Church (the King of England) had been allowed to seize the goods of the clergy, to imprison the clergy, and yet no excommunication had been pronounced against him." The proclamation proceeded daringly to grapple with the vital question. It denied the right of the clergy to the exclusive appellation of "the Church." The laity were as much members of Christ's mystical body as the clergy. The clergy had no special liberty; this was an usurpation on the common rights of all the faithful. The liberty which Christ had obtained belonged to the layman as well as to the ecclesiastic. "Did Christ die and rise again for the clergy alone?" There were, indeed, peculiar liberties, according to the Statutes of the Roman Pontiffs, but these had been granted or permitted by the Roman Emperors. "Such liberties, so granted or permitted, cannot take away the rights of Kings to provide, with the advice of their Parliament, all things necessary for the defence of the realm, according to the eternal rule: Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. All alike, clerks and laymen, nobles and subjects, are bound to the common defence. Such charges are not to be called exactions, extortions, burthens. They are subsidies to the Sovereign for the general protection. The property of the Church in time of war is exposed to more than ordinary dangers. To refuse to contribute to the exigencies of the war, is to refuse due payment to your protectors."

"What wise and intelligent man is not in utter amazement, when he hears the Vicar of Christ prohibiting and fulminating his anathema against contributions for the

defence of the realm, according to a fair equal rate, for the defence of the clergy themselves? They may give to stage-players; they have full and unbounded license to lavish any expenditure, to the neglect of their churches, on their dress, their horses, their assemblies, their banquets, and all other secular pomps and pleasures. What sane men would forbid, under the sentence of anathema, that the clergy crammed, fattened, swollen by the devotion of Princes, should assist the same Princes by aids and subsidies against the persecutions of their foes? Have they not the discernment to see that this inhibition, this refusal is little less than high treason, condemned by the laws of God and man? It is aiding and abetting the King's enemies, it is treachery to the defenders of the common weal. We, like our forefathers, have ever paid due reverence to God, to his Catholic Church and his ministers, but we fear not the unjust and immeasurable threats of men." He proceeds to justify the war. "The King of England had refused allegiance for his fiefs held of the crown of France. Ample satisfaction, and fair terms of peace, had been offered to the King of the Romans." The county of Burgundy the King of France held by right of conquest in open war, after defiance and proclamation of hostilities by the King of the Romans himself. "We therefore ought no longer to be provoked by insults, but, as dutiful sons of the Church, to be looked upon with favour, and consoled in our dangers and distresses."[z]

The Pope thought it not prudent to contest these broad and bold principles of temporal supremacy; he was now involved in the internecine strife with the Colonnas. An address in a milder tone, in which protestations of regard and esteem predominated over the few lingering words of menace, declared that a more harsh, strict, and rigorous meaning than he had designed, had been attributed by the malignity and cunning of evil counsellors to the Papal Bull. The Cardinal Legates, however, were commanded to raise all monies due to the Pope; and if the King's officers should interfere with their

Feb. 7, 1297.

[z] Document in Dupuy.

transmission, they were without hesitation or delay to pronounce sentence of excommunication against those officers.[a] The Pope found himself deserted in France by his natural allies. In the Gallican Church, either national pride triumphed over the hierarchical spirit, or the clergy feared the King more than the Pope. The Archbishop of Rheims, with nothing of the stubborn boldness of Becket, or even the passive courage of Robert of Winchelsea, sent a strong though humble address to the Pope, expressing profound gratitude for his care of the ecclesiastical liberties, but acknowledging their obligations both as feudatories of the King and as subjects, and their duty, in self-defence, to contribute to the public service: they deprecated the Pope's proceedings as disturbing the peace, which happily prevailed between the Church of France, and the King and Parliament of France.[b]

Conduct of the French Clergy.

For once the haughty Boniface listened to the admonitions of prudence. The King of France, by suspending for a time the operations of his hostile ordinance, gave the Pope an opportunity of withdrawing with less loss of dignity from his dangerous position. Another Bull appeared. "The author," it declared, "of every law is the sole interpreter of that law;" and the interpretation, which it now pleased Pope Boniface to give to his famous Bull, virtually abrogated it as regarded the kingdom of France. The King had full right to command the service of all his feudatories, whether holding secular or ecclesiastical fiefs: aids, benevolences, or loans might be granted, provided there was no exaction, only a friendly and gentle requisition from the King's courts. If the realm was in danger, equal taxes might be assessed on all alike; it was left to the conscience of the King, if of full age, during the King's nonage to the prelates, princes, dukes, and counts of the realm, to decide when the state was in danger.[c]

Prudence of Boniface.

The successes of Philip the Fair in negotiation as well as in war, no doubt, if they did not awe the Pope, showed the danger as well as the impolicy of alienating the old true ally of the Popedom, now rising to

The war. 1297, 1298.

[a] Dupuy, Feb. 3. [b] Dupuy, p. 26. [c] Apud Dupuy, p. 39.

increased power and influence. For his dictatorial injunctions to make peace had been utterly disregarded by all parties; the truce, which he had ordered for two years, had not been observed for as many months.

It was a powerful league which had been organised by the lavish subsidies of England. It comprehended the King of the Romans, Guy Dampierre, Count of Flanders, who hoped to compel the King of France to release his daughter, the Count of Bar, the Duke of Brabant, the Counts of Hainault and Gueldres, the Bishops of Liege and Utrecht, the Archbishop of Cologne. The Counts of Auxerre, Montbelliard, and other nobles of that province engaged, on the receipt of thirty thousand livres, to make a revolt in Burgundy. The more remote Counts of Savoy and Grandson were pledged to encourage and maintain this revolt. So utterly were the pacific views of the Pope almost contumeliously disregarded in all quarters. But in the meantime Philip had won over the Duke of Bretagne from the English league. In all parts his subsidies counteracted those of England; subsidies on both sides largely drawn from the ecclesiastical revenues. He had entered Flanders. Charles of Valois had inflicted a severe defeat on the rebels, as the Flemings in the army of the Count Dampierre were called. The rich manufacturing cities, indignant at former attempts of their liege Lord, the Count of Flanders, to infringe their privileges, opened their gates to Philip as their Suzerain. The Count in vain attempted to retrace his steps; they would not trust him, and were at least indifferent to their change of masters.

Edward had at length disembarked to the relief of his overwhelmed ally.[d] But the forces of the King of England were unequal to the contest. The war in defence of his foreign dominions had been unpopular in England. The English nobles, become more inflexibly insular in their feelings, had more than once refused to follow their monarch for the defence or reconquest of Gascony. In small numbers and with reluctance they had accompanied him to the Flemish shores. Edward's own military skill

[d] He embarked at Winchelsea, Aug. 22; landed at Sluys, 27, 1297. Rymer.

and vigour seemed to have deserted him: he was forced to abandon Bruges, which opened its gates to the conqueror. Ghent was hardly safe.[e]

These unusual efforts had exhausted the resources of both kingdoms. The means of prosecuting the war could only be wrung by force from murmuring and refractory subjects, the clergy as well as the laity. There was a limit not only to the endurance, but to the possibility of raising new taxes; and that limit had been reached both in England and France.

At the close of the year the Kings consented to a short truce. News from England, during the suspension of arms, disconcerted the plans of Edward for the reorganisation in greater strength and activity of his wide-spread league. All Scotland was in revolt. Wallace from a wild adventurer, at the head of a loose band of moss-troopers, had assumed, in a Parliament at Perth, the title of guardian of the realm and general of the armies of Scotland. Warenne, Earl of Surrey, Edward's Lieutenant, had been reduced to act on the defensive. The Scots were ravaging Cumberland and Westmoreland. A.D. 1297.

Boniface found these two haughty monarchs, who had so short a time before contemptuously spurned his mediation, one of them, if not imploring, making direct overtures in the most submissive terms for his interposition; the other accepting it with undisguised satisfaction. Edward despatched his ambassadors to Rome, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Durham, the Count of Savoy, Sir Otho Grandison, Sir Hugh de Vere (the Bishop of Winchester was then at Rome), to request the arbitration of his Holiness.[f] The King of France was not averse to peace. He had gained fame, territory, power, and vengeance against some of his more dangerous and disaffected vassals. The Pope had already, by abrogating or mitigating his obnoxious Bull as regarded France, by the solemn act of the canonisation of Saint Louis, shown his disposition to return to the old Papal policy, close alliance

[e] The war in the English and French historians; plainly and briefly in Rapin.

[f] New Rymer, p. 808. See the Submissio Specialis, p. 809.

with France. Philip acceded to the arbitration not of the Pope (for both monarchs endeavoured to save their honour and the independence of their realms, and to preclude a dangerous precedent) but of Boniface in his private character.[g] Benedetto Gaetani was the appointed arbiter. This subtle declaration Boniface was wise enough to permit and to despise: the world saw the two great Kings at his feet, awaiting his award, and in that award the full virtual recognition of the Papal arbitration. The contested territories could be sequestered, as they were for a time, only into the hands of the Pope's officers, not those of Benedetto Gaetani.

Boniface arbiter.

The extraordinary despatch with which this important treaty was framed, the equity of its provisions, the unreserved if on one side angry and reluctant assent of the contending parties,[h] could not but raise the general opinion of the Papal authority. Ere long the King of France had acquiesced in the decree.[i] The treaty seemed to aim at the establishment of lasting peace between the two rival powers by a double marriage between the houses, that of Edward himself with Margaret the sister, of the younger Edward with Isabella, daughter of the King of France.[k] But so completely was the Pope inseparable from Benedetto Gaetani, that the penalty imposed, in case either monarch should not fulfil the terms of these marriage-contracts, was an Interdict to be laid on their territories. Restitution was to be made on either side of all lands, vessels, merchandise, or goods, still subsisting; compensation according to the same arbitration for those destroyed or damaged during the war. Edward was to receive back, if not wholly, in

The treaty.

[g] As regards France, this condition may appear the subtle and provident invention of the lawyers. They would not admit, even in terms, that superiority which the See of Rome grounded on precedents as feudal lord of England, Scotland, Sicily, Arragon, Hungary; nor even that more vague superiority over the King of Germany, as King of the Romans and claimant of the empire.

[h] The agreement was signed at Rome, June 14, 1298. The instrument in Rymer is dated June 27. The tone of the King of England is far more submissive than that of the King of France. Compare the two documents in Rymer. The nobles of Burgundy, the allies of Edward, Montbelliard, D'Arlay, Montfaucon, sent ambassadors to represent them in the treaty. The Count of Flanders and Edward's other continental allies acceded to the arbitration of Benedetto Gaetani.

[i] See p. 223.

[k] The Pope annulled all the engagements, obligations, and oaths entered into by Edward to marry his son to the daughter of the Count of Flanders.—Rymer, p. 188.

great part his fiefs in France, on condition of homage and fealty to his liege Lord; and the Pope became security against his future rebellion. In the meantime till the boundaries could be settled, and all questions of jurisdiction brought to issue, those territories were to be surrendered to the Pope's officers, to be held by the Pope, until the final termination of all differences. The arbitration of Benedetto Gaetani was pronounced in full Synod at Rome in the presence of the Cardinals, the Apostolic Notaries, and all the functionaries of the Papal Court. According to the terms of the arbitration, the Bishop of Vicenza took possession in the Pope's name of the province of Guienne.

This was not the only quarrel in which the Pope was invited to take the part of arbiter. The insurgent Scots had recourse to the protection of the Papal See against the tyrannous usurpation of Edward. Their claim to this protection rested not on the general function and duty of the Head of the Christian Church to interpose his good offices in defence of the oppressed, for the maintenance of justice, and the preservation of Christian peace. They appealed to the Pope as their acknowledged liege Lord. Scotland, they said, was a fief of the Church of Rome, and had a right to demand aid against the invader not only of their liberties, but of the Pope's rights. The origin of this claim is obscure, but it was not now heard for the first time. Nor did it seem to rest on the vague and general pretensions of the Pope to the sovereignty over all islands.[m]

Already before this appeal had been publicly received at Rome, Boniface, in the character which he assumed of Pacificator of Christendom, and on the strength of the treaty concluded under his arbitration between France and England, had admonished King Edward not to prosecute the war against the Scots. Edward took no notice of this admonition. His first campaign at the head of the knighthood of England had ended with the total defeat

[m] Compare Lingard's note, vol. iii. c. 3, in which he clearly shows that it had been asserted on more than one occasion. In the MS. B. M. appears this singular ground for the title: "Præterea nosse potest Regia Celsitudo, qualiter regnum ipsum per beati Andreæ Apostoli venerandas reliquias, non sine superni Dei dono, acquisitum et conversum extitit ad fidei Catholicæ unitatem." — Vol. xiv. p. 53, June 27, 1299.

of Wallace, who became again a wandering and almost solitary adventurer. But though he could vanquish, the King of England could not keep possession of the poor territory: and at the close of the campaign most of his forces dispersed and returned to their English homes. A new government had been formed. William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrew's, Robert Bruce, and John Comyn proclaimed themselves a Regency in the name of John Baliol, who, though in an English prison, was still held to be the rightful sovereign. Edward's marriage with Margaret of France, the time necessary to reorganise his army, the refusal of the English Barons to invade Scotland during the winter, gave the Regency so much leisure to recover their strength, that they ventured to lay siege to the castle of Stirling. But their main hope was in the intervention of the Pope: and the Pope appeared to take up their cause with a vigour, as it were, flushed by the recent submission of Edward. His Bull addressed to the King of England spoke almost the words of the Ambassador of Scotland. It declared that the kingdom of Scotland had belonged in full right to the Church of Rome: that it neither was nor ever had been a fief of the King of England, or of his ancestors. It discussed and disdainfully threw aside all the pretensions of feudal suzerainty adduced by the King of England. It commanded him instantly to release the Bishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Sodor, and other Scottish ecclesiastics whom he kept in prison: to surrender the castles, and still more the monasteries and religious houses, which he presumed to hold to their damage, in some places to their utter ruin, in the realm of Scotland: to send his Ambassadors within six months to Rome to receive the Pope's determination on all differences between himself and the kingdom of Scotland.

June 27, 1299.

Edward was compelled for a time to dissemble his indignation at this imperious summons. The Bull, to ensure its service upon the King, had been committed to Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury. The Primate was commanded, in virtue of his obedience to the Pope, without delay to present this mandate to the King, and

use all his authority to induce the King to immediate and unreserved compliance.[n]

At this time all civil and religious affairs were suspended; all thoughts swallowed up by the great religious movement, which, at the close of the century, began in Italy and rapidly drew all Western Christendom within its whirlpool, a vast peaceful Crusade, to Rome not to Jerusalem, by which the spiritual advantages of that remote and armed and perilous pilgrimage were to be attained at much less cost, exertion, and danger. To the calm and philosophic mind the termination of a centenary period in the history of man is an epoch which cannot be contemplated without awe and seriousness; in those ages awe and seriousness were inseparable from profound, if passionate and unreasoning religion. It is impossible to determine whether a skilful impulse from Rome and from the clergy first kindled this access of fervent devotion. At this period, when Christendom was either seized or inspired with this paroxysm of faith, Palestine was irrecoverably lost: the unbelievers were in undisturbed possession of the sepulchre of Christ. But the tombs of the Apostles, of Peter and of Paul, next to that of the Redeemer, the most sacred, and hallowed by their venerable and unquestioned reliques, were accessible to all the West. The plenary Indulgences, which had been so lavishly bestowed in the early period of the Crusades, and might, even in the decay of the Crusading passion, be obtained by the desperate and world-weary votary, were not now coveted with less ardour. Would the Church withhold on more easy terms those precious and consolatory privileges for which the world was content to pay by such prodigal oblations, and which were thus the source of inexhaustible power

[n] There is great difficulty about the dates in this affair. The bull and the letter to Winchelsea are dated June, 1299. The Parliament of Lincoln was summoned Sept. 27, 1300; met in 1301. Lingard supposes that the bull, which was only delivered by Winchelsea to the King in Aug. 1300, had been withheld by some *unaccountable* delay from reaching Winchelsea till towards June 1300. We might perhaps suppose that the jubilee, in its preparations, and in the necessary arrangements, absorbed all the time of the Roman court; and altogether preoccupying the public mind, superseded all other business. But, from the haughty tone and almost menace of his letters to Winchelsea (MS. B. M.), there seems to have been some timid reluctance or delay on the part of the primate.

and wealth to the clergy? Christendom was now almost at peace; the Pope's treaty had been respected by France and England, and by their respective allies. Germany reposed under the doubtful supremacy of Albert of Austria. The north of Italy was in outward at least and unwonted peace: the industrious and flourishing republics, the commercial and maritime cities, were overflowing with riches, and ready with their lavish tribute.

Already on the first of January of the great centenary year, even before, on the Nativity (1299), the Churches of Rome, it might seem, from a natural, spontaneous, unsuggested, and therefore heaven-inspired thought (the movement was the stranger because no one knew how and where it began), were thronged with thousands supplicating, almost imperiously demanding, what they had been taught or believed to be the customary Indulgences of the season. The most humbly-religious Pope might have rejoiced at that august spectacle of Christendom thus crowding to offer its homage on the tombs of the Apostles, acknowledging Rome as the religious centre of the world, and coming under the personal benediction of the Roman Pontiff. The venerable image of the successor of St. Peter, thus planted in the hearts of so many, who would return home not passive slaves only but ardent assertors of the Papal supremacy, not subjects only but worshippers; the tribute lavished upon the altars—these might be but secondary considerations. Ambition, pride, and avarice might stand rebuked before nobler, more holy sentiments. Which predominated in the heart of Boniface VIII., shall history, written by human hand, presume to say? If both or either intruded on his serene contemplation of this triumph of the religious element in man, was it the more high and generous, or the more low and sordid? was it haughtiness or rapacity? Assuredly the sagacity of Boniface could not refuse to discern the immediate, and to foresee the remoter consequences of this ceremony: he could not close his eyes on the myriads at his feet: he could not refuse to hear the amount of the treasures which loaded the altars.

The court of Rome, in its solemn respect for precedent,

affected to require the sanction of ancient usage for the institution of the Holy year. The Mosaic Law offered its Jubilee, the tradition of the secular games at Rome might lurk to this time at least among the learned, very probably in the habits and customs of the people. The Church had never disdained, rather had avowed, the policy of turning to her own good ends the old Pagan usages. Grave inquiry was instituted. The Cardinal Stefaneschi, the poet-historian, was employed to search the archives: the College of Cardinals were duly consulted. At length the Pope himself ascended the pulpit in St. Peter's. The church was splendidly hung with rich tapestries; it was crowded with eager votaries. After his sermon the Pope unfolded the Bull, which proclaimed the welcome Indulgences, sealed with the pontifical seal. The Bull was immediately promulgated; it asserted the ancient usage of Indulgences to all who should make pilgrimage to the tomb of the "Chief of the Apostles." The Pope, in his solicitude for the souls of men, by his plenary power, gave to all who during the year should visit once a day the Churches of the Apostles, the Romans for thirty days, strangers for fifteen, and should have repented and confessed, full absolution of all their sins.

The Bull.

All Europe was in a frenzy of religious zeal. Throughout the year the roads in the remotest parts of Germany, Hungary, Britain, were crowded with pilgrims of all ages, of both sexes. A Savoyard above one hundred years old determined to see the tombs of the Apostles before he died. There were at times two hundred thousand strangers at Rome. During the year (no doubt the calculations were loose and vague) the city was visited by millions of pilgrims. At one time, so vast was the press both within and without the walls, that openings were broken for ingress and egress. Many people were trampled down, and perished by suffocation. The Papal authorities had taken the wisest and most effective measures against famine for such accumulating multitudes. It was a year of abundant harvest; the territories of Rome and Naples furnished large supplies. Lodgings were exorbitantly dear, forage scarce; but the

Pilgrims.

ordinary food of man, bread, meat, wine, and fish, was sold in great plenty and at moderate prices. The oblations were beyond calculation. It is reported by an eye-witness that two priests stood with rakes in their hands sweeping the uncounted gold and silver from the altars. Nor was this tribute, like offerings or subsidies for Crusades, to be devoted to special uses, the accoutrements, provisions, freight of armies. It was entirely at the free and irresponsible disposal of the Pope. Christendom of its own accord was heaping at the Pope's feet this extraordinary custom:[o] and receiving back the gift of pardon and everlasting life.

But from this great act of amnesty to the whole of Christendom were sternly excluded the enemies of Boniface—the rebels, as they were proclaimed, against the See of Rome—Frederick of Arragon and the Sicilians, the Colonnas, and all who harboured them.

[o] Stefaneschi. Villani, Istorie Fiorent. viii. 36. Ventura. After all, this mode of collecting does not, with the explanation of the Cardinal-poet, necessarily imply a contribution so very enormous. The text of Stefaneschi is unfortunately imperfect. He seems to say that the usual annual offerings on the tombs of the Apostles amounted to 30,000 florins; this year to 50,000 more, chiefly in small coins of all countries. Many were too poor to make any offering. The Cardinal contrasts the conduct of these humble votaries with that of the kings, who, unlike the Three of old, so munificent at the feet of the infant Jesus, were parsimonious in their offerings to Jesus at the right hand of the Father. "Instead of this, they seize the tithes of the churches bestowed by their generous ancestors, whose glory becomes their shame." Villani, himself a pilgrim (did the rich Florentines pay handsomely?), notes the vast wealth gained by the Romans as well as by the Church; according to his strong expression, almost all Christendom went. Villani drew his historic inspiration from his pilgrimage. His admiration of the great and ancient monuments of Rome, recorded by Virgil, Sallust, Lucan, Titus Livius, Valerius, and Orosius, led him, an unworthy disciple, to attempt to write history in their style. Villani is far from Livy, or even Sallust; but he might hold his own before Valerius and Orosius.

CHAPTER IX.

BONIFACE VIII. HIS FALL.

THIS centenary year, illustrated by the splendid festival of the Jubilee, by this homage and tribute paid by several millions of worshippers to the representative of St. Peter, was the zenith of the fame and power of Boniface VIII., perhaps of the Roman Pontificate. So far his immeasurable pretensions, if they had encountered resistance, had suffered no humiliating rebuke. Christendom might seem, by its submission, as if conspiring to intoxicate all his ruling passions, to tempt his ambition, to swell his pride, to glut his rapacity. The Colonnas, his redoubted enemies, were crushed; they were exiles in distant lands; it might seem superfluous hatred to confer on them the distinction of exclusion from the benefits of the Jubilee. Sicily, he might hope; would not long continue her unfilial rebellion. Roger Loria, now on the Angevine side, had gained one of his famous victories over the Arragonese fleet. Already Boniface had determined in his mind that great, though eventually fatal scheme by which Charles of Valois, who in the plains of Flanders had gained distinguished repute in arms, should descend the Alps as the soldier of the Pope, and terminate at once the obstinate war. Sicily reduced, Charles of Valois, married to the heiress of the Latin Emperor Baldwin, was to win back the imperial throne of Constantinople to the dominion of the West, and to its spiritual allegiance under the Roman See. Boniface had interposed to regulate the succession to the crown of Hungary: Hungary had received a king at his bidding.[a] The King of the Romans, Albert of Austria, was under his ban as a rebel, and even as the murderer, so he was denounced, of his sovereign, Adolph

Boniface at the height of his power.

[a] Mailath, Geschichte der Magyaren, ii. p. 5, *et seqq.*

of Nassau. Absolution for these crimes could only be given by the Pope himself, and Albert would doubtless purchase at any price that spiritual pardon without which his throne trembled under him. The two mighty Kings of France and England, who once spurned, had now been reduced to accept his mediation. He held, as arbiter, the province of Guienne. Scotland, to escape English rule, had declared herself a fief of the Apostolic See. Edward had not yet ventured to treat with scorn the strange demand of implicit submission, in all differences between himself and the Scots, to the Papal judgement. The embers of that fatal controversy between the King of France and Boniface, which were hereafter to blaze out into such ruinous conflagration, were smouldering unregarded, and to all seeming entirely extinguished. Philip, the brother of Charles of Valois, might appear the dearest and most obedient son of the Church.

But even at this time, in the depths and on the heights of the Christian world, influences were at work not only about to become fatal to the worldly grandeur of Boniface and to his life, but to his fame to the latest ages. Boniface was hated with a sincerity and intensity of hatred which, if it darkened, cannot be rejected as a witness against his vices, his overweening arrogance, his treachery, his avidity.

The Franciscans throughout Christendom, more especially in Italy, had the strongest hold on the popular mind. Their brotherhood was vigorous enough not to be weakened by the great internal schism which had begun to manifest itself from their foundation.[b] But to both the factions in this powerful order, up to near this time among the vehement and passionate teachers of the humblest submission to the Papacy, the present Pontiff was equally odious. In all lands the Franciscans were followed and embarrassed by the insoluble, interminable question, the possession of property, a question hereafter to be even more fiercely agitated. How could the Franciscans not yield to the temptation of the wealth which, as formerly with other Orders, the devotion of mankind now cast at their feet?

[b] See back the succession of Generals, Elias, Crescentius, John of Parma, Bonaventura, p. 48.

The inveterate feeling of the possibility of propitiating the Deity by munificent gifts, of atoning for a life of violence and guilt by the lavish donation or bequest, made it difficult for those who held dominion over men's minds as spiritual counsellors, to refuse to accept as stewards, to be the receivers, as it were, for God, of those oblations, ever more frequent and splendid according to the depth and energy of the religious impressions which they had awakened. From stewards to become owners; from dispensers or trustees, and sometimes venders of lands or goods bequeathed to pious uses, in order to distribute the proceeds among the poor or on religious edifices, to be the lords, and so, as they might fondly delude themselves, the more prudent and economic managers of such estates, was but an easy and unperceived transition. Hence, if not from more sordid causes, in defiance of the vow of absolute poverty, the primal law of the society, the Franciscans now vied in wealth with the older and less rigorous orders.[c] Mendicancy, their vital principle, had long ceased to be content with the scanty boon of hard fare and coarse clothing; it grasped at lands and the cost at least of splendid buildings. But the stern and inflexible statute of the order stood in their way; the Pope alone could annul that primary disqualification to hold lands and other property. To abrogate this inconvenient rule, to enlarge the narrow vow, had now become the aim of the most powerful, and, because most powerful, most wealthy Minorites. But Boniface was inexorable. On the Franciscans of England he practised a most unworthy fraud; and, bound together as the Order was throughout Christendom, such an act would produce its effect throughout the whole republic of the Minorites. The crafty avarice of the Pope was too much for the simple avarice of the Order. They offered to deposit forty thousand ducats with certain bankers, as the price of the Papal permission to hold lands. The Pope appeared to listen favourably till the money was in the bankers' hands. He then discovered that the concession was in direct opposition to the fundamental laws of the Order, and to the

[c] Westminster says that it was rumoured that the Statute of Mortmain was chiefly aimed at restraining the avidity of the Franciscans.—v. p. 495.

will of the seraphic Francis; but as they could not hold property, the property in the bankers' hands could not be theirs. He absolved the bankers from their obligation to repay the Franciscans, and seized for his proper use the unowned treasures. It was a bold and desperate measure, even in a Pope, a Pope with the power and authority of Boniface, to estrange the loyalty of the Minorites, dispersed, but in strict union, throughout the world, and now in command not merely of the popular mind, but of the profoundest theology of the age.

But if the higher Franciscans might thus be disposed to taunt the rapacity of Boniface, which had baffled their own, and throughout the Order might prevail a brooding and unavowed hostility to the intractable Pontiff; it was worse among the lower Franciscans, who had begun to draw off into a separate and inimical community. These were already under dark suspicions of heresy, and of belief in prophecies (hereafter to be more fully shown[d]), no less hostile to the whole hierarchical system than the tenets of Albigensians, or of the followers of Peter Waldo. To them Boniface was, if not the Antichrist, hardly less an object of devout abhorrence. To the Fraticelli, Cœlestine was ever the model Pope. The Cœlestinians had either blended with the Fraticelli, or were bound to them by the closest sympathies. With them, Boniface was still an usurper who disgraced the throne which he had obtained through lawless craft and violence, by the maintenance of an iniquitous, unchristian system, a system implacably irreconcileable with Apostolic poverty, and therefore with Apostolic faith. The Fraticelli, or Cœlestinians, as has been seen, had their poet; and perhaps the rude rhymes of Jacopone da Todi, to the tunes and in the rhythm of much of the popular hymnology, sounded more powerfully in the ears of men, stirred with no less fire the hearts of his simpler hearers than in later days the sublime terzains of Dante. Jacopone da Todi was a lawyer, of a gay and jovial life. His wife, of exquisite beauty and of noble birth, was deeply religious. During a solemn festival in the church, she fell

[d] We must await the pontificate of John XXII. for the full development of their tenets.

on the pavement from a scaffold. Jacopone rushed to loosen her dress; the dying woman struggled with more than feminine modesty; she was found swathed in the coarsest sackcloth. Jacopone at once renounced the world, and became a Franciscan tertiary; in the rigour of his asceticism, in the sternness of his opinions, a true brother of the most extreme of the Fraticelli. We have heard Jacopone admonish Cœlestine: his rude verse was no less bold against Boniface.[e]

Boniface pursued the Fraticelli, whose dangerous doctrines his well-informed sagacity could not but follow out to their inevitable conclusions;[f] even if they had not yet announced that coming reign of the Holy Spirit, which was to supersede and sweep away all the hierarchy. He could hardly be ignorant of their menacing prophecies. He cut off at once this rebellious branch from the body of the faithful, and denounced them as obstinate irreclaimable heretics.[g] Jacopone, not without cause (he had been the secretary in that league of the Colonnas and the ecclesiastics of France), became an object of persecution; that persecution, as usual, only gave him the honour and increasing influence of a martyr; his verses were hardly less bold, and were more endeared to the passions, and sunk deeper into the hearts of men.[h]

A Pope of a Ghibelline family, an apostate, as he was justly or unjustly thought, who had carried Guelfism to an unprecedented height of arrogance, and enforced its triumph with remorseless severity, centred of course on himself the detestation of all true Ghibellines. He had trampled down, but not exterminated, the Colonnas; their

[e] A poem has disappeared from the later editions:—

"O Papa Bonifazio
Molto hai giocato al mondo,
Penso che giocando
Non te parria partire."

This is genuine Jacopone. Two stanzas, alluding to the scene at Anagni, seem of a more doubtful hand.—Note to the German translation of Ozanam on the Religious Poets of Italy, by Dr. Julius, p. 188.

[f] Compare Ferretus Vicentinus, end of second book, character of Boniface.

[g] On the Fraticelli, Raynaldus, p. 240. In the bull of Boniface against them, he is extremely indignant at their apostacy. They averred "quod tempore interdicti melius quam alio tempore sit eisdem, et quod propter excommunicationem cibus non minus sapidus sit temporalis, nec minus bene dormiunt propterea."—P. 242.

[h] There is to my ear a bitter and insulting tone in the two satires written from his prison, in which he seems to supplicate, and at the same time to treat the Papal absolution as indifferent to one so full of hatred of himself and love of Christ.—Satire xvii. xix.

dispersion, if less dangerous to his power, was more dangerous to his fame. Wherever they went they spread the most hateful stories of his pride, perfidy, cruelty, avarice, so that even now we cannot discriminate darkened truth from baseless calumny. The greedy ears of the Ghibellines throughout Italy, of his enemies throughout Christendom, drank in and gave further currency to these sinister and rankling antipathies.

But the measure by which Boniface hoped almost to extermiñate Ghibellinism, by placing on the throne of Naples a powerful monarch, instead of the feeble representative of the old Angevine line, thus wresting Sicily f r ever from the house of Arragon, and so putting an end to the war, was most disastrous to his peace and to his fame. The invitation of Charles of Valois to be the soldier, protector, ally of the Pope, ended in revolting half Italy, while it had not the slightest effect in mitigating the subsequent fatal collision with France. Had Charles of Valois never trampled on the liberties of Florence, Dante might never have fallen off to Ghibellinism, he might have been silent of the fate of Boniface in hell. Hardly had Charles of Valois descended into Italy, when Boniface could not disguise to himself that he had introduced a master instead of a vassal. The haughty Frenchman paid as little respect, in his inordinate ambition, to the counsels, admonitions, remonstrances of the Pope, as to the liberties of the Italian people, or the laws of justice, humanity, or good faith. The summary of Charles of Valois' expedition into Italy, the expedition of the lieutenant and peacemaker of the Pope, was contained in that sarcastic sentence alluded to above, "He came to establish peace in Tuscany, and left war; he went to Sicily to wage war, and made a disgraceful peace." Through Charles of Valois the Pope became an object of execration in Florence, of mistrust and hatred throughout Italy; the anathematised Frederick obtained full possession of Sicily for his life, and as much longer as his descendants could hold it.[1] It were perhaps hard to determine which of the two brothers shook the power, and made the name of Boniface

Charles of Valois.

[1] See before, p. 160.

more odious to mankind, his friend and ally Charles of Valois, or his foe Philip the Fair.

The arrogant interposition of the Pope in the affairs of Scotland was rejected, not only by the King but by the English nation. The Parliament met at Lincoln. There assembled one hundred and four of the greatest barons of the realm, among the first, Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Bigod, Earl of Norfolk,[k] whose bold opposition had compelled the King to sign the two charters, with additional securities for the protection of the subject against the power of the Crown; they had joined with the Archbishop to resist the exactions of the King. The Universities sent their most distinguished doctors of civil law; the monasteries had been ordered to furnish all documents which could throw light on the controversy. The answer to the Pope's Bull, agreed on after some discussion, was signed by all the Nobles. It expressed the amazement of the Lords in Parliament at the unheard-of pretensions advanced in the Papal Bull, asserted the immemorial supremacy of the King of England over the King of Scotland in the times of the Britons and of the Saxons. Scotland had never paid feudal allegiance to the Church. The King of England is in no way accountable or amenable to the jurisdiction of the Pope for his rights over the kingdom of Scotland; he must not permit those rights to be called in question. It would be a disinheritance of the crown of England and of the royal dignity, a subversion of the state of England, if the King should appear by his proctors or ambassadors to plead on those rights in the Court of Rome; an infringement of the ancient liberties, customs, and laws of the realm, "to the maintenance of which we are bound by a solemn oath, and which by God's grace we will maintain to the utmost of our power, and with our whole strength. We neither permit, nor will we permit (we have neither the will nor the power to do so) our Lord the King, even if he should so design to comply, or attempt compliance, with demands so

England. Parliament of Lincoln. A.D. 1301.

[k] It was Bigod who refused to attend the King as Earl Marshal to Flanders. "By the everlasting God," said Edward, "Sir Earl, you shall go or hang." "By the everlasting God," answered Bigod, "I will neither go nor hang."

unprecedented, so unlawful, so prejudicial, so unheard of. Wherefore we humbly and earnestly beseech your Holiness to leave our King, a true Catholic, and devotedly attached to the Church of Rome, in peaceful and undisturbed possession of all his rights, liberties, customs, and laws."[m]

King Edward, however, to quiet the conscience of the Pope, not, as he distinctly declared, as submitting to his judgement, condescended to make a full and elaborate statement of his title to the homage of Scotland, in a document which seemed to presume on the ignorance or credulity of his Holiness as to the history of England and of the world, with boldness only equalled by the counter-statements of the Scottish Regency. It is a singular illustration of the state of human knowledge when poetry and history are one, when the mythic and historic have the same authority even as to grave legal claims, and questions affecting the destinies of nations.

Claims of England.

The origin of the King of England's supremacy over Scotland mounts almost to immemorial antiquity. Brute, the Trojan, in the days of Eli and Samuel, conquered the island of Albion from the Giants. He divided it among his three sons, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber. Albanact was slain in battle by a foreign invader, Humber. Locrine avenged his death, slew the usurper, who was drowned in the river which took his name, and subjected the realm of Albanact (Scotland) to that of Britain. Of the two sons of Dunwallo, King of Britain, Belinus and Brennus, Belinus received the kingdom of Britain, Brennus that of Scotland, under his brother, according to the Trojan law of primogeniture. King Arthur bestowed the kingdom of Scotland on Angusil, who bore Arthur's sword before him in sign of fealty. So, throughout the Saxon race, almost every famous King, from Athelstan to Edward the Confessor, had either appointed Kings of Scotland or received homage from them. The Normans exercised the same supremacy, from William the Conqueror to King Edward's father, Henry III. The King dauntlessly relates acts of submis-

[m] Rymer, dated Feb. 12, 1301.

sion and fealty from all the Scottish Kings. He concludes this long and laboured manifesto with the assertion of his full, absolute, indefeasible title to the kingdom of Scotland, as well in right of property, as of possession; and that he will neither do any act, nor give any security, which will in the least derogate from that right and that possession.

The Pope received this extraordinary statement with consummate solemnity. He handed it over to Baldred Basset, the Envoy of the Scottish Regency. In due time appeared the answer, which, with the same grave unsuspiciousness, meets the King on his own ground. The Scots had their legend, which for this purpose becomes equally authentic history. They deny not Brute or his conquest; but they hold their independent descent from Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, who sojourned at Athens and subdued Ireland. Her sons conquered Scotland from the degenerate race of Brute. The Saxon supremacy, if there were such supremacy, is no precedent for Edward, a descendant of Norman kings. No act of homage was ever performed to them by any King of Scotland, but by William the Lion, and that for lands held within the kingdom of England. They assert the absolute jurisdiction of the court of Rome. Edward, did he not mistrust his cause, could not decline that just and infallible tribunal. Scotland is, and ever has been, an allodial fief, an inalienable possession of the Church of Rome. It was contained in the universal grant of Constantine the Emperor, of all islands in the ocean to the successors of St. Peter.[n] Answer of the Scots.

But these more remote controversies were now to be drowned in the din of that absorbing strife, on which Christendom gazed in silent amazement, the quarrel between the Pope and the King of France. Boniface must descend from his tranquil eminence, as dictator of peace, as arbiter between contending Kings, to a long furious altercation of royal Edicts and Papal Bulls, in which, if not all respect for the Roman See, at least for himself was thrown aside; in which, if not his life, his power and his personal liberty were openly menaced; in which on his side he threatened to excommunicate, to de- Quarrel with France.

[n] Rymer. On the Scotch plea compare Fordun, Scoti Chronicon.

pose by some powerful league the greatest monarch in Europe, and was himself summoned to appear before a General Council to answer for the most monstrous crimes. The strife closed with his seizure in his own palace, and in his hastened death.

The Pope and the King abandon their ally.

As this strife with France became more violent, the King of England, whom each party would fear to offend, calmly pursued his plans of security and aggrandisement. The rights of the Roman See to the fief of Scotland quietly sunk into oblivion; the liberties of the oppressed Scots ceased to awaken the sympathies of their spiritual vindicator. The change in the views of the Pope was complete; his inactivity in the cause of the Scots grew into indirect support of the King of England. In an extant Bull he reproves the Archbishop of Glasgow and other Prelates of Scotland, for their obstinate maintenance of an unnatural rebellion: he treats them as acting unworthily of their holy calling, and threatens them with condign censure; those very Prelates for whose imprisonment he had condemned the King of England.[o]

Nor was Philip less disposed to abandon the Scottish insurgents to their fate. After obtaining for them the short truce of Angers, he no longer interposed in their behalf. There might almost seem a tacit understanding between the Kings. Edward, in like manner, forgot his faithful ally the Count of Flanders, who was confined in a French prison as a rebellious vassal. He did not insist on his liberation, it does not appear that he even remonstrated against this humiliating wrong.

The quarrel between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair is one of the great epochs in the Papal history, the turning point after which, for a time at least, the Papacy sank with a swift and precipitate descent, and from which it never rose again to the same commanding height. It led rapidly, if not directly and immediately, to that debasing period which has been called the Babylonian captivity of the Popes in Avignon, during which they became not much more than the slaves of the Kings of France. It was the strife of the two proudest, hardest, and least conciliatory of men, in defence of the two most stubbornly

[o] Rymer.

irreconcileable principles which could be brought into collision, with everything to exasperate, nothing to avert, to break, or to mitigate the shock.

The causes which led more immediately to this disastrous discord seem petty and insignificant; but when two violent, ambitious, and unyielding men are opposed, each strenuous in the assertion of incompatible claims, small causes provoke and irritate the feud, more perhaps than some one great object of contest. The clergy of France had many grievances, complained of many usurpations on the part of Philip, his family, and his officers, which were duly brought before the Papal court. The Bishop of Laon had been suspended from his spiritual functions by the Pope; he was cited to Rome. The King sequestered and took possession of the lands and goods as of a vacant See. John, Cardinal of S. Cecilia, had devised certain estates which he held in France for the endowment of a college for poor clerks in Paris. Philip, it is not known on what plea, seized the lands, and refused to restore them, though admonished by the Pope. Robert of Artois, the King's brother, claimed against the Bishop part of the city of Cambray: he continued to hold it in defiance of the Papal censure. The Archbishop of Rheims complained that his estates, sequestered by the King for his own use during the vacancy of the See, had not been fully restored to the Archiepiscopate. The Archbishop of Narbonne was involved in two disputes, one with the Viscount of that city, who claimed to hold his castle in Narbonne of the King, not of the Archbishop, who had received, as was asserted on the other hand, the homage and fealty of his father. A Council was held at Beziers on the subject: and an appeal made to Paris. The second feud related to the district of Maguelone, which the officers of St. Louis had usurped from the See of Narbonne; but on an appeal to Clement IV., it had been ceded back to the Church. The officers of Philip were again in possession of Maguelone. On this subject came a strong, but not intemperate remonstrance from the Pope, yet in which might be heard the first faint murmurs of the brooding storm. The Pope naturally set before the King the ex-

ample of his pious and sainted grandsire Louis. That canonisation is always represented as an act of condescending favour, not as a right extorted by the unquestioned virtues and acknowledged miracles of St. Louis; and as binding the kingdom of France, especially his descendants on the throne, in an irredeemable debt of gratitude to the Holy See. "The Pope cannot overlook such aggressions as those of the King on the rights of the Archbishop of Narbonne without incurring the blame of dumb dogs, who dare not bark;" he warns the King against the false prophets with honeyed lips, the evil counsellors, the extent of whose fatal influence he already, no doubt, dimly foresaw, the lawyers, on whom the King depended in all his acts, whether for the maintenance of his own rights, or the usurpation of those of others.

As yet there was no open breach. No doubt the recollection of the former feud rankled in the hearts of both. The unmeasured pretensions of the Pope in the Bull which exempted the clergy altogether from taxation for the state had not been rescinded, only mitigated as regarded France. All these smaller vexatious acts of rapacity showed that the King was actuated by the same spirit, which would proceed to any extremity rather than yield this prerogative of his crown.

The dissatisfaction of Philip with the arbitration of Boniface between France and England; his indignation that the arbitrement, which had been referred to Benedetto Gaetani, not to Pope Boniface, had been published in the form of a Bull; the fury into which the King and the nobles were betrayed by the articles concerning the Count of Flanders, rest on no extant contemporary authority; yet are so particular and so characteristic that it is difficult to ascribe them to the invention of the French historians.[p] It is said that the Bull, which had been ostentatiously read before a great public assembly in the Vatican, was pre-

[p] The Bull as published in Rymer contains no article relating to the Count of Flanders; it is entirely confined to the dispute between France and England, and the affairs of Gascony. That article, if there were such, must have been separate and distinct. The English ambassadors, according to another document (New Rymer), refused to enter into the negotiation without the consent of the Counts of Flanders and Bar. The two counts submitted, like the two kings, to the Papal arbitration.

sented to the King of France by an English prelate, the Bishop of Durham, as Papal Legate for that purpose, as well as ambassador of England; that besides the articles of peace between France and England, it ordered the King to surrender to the Count of Flanders all the cities which he had taken during the war, to deliver up his daughter, who had been a prisoner in France during two years, and to allow the Count of Flanders to marry her according to his own choice;[q] and also commanded Philip himself to take up the Cross for the Holy Land. The King could not restrain his wrath. Count Robert of Artois seized the insolent parchment: "Such dishonour shall never fall on the Kingdom of France." He threw it into the fire.[r] Some trembled, some highly lauded this contempt of the Pope.

It is quite certain that Philip took a step of more decided disdain and hostility to the Pope, in entering into an open alliance and connection by marriage with the excommunicated Albert of Austria. The King of the Romans and the King of France met in great pomp between Toul and Vaucouleurs, on the confines of their kingdoms. Blanche, the sister of Philip, was solemnly espoused to Rodolph, son of Albert of Austria. This step implied more than mistrust, total disbelief in the promises held out by Pope Boniface to Charles of Valois, that not merely he should be placed, as the reward of his Italian conquests, on the throne of the Eastern Empire, but that the Pope would ensure his succession to the Empire of the West, held to be vacant by the death of Adolph of Nassau. These magnificent hopes the Pope had not the

[q] I have quoted above the bull annulling the marriage contract of young Edward of England with this princess, p. 204.

[r] Dupuy, Mezeray, and Velly relate all this without hesitation. Sismondi rejects it altogether. Dupuy refers to Villani, where there is not a word about it, and to the Flemish historian Ouderghest. "De Philippe le Bel, en la presence de plusieurs Princes du Royaulme, et entre autres, de Robert Comte d'Artois, lequels apperçoivant d'une inusitée melancholie et tristesse que la dicte sentence avait causé au cœur d'iceluy, print les dictes bulles des mains de l'Archévêque (Rheims) lesquels il decbira et jecta au feu, disant que tel deshonneur n'aviendroit jamais à un Roi de France. Dont aucuns des Assistants le louèrent grandement, les autres le blasmèrent."—Ouderghest, p. 222. It is singular that there is the same obscurity about the demand made, it is said, by the Bishop of Pamiers for the liberation of the Count of Flanders—one of the causes which exasperated Philip most violently against that prelate.

power, Philip manifestly believed that he had not the will, to accomplish.[s] Albert of Austria was yet under the Papal ban as the murderer of his Sovereign. Boniface had exhorted the ecclesiastical electors to resist his usurpation, as he esteemed it, to the utmost. Neither the Archbishops of Mentz nor of Cologne were present at the meeting. Albert of Austria communicated this treaty of marriage with the royal house of France to the Pope; and no doubt hoped to advance at least the recognition of his title as King of the Romans, Boniface refused to admit the ambassadors of the vassal who had slain his lord, of a Prince who, without the Papal sanction, dared to assume the title of King of the Romans.[t]

Rumours about Boniface.

Rumours of more ostentatious contemptuousness were widely disseminated in Transalpine Christendom, and among the Ghibellines of Northern Italy. Boniface had appeared in warlike attire, and declared that himself, the successor of St. Peter, was the only Cæsar. During the Jubilee he had displayed himself alternately in the splendid habiliments of the Pope and those of the Emperor, with the crown on his head, the sceptre in his hand, and the Imperial sandals on his feet; he had two swords borne before him, and thus openly assumed the full temporal as well as spiritual supremacy over mankind. These reports, whether grounded on some misunderstanding of acts or words, or on the general haughty demeanour of the Pope, whether gross exaggeration or absolute invention, were no doubt spread by the industrious vindictiveness of the Pontiff's enemies.[u] It was no augury of peace that some of the Colonnas were openly received at the court of France: Stephen, the nephew of the two Cardinals (they remained at Genoa), Sciarra, a name afterwards more fatal to the Pope, redeemed by the liberality of the Pope from the corsairs who had taken him on the high seas. It is far from improbable that from the Colonnas and their partisans, not only such statements as these had their source or their blacker colouring, but even darker and more heinous charges.

The Colonnas.

[s] Historia Australis, apud Freher, i. 417, sub ann. 1299. Leibnitz, Cod. Diplom. i. 25.

[t] Raynald. sub ann. 1300.

[u] Of one thing only I am confident, that they are not later inventions.

These were all seized by the lawyers, Peter Flotte and William of Nogaret. Italian revenge, brooding over cruel and unforgiven injuries, degradation, impoverishment, exile; Ghibelline hatred, with the discomfiture of ecclesiastical ambition in the Churchmen, would be little scrupulous as to the weapons which it would employ. Boniface, if not the victim of his own overweening arrogance, may have been the victim of his own violence and implacability.

The unfortunate, if not insulting, choice of his Legate at this peculiar crisis precipitated the rupture. Instead of one of the grave, smooth, distinguished, if inflexible, Cardinals of his own court, Boniface entrusted with this difficult mission a man turbulent, intriguing, odious to Philip; with notions of sacerdotal power as stern and unbending as his own; a subject of the King of France, yet in a part of the kingdom in which that subjection was recent and doubtful. Bernard Saisset had been Abbot of St. Antonine's in Pamiers, a city of Languedoc. The Counts of Foix had a joint jurisdiction with the Abbot over that city and over the domains of the convent. But the house of Foix during the Albigensian war had lost all its power; these rights passed first to Simon de Montfort, then to the King of France. But the King of France, Philip the Hardy, had rewarded Roger Bernard, Count of Foix, for his services in the war of Catalonia, with the grant of all his rights over Pamiers, except the absolute suzerainty. The Abbots resisted the grant, and refused all accommodation. The King commanded the Viscount of Bigorre, who held the castle, to put it into the hands of the Count of Foix. The Abbot appealed to Rome. Roger Bernard was excommunicated; his lands placed under interdict. The Pope erected the city of Pamiers into a Bishopric; Bernard Saisset became Bishop, and condescended to receive a large sum from the Count of Foix, with a fixed rent on the estates. The Count of Foix did homage at the feet of the Bishop.

Saisset Bishop of Pamiers.

A.D. 1295, 1296.

Such was the man chosen by Boniface as Legate to the proud and irascible Philip the Fair. There is no record of the special object of his mission or of his instructions. It is said that he held the loftiest and most contemptuous

language concerning the illimitable power of the Church over all temporal sovereigns; that his arrogant demeanour rendered his demands still more insulting; that he peremptorily insisted on the liberation of the Count of Flanders and his daughter. Philip, after the proclamation of his truce with England, had again sent a powerful army into Flanders: the Count was abandoned by the King of England, abandoned by his own subjects. Guy of Dampierre (we have before alluded to his fate) had been compelled to surrender with his family, and was now a prisoner in France. Philip had the most deep-rooted hatred of the Count of Flanders, as a rebellious vassal, and as one whom he had cruelly injured. Some passion as profound as this, or his most sensitive pride, must have been galled by the Bishop of Pamiers, or even Philip the Fair would hardly have been goaded to measures of such vindictive violence. Philip was surrounded by his great lawyers, his Chancellor Peter Flotte, his confidential advisers, Enguerrand de Marigny, William de Plasian, and William of Nogaret, honest counsellors as far as the advancement of the royal power, the independence of the temporal on the spiritual sovereignty, and the administration of justice by learned and able men, according to fixed principles of law, instead of the wild and uncertain judgements of the petty feudal lords, lay or ecclesiastic; dangerous counsellors, as servile instruments of royal encroachment, oppression, and exaction; everywhere straining the law, the old Roman law, in favour of the kingly prerogative, beyond its proper despotism. Philip, by their advice, determined to arraign the Papal Legate, as a subject guilty at least of spoken treason. He allowed the Bishop to depart, but Saisset was followed or preceded by a commission sent to Toulouse, the Archdeacon of Angers and the Vidame of Amiens, to collect secret information as to his conduct and language. So soon as the Legate Bishop arrived in his diocese, he found a formidable array of charges prepared against him. Twenty-four witnesses had been examined; the Counts of Foix and Comminges, the Bishops of Toulouse, Beziers, and Maguelone, the Abbot of St. Pepoul. He was accused of simony, of heresy, principally as re-

May, 1301.

garded confession.[x] The Bishop would have fled at once to Rome; but this flight without the leave of the King or his metropolitan had incurred the forfeiture of his temporalities. He sent the Abbot of Mas d'Asil humbly to entreat permission to retire. But the King's commissioners were on the watch. The Vidame of Amiens stood by night at the gates of the Episcopal Palace, summoned the Bishop to appear before the King, searched all his chambers, set the royal seal on all his books, papers, money, plate, on his episcopal ornaments. It is even said that his domestics were put to the torture to obtain evidence against him. After some delay, the Prelate set out from Toulouse, accompanied by the captain of the crossbowmen and his troop, the Seneschal of Toulouse, and two royal sergeants—ostensibly to do him honour, in fact, as a guard upon the prisoner. July, 1301.

The King was holding his Court-plenary, a Parliament of the whole realm, at Senlis. The Bishop appeared before him, as he sat surrounded by the princes, prelates, knights, and ecclesiastics. Peter Flotte, the Keeper of the Seals, rose and arraigned the Bishop as having uttered many contemptuous and treasonable words against the King's Majesty. He offered to substantiate these grave charges by unexceptionable witnesses. Then Bishop Bernard was accused of having repeated a prediction of Saint Louis, that in the third generation, under a weak prince, the kingdom of France would pass for ever from his line into that of strangers; of having said that Philip was in every way unworthy of the crown; that he was not of the pure race of Charlemagne, but of a bastard branch; that he was no true King, but a handsome image, who thought of nothing but being looked upon with admiration by the world; that he deserved no name but that of issuer of base money;[y] that his court was treacherous, corrupt, and unbelieving as himself; that he had grievously oppressed by tyranny and extortion all who spoke the language of Toulouse; that he had no authority over Pamiers, which was neither within the realm nor held of the kingdom of France. There were Oct. 24. Charges against De Saisset.

[x] Dupuy, Preuves, p. 626. There may be read the depositions of the witnesses.
[y] Faux monnayeur.

other charges of acts, not of words: secret overtures to England; attempts to alienate the loyalty of the Counts of Comminges, and to induce the province of Languedoc to revolt, and set up her old independent Counts.[z] The Chancellor concluded by addressing the metropolitan, the Archbishop of Narbonne, summoning him in the King's name to seize and secure the person thus accused by the King of leze majesté; if the Archbishop refused, the King must take his own course. The Archbishop was in the utmost consternation and difficulty. He dared not absolutely refuse obedience to the King. The life of the Bishop was threatened by some of the more lawless of the court. He was withdrawn, as if for protection; the King's guards slept in his chamber. The Archbishop remonstrated against this insult towards a spiritual person. The King demanded whether he would be answerable for the safe custody of the prisoner. The Archbishop was bound not only by awe, but by gratitude to the Pope. One of the causes of the quarrel between Boniface and the King was the zealous assertion of the Archbishop's rights to the Countship of Maguelone. He consulted the Archbishop of Auch and the other bishops. It was agreed that the Bishop of Senlis should make over for a certain time a portion of his territory to the Archbishop. Within that ceded territory the Bishop should be kept, but not in close custody; his own chamberlain alone was to sleep in his chamber, but the King might appoint a faithful knight to keep guard. He was to have his chaplains; permission to write to Rome, his letters being first examined; lest his diocese should suffer damage, his seal was to be locked up in a strong chest under two keys, of which he retained one.

King Philip could not commit this bold act of the seizure and imprisonment of a bishop, a Papal Nuncio, without communicating his proceedings to the Pope. This communication was made, either accompanied or followed by a solemn embassage. But if the Legate appointed by the Pope was the most obnoxious ecclesiastic whom he could have chosen, the chief ambassador designated by the King, who proceeded to Rome, and affronted the Pope by his dauntless language, was the Keeper of the Seals, Peter

[z] The charges are in Dupuy, p. 633, *et seqq.*

Flotte.[n] If the King and his counsellors had desired to show the malice and falsehood or gross exaggeration of the treasonable charges brought against the Bishop of Pamiers, they could not have done it more effectually than by the monstrous language which they accused him of having used against the Pope himself, the Pope, whom he represented as Legate or Nuncio at the court of France, the object of his devout reverence as a High Churchman, to whom he had applied for protection, at whose feet he sought for refuge. The Bishop of Pamiers (so averred the King of France in a public dispatch) was not only, according to the usual charges against all delinquent prelates, guilty of heresy, simony, and unbelief; of having declared the sacrament of penance a human invention, fornication not forbidden to the clergy: in accumulation of these offences, he had called Boniface the Supreme Pontiff, in the hearing of many credible witnesses, the devil incarnate; he had asserted "that the Pope had impiously canonised St. Louis, who was in hell." "No wonder that this man had not hesitated to utter the foulest treasons against his temporal sovereign, when he had thus blasphemed against God and the Church." "All this the inquisitors had gathered from the attestations of bishops, abbots, and religious men, as well as counts, knights, and burghers." The King demanded the degradation and the condemnation of the Bishop by spiritual censures, and permission to make "a sacrifice to God by the hands of justice." Peter Flotte is declared, even in the presence of the Pope, to have maintained his unawed intrepidity. To the Pope's absolute assertion of his superiority over the secular power, the Chancellor replied with sarcastic significance, "Your power in temporal affairs is a power in word, that of the King my master in deed."

Such negotiations, with such a negotiator, were not likely to lead to peace. Bull after Bull came forth; several of the earlier ones bore the same date. The first was addressed to the King. It declared in the strongest terms that the temporal sovereign had no authority whatever over the person of an ecclesiastic.

Papal Bulls. Dec. 3.

[n] After careful examination of the evidence, I think there is no doubt of this mission of Peter Flotte. It cannot be pure invention. See Matt. Westm. *in loc.* Walsingham. Spondanus, sub ann. 1301. Raynald. ibid. Baillet, Demelés, p. 113, &c.

"The Pope had heard with deep sorrow that the King of France had caused the Bishop of Pamiers to be brought before him (Boniface trusted not against his will),[b] and had committed him to the custody of the Archbishop of Narbonne. The Pope exhorted, he commanded the King immediately to release the prelate, to permit him to proceed to Rome, and to restore all his goods and chattels. Unless he did this instantly, he would incur canonical censure for laying his profane and sacrilegious hands on a bishop."

Dec. 4, 1302. A second Bull commanded the Archbishop of Narbonne to consider the Bishop as under the special protection of the Pope; to send him, with all the documents produced upon the trial, to Rome; and to inhibit all further proceedings of the King. A third Bull annulled the special suspension, as regarded France, of the famous Papal statute that clerks should make no payments whatever to the laity;[c] "the King was to learn that by his disobedient conduct he had forfeited all peculiar and distinctive favour from the Holy See." The fourth was even a stronger and more irrevocable act of hostility. This Bull was addressed to all the archbishops and prelates, to the cathedral chapters, and the doctors of the canon and the civil law. It cited them to appear in person, or by

A.D. 1302. their representatives, at Rome on the 1st November of the ensuing year, to take counsel concerning all the excesses, crimes, acts of insolence, injury, or exaction, committed by the King of France or his officers against the churches, the secular and regular clergy of his kingdom. This was to set himself at the head of a league or conspiracy of the whole clergy of France against their King, it was a levy in mass of the hierarchy in full revolt. The Pope had already condescendingly informed the King of his intention, and entreated him not to be disturbed by these proceedings, but to place full reliance on the equity and indulgence of the Supreme Pontiff.

So closed the first year of this century. Early in the

The lesser Bull. following year was published, or at least widely bruited abroad, a Bull bearing the Pope's signature, brief, sharp, sententious. It had none of that grave solemnity, that unctuous ostentation of pious and paternal

[b] "Utinam non invitum."—Raynald. Ann. Lib. I, c. xxviii. [c] Clericis Laicos.

tenderness, that prodigality of Scriptural and sacred allusion, which usually sheathed the severest admonitions of the Holy See. "Boniface the Pope to the King of France. We would have you to know that you are subordinate in temporals as in spirituals. The collation to benefices and prebends in no wise belongs to you: if you have any guardianship of vacant benefices, it is only to receive the fruits for the successors. Whatever collations you have made, we declare null; whatever have been carried into effect, we revoke. All who believe not this are guilty of heresy." The Pope, in his subsequent Bulls, openly accuses certain persons of having issued false writings in his name; he intimates, if he does not directly charge Peter Flotte as guilty of the fraud. That this is the document, or one of the documents, thus disclaimed, there can be no doubt. Was it, then, a bold and groundless forgery, or a summary of the Pope's pretensions, stripped of all stately circumlocution, and presented in their odious and offensive plainness, with a view to enable the world, or at least France, to judge on the points at issue? It might seem absolutely incredible that the Chancellor of France should have the audacity to promulgate writings in the name of the Pope altogether fictitious, which the Pope would instantly disown; did not the monstrous charges adduced against the Bishop of Pamiers, and afterwards in open court against the Pope himself, display an utter contempt for truth, a confidence in the credulity of mankind, at least as inconceivable in later times. Our doubts of the sheer invention are rather as to the impolicy than the mendacity of the act. The answer in the name of the King of France—and this answer, undoubtedly authentic, proves irrefragably the publication and wide dissemination of the Lesser Bull of the Pope—with its ostentation not only of discourteous but of vulgar contempt, obtained the same publicity. "Philip, by the grace of God King of France, to Boniface, who assumes to be the Chief Pontiff, little or no greeting.[d] Let your fatuity know, that in temporals we are subordinate to none. The collation to vacant benefices and prebends belongs to us by royal right; the fruits are ours. We will maintain all collations made and to be

[d] "Salutem modicam aut nullam."

made by us, and their possessors. All who believe otherwise we hold to be fools and madmen."[e]

The more full and acknowledged Bull might indeed be almost fairly reduced to this coarse and rude summary.[f] It contained undeniably, under its veil of specious and moderate language, every one of those hardy and unmeasured doctrines. But the language is part of the spirit of such documents: the mitigating and explanatory phrase is not necessarily deceptive or hypocritical: though in truth each party was determined to misunderstand the other. Neither was prepared to follow out his doctrines to their legitimate conclusion; neither could acknowledge the impossibility of fixing the bounds of spiritual and of temporal authority. The Pope's notion of spiritual supremacy necessarily comprehended the whole range of human action: the King represented the Pope as claiming a feudal supremacy, as though he asserted the kingdom of France to be held of him. And this was the intelligible sovereignty which roused the indignation of feudal France, indignation justified by the actual claim of such sovereignty over other kingdoms. Each therefore stood on an impregnable theoretic ground; but each theory, when they attempted to carry it into practice, clashed with insurmountable difficulties.

The greater Bull, of which the authenticity is unques-
Bull. Ausculta fili. tioned, ran in these terms:—It began with the accustomed protestation of parental tenderness, which demanded more than filial obedience, obedience to the Pope as to God. "Hearken, my most dear son, to the precepts of thy father, open the ears of thine heart to

[e] The weight of evidence that these two extraordinary documents were extant and published at the time seems to me irresistible. They were not contested for 300 years; they are adduced by most of the writers of the time; they are to be found in the Gloss on the Decretals of Boniface, published 40 years after by John Andrew of Bologna. See all the very curious deliberation of Peter de Bosco on this very Bull, published in Dupuy, Preuves, p. 45. It is called in general the Lesser Bull.

[f] Sismondi supposes that the Lesser Bull was framed by Peter Flotte, to be laid before the States-General, on account of the great length of the genuine Bull; that having so presented it, and seen its effect, he was unable and unwilling to withdraw it. But of the answers of the three Orders, two are extant, and in a very different tone from the brief one ascribed to the King. It seems to me rather to have been intended as an appeal to popular feeling than to that of a regular assembly. Such substitution is hardly conceivable in an assembly at which all the prelates and great abbots of the kingdom were present. Nor does this notion account for the King's reply.

the instruction of thy master, the vicegerent of Him who is the one Master and Lord. Receive willingly, be careful to fulfil to the utmost, the admonitions of thy mother, the Church. Return to God with a contrite heart, from whom, by sloth or through evil counsels, thou hast departed, and devoutly conform to His decrees and ours." The Pope then shadows forth the plenary and tremendous power of Rome in the vague and awful words of the Old Testament. "See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant."[g] This was no new Papal phrase; it had been used with the same boldness of misappropriation by the Gregories and Innocents of old. It might mean only spiritual censures; it was softened off in the next clause into such meaning.[h] Yet it might also signify the annulling the subjects' oaths of allegiance, the overthrow by any means of the temporal throne, the transference of the crown from one head to another. This sentence, which in former times had been awful, was now presumptuous, offensive, odious. It was that which the King, at a later period, insisted most strenuously on erasing from the Bull. "Let no one persuade you that you are not subject to the Hierarch of the Celestial Hierarchy." The Bull proceeds to rebuke, in firm, but neither absolutely ungentle nor discourteous terms, the oppressions of the King over his subjects (the most galling sentences were those which alluded to his tampering with the coin, "his acts as money-changer"), not only the oppressions of Ecclesiastics, but of Peers, Counts, Barons, the Universities, and the people, all of whom the Pope thus takes under his protection. The King's right to the collation of benefices he denies in the most peremptory terms; he brands his presumption in bringing ecclesiastics under the temporal jurisdiction, his levying taxes on the clergy who did not hold fiefs of the Crown, although no layman has any power whatever over an ecclesiastic: he censures especially the King's usurpations on the church of Lyons, a church beyond the limits of his realm, and independent of his authority; his abuse

[g] Jeremiah, i. 10.

[h] "Ut gregem pascentes Dominicum . . . alligemus fracta, et reducamus abjecta, vinumque infundamus," &c.

of the custody of vacant bishoprics. "The voice of the Pope was hoarse in remonstrating against these acts of iniquity, to which the King turned the ear of the deaf adder. Though the Pope would be justified in taking arms against the King, his bow and quiver (what bow and quiver he leaves in significant obscurity), he had determined to make this last appeal to Philip's conscience. He had summoned the clergy of France to Rome to take cognizance of all these things. He solemnly warned the King against the evil counsellors by whom he was environed; and concluded with the old and somewhat obsolete termination of all such addresses to Christian Kings, an admonition to consider the state of the Holy Land, the all-absorbing duty of recovering the sepulchre of Christ.

The King in all this grave, as it bore upon its face, paternal expostulation, saw only, or chose to see, or was permitted by his loyal counsellors, who by their servile adulation of his passions absolutely ruled his mind, to see only the few plain and arrogant demands concentered in the Lesser Bull, with the allusions to his oppressions and exactions, not less insulting from their truth. His conscience as a Christian was untouched by religious awe; his pride as a King provoked to fury. The Archdeacon of Narbonne, the bearer of the Papal Bull, was ignominiously refused admittance to the royal presence. In the midst of his court, more than ordinarily thronged with nobles, Philip solemnly declared that he would disinherit all his sons if they consented to hold the kingdom of France of any one but of God. Fifteen days after, the Bull of the Pope was publicly burned in Paris in the King's presence, and this act proclaimed throughout the city by the sound of the trumpet.[1] Paris knew no more of the ground of the quarrel, or of the Papal pretensions, than may have been communicated in the Lesser Bull; it heard in respectful silence, if not with acclamation, the King's defiance of the Pope, at which a century before it would have trembled and wailed, as inevitably to be followed by all the gloom, terror, spiritual privations of an Interdict.

Jan. 26, 1302.

All France seemed prepared to espouse the quarrel of

[1] Dupuy, p. 59.

the King. Philip, or Philip's counsellors, had such confidence in the state of the public mind, which themselves had so skilfully wrought up, as boldly to appeal to the whole nation. The States-General were summoned for the first time, not only the two orders, the Nobles and the Clergy, but the commonalty also, the burghers of the towns and cities, now rising into notice and wealth. The States-General met in the church of Nôtre Dame at Paris. The Chancellor, Peter Flotte, submitted, and put his own construction on the several Bulls issued by the Pope on the 5th of December, which withdrew the privileges conceded by himself to the realm of France, summoned all the Bishops and Doctors of Theology and Law in France to Rome, as his subjects and spiritual vassals, and (this was the vital question) asserted that the King held the realm of France, not of God, but of the Pope. This feudal suzerainty, the only suzerainty the Nobles comprehended, and which was declared by the Chancellor to be claimed by the Pope, was hardly less odious to them than to the King. The clergy were embarrassed; some, no doubt, felt strongly the national pride of independence, though they owed unlimited allegiance to the Pope. They held, too, fiefs of the Crown; and the collation of benefices by the Crown secured them from that of which they were especially jealous, the intrusion of foreigners into the preferments which they esteemed their own right. There had been from the days of Hincmar of Rheims, at least, a vague notion of some special and distinctive liberties belonging to the Gallican Church. The Commons, or the Third Estate, would hardly have been summoned by Philip and his subtle advisers, if their support to the royal cause had not been sure. The pride of their new political importance, their recognition as part of the nation, if not their intelligence, would maintain their loyalty to the Crown, undisturbed by any superstitious veneration for the Hierarchy.

States-General. April 10, 1302.

Each order drew up its separate address to the Papal Court; that of the ruder Nobles was in French, not to the Pope, but to the Cardinals; that of the clergy in Latin, to the Pope. These two are

Address of the Nobles to the Cardinals;

extant; the third, of the Commons, which would no doubt have been the most curious, is lost. The Nobles dwell on the long and immemorial and harmonious amity between the Church of Rome and the realm of France; that amity was disturbed by the extortionate and unbridled acts of him who now governed the Church. They, the Nobles and People of France, would never, under the worst extremities, endure the wicked and outrageous innovations of the Pope, his claim of the temporal subjection of the King and the kingdom to Rome, his summoning the prelates and ecclesiastical dignitaries of the realm for the redress of alleged grievances and oppressions before Boniface at Rome. "We, the people of France, neither desire nor will receive the redress of such grievances by his authority or his power, but only from that of our Lord the King." They vindicate the King's determination not to allow the wealth of the realm, especially arms, to be exported from France. They accuse the Pope of having usurped the collation of benefices, and of having bestowed them for money on unknown strangers. By this and his other exactions, the Church was so impoverished and discredited that the bishops could not find men of noble descent, of good birth, or of letters, to accept benefices. "These things, hateful to God and displeasing to good men, had never been seen, and were not expected to be seen, before the time of Antichrist." They call on the Cardinals to arrest the Pope in his dangerous courses, to chastise him for his excesses, that Christendom may return to peace, and good Christians be able to devote themselves to the recovery of the Holy Land." This letter was signed by Louis, Count of Evreux, the King's brother; by Robert, Count of Artois; by the Dukes of Burgundy, Bretagne, Lorraine; the Counts of Dreux, St. Pol, de la Marche, Boulogne, Comminges, Albemarle, Forez, Eu, Nevers, Auxerre, Perigord, Joigny, Valentinois, Poitiers, Montbeliard, Sancerre, even by the Flemish Counts of Hainault and Luxemburg, the Lords of Couci and Beaujeu, the Viscount of Narbonne, and some others.[k]

The address of the Prelates to the Pope was more re-

[k] Preuves, p. 61, 62.

spectful, if not, as usual, supplicatory. They too treat as dangerous novelties, now first expressed in the Papal Bulls, the assertion that the King holds his realm of the Pope, the right of the Pope to summon the subjects of the King, high ecclesiastics, to Rome, for the general redress of grievances, wrongs, and injuries committed by the King, his bailiffs or officers. They too urge the collation to benefices of persons unknown, strangers, and not above suspicion, who never reside on their benefices; the unpopularity and impoverishment of the Church; the constant drain on the wealth of the realm by direct exactions and perpetual appeals to Rome. The King had called on them and on the Barons of France to consult with him on the maintenance of the ancient liberties, honour, and state of the kingdom. The Barons had withdrawn, and determined to support the King. They too had retired, but had demanded longer delay, lest they should infringe on their obedience to the Pope. They had at length replied that they held themselves bound to the preservation of the person and of the authority of the King, the rights and liberties of the kingdom. But, as they were also under allegiance to the Pope, they had humbly craved permission to go to Rome to represent the whole case. To this the King and the Barons had answered by a stern refusal to permit them to quit the realm, on the penalty of the seizure and sequestration of all their lands and goods. "So great and imminent was the peril as to threaten an absolute dissolution of the Church and State; the clergy were so odious to the people that they avoided all intercourse with them; tongue could not tell the dangers to which they were exposed."[1]

of the Clergy to the Pope.

The Cardinals replied to the Dukes, Counts, and Barons of France with dignity and moderation. They assured the Nobles of their earnest desire, and that of the Pope, to maintain the friendly relations between the Church of Rome and the kingdom of France. He was an enemy to man (designating clearly, but not

Answer of the Cardinals.

[1] "Cum jam abhorreant laici et prorsus effugiant consortia clericorum, eos a suis omnino consiliis et allocutionibus abdicando... in grave periculum animarum et varia et diversa pericula." —Preuves, p. 70 *et seq.*

naming the Chancellor) who had sowed the tares of discord. The Pope had never written to the King claiming the *temporal* sovereignty. The Archdeacon of Narbonne, as himself deposes, had not advanced such claim. The whole argument, therefore, of the Chancellor was built on sand. They insisted on the right of the Pope to hold Councils, and to summon to such Councils all the prelates of Christendom. In their turn they eluded the charge that this Council was to take cognizance of what were undeniably the temporal affairs of France. "If all the letters of the Pope had been laid before the Prelates and Barons, and their tenor explained by the Pope's Nuncio, they would have been found full of love and pious solicitude." They then dwell on the manifest favours of the Papal See to France. They deny that the Pope had appointed any foreign bishops, but to the sees of Bourges and of Arras. In all other cases he had nominated subjects of the realm, men known in the Court, familiar with the King, and of good repute.[m] The answer of the Cardinals to the Mayors, Sheriffs, Jurors of the cities and towns, was in the same grave tone, denying the claim of temporal sovereignty, and alleging the same acts.

Answer of the Pope to the Bishops.

The Pope, in his answer to the Prelates and Clergy, did not maintain the same decorous majesty. His wrath was excited by what he deemed timorous apostacy of Churchmen from the cause of the Church. "Under the hypocritical veil of consolation, the beloved daughter, the Church of France, had heaped reproach on her spotless mother, the Church of Rome. The Prelates had stooped to be mendicants for the suffrages of the Parliament of Paris, and alleged the loss of their property, and the danger of their persons, if they should set out for Rome. That son of Belial, Peter Flotte, whose bodily sight was so feeble, who was stone-blind in soul, had been permitted, and others who thirsted for Christian blood had been permitted, to lead astray our dear son, Philip of France." "And to this ye listened, who ought to have poured scathing contempt upon them all. Ye did this from base timidity, from baser worldliness. But they

[m] June 26. Preuves, p. 63.

labour in vain. He that sitteth in the north shall not long lift himself up against the Vicar of Christ Jesus, to whom there has not yet been a second: he shall fall with all his followers. Do not they who deny the subjection of the temporal to the spiritual power assert the two principles?"[n] This was a subtle blow. Manicheism was the most hated heresy to all who knew, and all who did not know, its meaning.

At Rome, about the same time, was held a Consistory, in which the differences with France were submitted to solemn deliberation. Matthew Acqua Sparta, the Franciscan, Cardinal of Porto, as representing the sense of the Cardinals, delivered a long address, half sermon and half speech. He took for his text, from the epistle of the day before, the Feast of St. John the Baptist, the passage of Jeremiah concerning the universal power to pluck up, root out, destroy and plant. He applied it directly to John the Baptist, by clear inference to the Pope. He lamented the difference with the King of France, which had arisen from so light a cause; asserted perfect harmony to exist between the Pope and the Sacred College. He declared the real letter sent by the Pope to have been full of gentleness and love; the false letter had neither been sent nor authorised by the Pope. "Had not the King of France a confessor? Did he not receive absolution? It is as partaking of sin that the Pope takes cognizance of all temporal acts." He appeals to the famous similitude of the two luminaries, of which the temporal power was the lesser; but he draws a distinction between the temporal power of the Pope and his right to carry it into execution. "The Vicar of Christ has unbounded jurisdiction, for he is even to judge the quick and the dead; but he is not competent to the use, he is not the executive of the temporal power, for 'the Lord said, put up thy sword (the temporal sword) into its scabbard.'"

June 25. Consistory at Rome.

Speech of Cardinal of Porto.

The Pope followed the Cardinal of Porto in a more strange line of argument. His text was, "Whom God has joined together, let no man put asunder." This sentence, applied, he says, by God to our first parents,

Speech of the Pope.

[n] Preuves, p. 66.

applies also to the Church and the Kings of France. On the first baptism of the King of France by S. Remigius, the Archbishop said, "Hold thee to the Church: so long as thou holdest to the Church, thou and thy kingdom shall prosper: so soon as thou departest from it, thou and thy kingdom shall perish. What gifts and blessings[o] does not the King of France receive from the Church! even at the present day, by our grants and dispensations, forty thousand livres. 'Let no man put asunder.' Who is the man? The word *man* is sometimes used for God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, sometimes for the devil. Here it means that diabolical man, that Antichrist, blind in bodily eyesight, more blind of soul, Peter Flotte. The satellites of that Ahitophel are Robert Count of Artois and the Count St. Pol. It is he that falsified our letter; it is he that made us say to the King that he held his realm of us. For forty years we have been trained in the science of law; we know that there are two powers; how could such a folly enter our head? We say, as our brother the Cardinal of Porto has said, that in nothing would we usurp the royal power; but the King cannot deny that he is subject to us in regard to his sins." The Pope then enters on the collation to benefices, on which point he is prepared, of his free grace, to make large but special concessions to the King. After some expressions of regard, he reassumes the language of reproach and of menace. "But for us, the King would not have a foot in the stirrup. When the English, the Germans, all his more powerful vassals and neighbours, rose up against him in one league, to whom but to us did he owe his triumph? Our predecessors have deposed three Kings of France. These things are written in their annals as in ours; and this King, guilty of so much more heinous offences, we could depose as we could discharge a groom,[p] though we should do it with sorrow. As for the citation of Bishops, we could call the whole world to our presence, weak and aged as we are. If they come not at our command, let them know that they are hereby deprived and deposed."

[o] Fomenta.

[p] "Nos deponeremus Regem, sicut unum garcionem." See the whole speech in Raynald. sub ann.

From this Consistory emanated a second Bull, which deliberately and fully defined the powers assumed by the Pope. It asserted the eternal unity of the Catholic Church under St. Peter and his successors. Whosoever, as the Greeks, denied that subordination, denied that themselves were of Christ. "There are two swords, the spiritual and the temporal: our Lord said not of these two swords, 'it is too much,' but 'it is enough.' Both are in the power of the Church: the one the spiritual, to be used *by* the Church, the other the material, *for* the Church; the former that of priests, the latter that of kings and soldiers, to be wielded at the command and by the sufferance of the priest.[q] One sword must be under the other, the temporal under the spiritual. .... The spiritual instituted the temporal power, and judges whether that power is well exercised." The eternal verse of Jeremiah is adduced. "If the temporal power errs, it is judged by the spiritual. To deny this, is to assert, with the heretical Manicheans, two co-equal principles. We therefore assert, define, and pronounce that it is necessary to salvation to believe that every human being is subject to the Pontiff of Rome."[r] The Bull "Unam sanctam."

The insurrection in Flanders diverted the minds of men for some short time from this quarrel which appalled Christendom. The free and industrious Flemish manufacturing burghers found the rule of the King of France more intolerable than that of their former lords. Their victory at Courtrai, foretold by a comet, the most bloody and humiliating defeat which for years had been suffered by the arms of France, was not likely to soothe the haughty temper of Philip. The loftier Churchmen, in the death of Robert of Artois on that fatal field, saw the judgement of God on him, who was said to have trodden under foot the Pope's Bull of arbitration, whose seal was the first affixed to the remonstrance of the Nobles in the Parliament of Paris.[s] Among those that July 11, 1302.

[q] Ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis.

[r] "Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, et diffinimus omnino esse de necessitate fidei."—Preuves, p. 54.

[s] Continuat. Nangis, Bouquet, p. 585. Chroniques de St. Denys, p. 670. Vil.

fell was a more dire enemy of the Pope, the Chancellor Peter Flotte.

Hence, perhaps, in the mean time attempts had been made to obtain the mediation of some of the greater vassals of the Crown, the Dukes of Bretagne and of Burgundy. The Pope had intimated that they would be more fitting and acceptable ambassadors than the King's insolent legal counsellors. Those powerful and almost independent sovereigns had commissioned Hugh, a brother of the Order of Knights Templars, to express their earnest desire for the reconciliation of the King with the Pope. From Anagni the Cardinal of Porto wrote to the Duke of Bretagne, the Cardinals of San Pudenziana and S. Maria Nuova to the Duke of Burgundy, representing the insult offered to the Pope, in publicly burning his Bull (an act which neither heretic, pagan, nor tyrant would have done), and the friendly and patient tone of the Pope's genuine letters. They explained the reason why the Pope could not write to one actually in a state of excommunication. They exhorted the princes to induce the King to humble himself before his spiritual father.

Sept. 5.

The Prelates of France had been summoned to appear in Rome at the beginning of November. It was to be seen how many would dare to defy the resentment of the King, and resolutely obey their spiritual sovereign. There were only four Archbishops, thirty-five Bishops, six of the great Abbots. Of these by far the larger number were the Bishops of Bretagne, Burgundy, and Languedoc. The Archbishop of Tours headed eight of his Breton suffragans; the Archbishop of Auch fifteen Provençals, including the Bishop of Pamiers. The Archbishop of Bourdeaux was a subject of the King of England, as Duke of Aquitaine. The Archbishop of Bourges was one of the Italians promoted by the Pope; with him went one or two of his suffragans. Philip, it might seem, knew from what quarters he might expect this defection. The Seneschal of Toulouse received orders to publish the royal

Prelates who go to Rome.

lani (viii. 55) antedates the battle March 21. He is especially indignant that the nobles of France were defeated by base artisans, "tesserandoli e fulloni." This is curious in the mercantile Florentine.

prohibition to all Barons, Knights, Primates, Bishops or Abbots against quitting the realm; or, if they should have quitted it, to command their instant return, on pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of all their temporal goods. These southern provinces he watched with peculiar jealousy, and, as if determined to shake the ecclesiastical dominion, he published an Edict,[t] denouncing the cruelties and tyranny of the Inquisition, and of Fulk of St. George, the head of that awful tribunal. This arraignment, while it appeared to strike at the abuses, condemned the Office itself. "Complaints have reached us from all quarters, from Prelates and Barons, that Brother Fulk, the Inquisitor of heretical offences, has encouraged those errors and crimes, which it is his function to extirpate. Under the pretext of law he has violated all law; under the semblance of piety committed acts of the grossest impiety and inhumanity; under the plea of defending the Catholic faith, done deeds at which the minds of men revolt with horror. There is no bound to his exactions, oppressions, and charges against our faithful subjects. In defiance of the canonical rules, he begins his processes by arrest and torture, by torture new and unheard of. Those whom, according to his caprice, he accuses of having denied Christ or attacked the foundations of the faith, he compels by these tortures to make false admissions of guilt; if he cannot compel their inflexible innocence to confess guilt, he suborns false witnesses against them."[u] This was the Ordinance of the King who cruelly seized and tortured the Templars!

Philip condemns the Inquisition. Oct. 21.

The winter passed in vain overtures for reconciliation. Each sought to strengthen himself by new alliances; Philip by concessions to his people, extorted partly by the unprosperous state of affairs in Flanders, and from the desire to make his personal quarrel with the Pope a national affair.[x] As the year advanced, Philip pressed the conclusion of the peace with England; it was ratified at Paris. Philip resigned Aquitaine on the due performance

[t] Ordonnances des Rois.
[u] Ordonnances des Rois, i. 340. Hist. de Languedoc. Preuves, No. 54, p. 118.
[x] Sismondi, Hist. des Français, ix. p. 104.

of homage by England. The Pope suddenly forgot all the crimes and contumacy of Albert of Austria. The murderer of his predecessor, against whom Boniface himself had excited the ecclesiastical electors to rebellion, became a devout and prudent son, who had humbly submitted, not to the judgement, but to the clemency of his father, and had offered to prove himself innocent of the misdeed imputed to him, and to undergo such penance as should be imposed upon him by the Holy See. The Pope wrote to the Princes of the Empire, commanding them to render their allegiance to Albert: and it suited the present policy of Albert to obtain the Empire on any terms. At Nuremberg he promulgated a golden Bull, sealed with the Imperial seal, in which he acknowledged, in terms as full as ever had been extorted from the most humiliated of his predecessors, that the Roman Empire had been granted to Charlemagne by the Apostolic See; that though the King of the Romans was chosen by certain temporal and ecclesiastical Electors, the temporal sword derived all its authority from the oath of allegiance to the Pope. The protection of the Church was the first and paramount duty of the Emperor. He swore to guard the Pope against any injury to life or limb; and though it was the customary phrase, yet it is curious that he swore also, as if the scene at Anagni might be foreseen distinctly, to guard from capture and imprisonment.[y] He swore too that the Pope's enemies should be his enemies, of whatever rank or dignity, Kings or Emperors. The eagerness with which Albert of Austria detached himself from the alliance of the King of France, though cemented by marriage, the profound humility of his language, was not calculated to diminish the haughty confidence of Boniface in the awe still inspired by the Papal power.[z] Boniface had the prudence to secure himself against the French interest in Italy: he consented at length to permit the King of Naples to rest content with the throne of that kingdom, and to acknowledge Frederick of Arragon as King of

May 20, 1303.

July 17, 1303.

[y] "Capi malâ captivitate." Compare Raynald. sub ann. 1303.

[z] Velly, Coxe, and others write confidently of the offer of the French crown to Albert; with Sismondi, I can discover no trace of this in the contemporary documents.

Trinacria. Charles of Valois had returned to France to assist his brother in the wars of Flanders.

Philip, on his side, was preparing certain popular acts, which were to be proclaimed at the same great assembly at the Louvre in which he had determined to appeal to his subjects against the encroachments of the Pope. Yet for a time he had been even more deeply wounded by his unavenged discomfiture by the Flemings, and he had not therefore altogether abandoned the thought of pacification with the Pope. It can hardly have been unauthorised by the King, that the Count of Alençon and the Bishop of Auxerre, one of the Prelates who had obeyed the citation to Rome, had held out hopes that the King was not averse to an amicable settlement. Accordingly John Le Moine, Cardinal of S. Marcellinus and S. Peter, a native of Picardy, appeared in the Court at Paris. But the mission of the Legate was not one of peace. Boniface must have miscalculated most grievously both the blow inflicted by the Flemings on the power of Philip, and the strength derived by himself from his Ghibelline alliance with the Emperor. The Legate was instructed first to summon those Prelates, the King's partisans, who had not made their appearance at Rome, to obey the Pope without delay, and hasten to the feet of his Holiness, under the penalty of immediate deposition. These Prelates were the Archbishops of Sens and Narbonne, the Bishops of Soissons, Beauvais, and Meaux, with the Abbot of St. Denis. The Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishops of Paris, Amiens, Langres, Poitiers, and Bayeux had alleged their age and infirmity. The Pope condescended to admit their excuse. So too were excused the Italian Bishop of Arras, who was of such tried loyalty to the Pope (Was he employed in keeping up the correspondence of which Boniface was accused with the revolted Flemings?), and the Bishop and Chapter of Laon, on account of some heavy charges which they had borne.

The Papal Legate at Paris.

The Legate had twelve Articles which he was to offer to the King for his immediate and peremptory assent; articles of absolute and humiliating concession on his part, on that of the Pope of unyielding

Twelve Articles.

rigour, if not of insulting menace or more insulting clemency. I. The revocation of the King's inhibitory Edict against the ecclesiastics who had gone to Rome in obedience to the Papal citation, full satisfaction to all who had undergone penalties, the abrogation of all processes instituted against them in the King's Courts. II. The Pope asserted his inherent right to collate to all benefices; no layman could collate without authority from the Apostolic See. III. The Pope had full right to send Legates to any part of Christendom. IV. The administration and distribution of all ecclesiastical property and revenue is in the Pope alone, not in any other person, ecclesiastic or lay. The Pope has power, without asking the assent of any one, to lay on them any charge he may please. V. No King or Prince can seize the goods of any ecclesiastic, nor compel any ecclesiastic to appear in the King's Courts to answer to any personal actions or for any property not held as a fief of the Crown. VI. The King was to give satisfaction for his contunielious act in burning the Papal Bull to which were appended the images of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. VII. The King is not to abuse what is called the Regale, the custody and guardianship of vacant benefices. VIII. The spiritual sword (judicature) is to be restored to the Prelates and other ecclesiastics. IX. The King is no longer to blind himself to the iniquity of the debasement of the coin, and the damage thus wrought on the Prelates, Barons, and Clergy of the realm. X. The King is to call to mind the misdeeds and excesses charged upon him in our private letters by our notary.[a] XI. The city of Lyons is entirely independent of the King of France. XII. The Pope, unless the King amended and corrected all these misdoings, would at once proceed against him spiritually and temporally.

The King's answer.

The King answered each separate Article; and his answers seem to imply some apprehension that his power was shaken, some disinclination to proceed to extremities. He stooped to evasion, perhaps more than evasion. I. The King denied that the inhibition to his subjects to quit the realm was aimed at the Prelates

[a] Litera Clausa. James the notary was, I presume, the Archdeacon of Narbonne.

summoned to Rome. It was a general precautionary inhibition to prevent the exportation of the riches and produce of the realm during the war and the revolt of his Flemish vassals. II. The King demanded no more, with regard to the collation of benefices, than had been enjoyed by St. Louis and his other royal predecessors. III. The King had no wish to prohibit the reception of the Papal Legates, unless suspected persons and on just grounds. IV. The King had no design to interfere with the administration of the property of the Church, except as far as was warranted by his rights and by ancient custom. V. and VIII. So as to the seizure of the goods of the Church. The King intends nothing beyond law and usage. He is fully prepared to give the Church the free use of the spiritual sword in all cases where the Church has competent jurisdiction. To the VI.th Article, the burning of the Bull, the answer is most extraordinary. The King affects to suppose that the Pope alludes not to the Bull publicly burned at Paris with sound of trumpet, but to that of a Bull relating to the Chapter of Laon, burned on account of its invalidity. VII. The King denies the abuse of the Regale. IX. The debasement of the coin took place on account of the exigencies of the State. It was a prerogative exercised by all Kings of France, and the King was engaged in devising a remedy for the evil. XI. The King had interfered in the affairs of Lyons, on account of a dangerous feud between the Archbishop and the people. The Archbishop, he averred, owed to him an oath of fealty, which had been refused, nevertheless he was prepared to continue his good offices. XII. The King earnestly desired that the unity and peace which had so long subsisted between the kingdom of France and the Roman See should be restored: he was prepared to act by the counsel of the Dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy. To these the Pope himself had proposed to submit all their differences.

With these answers of the King the Pope declared himself utterly dissatisfied. Some were in absolute defiance of truth, none consonant with justice. April 13. He would endure martyrdom rather than submit to such

degrading conditions. But the same messengers which bore the Pope's instructions to the Cardinal of S. Marcellinus to appeal again to the King's Council were the bearers of another Brief. That Brief declared that Philip, King of France, notwithstanding his royal dignity, and notwithstanding any privilege or indulgence, had actually incurred the penalties of the general Excommunication published by the Pope; that he was excommunicate for having prohibited the Bishops of France from attending, according to the Pope's command, at Rome. All ecclesiastics, of whatever rank, even Bishops or Archbishops, who should presume to celebrate mass before the King, preach, administer any of the sacraments, or hear confession, were likewise excommunicate. This sentence was to be proclaimed in all convenient places within the realm. The King's confessor, Nicolas, a Friar Preacher, had orders to fix a peremptory term of three months for the King's submission, for his personal appearance at Rome, to be dealt with according to his deserts, and, if he were able, to prove his innocence.

The King excommunicated.

May.

But already, above a month before the date of these Briefs, the King had held his Parliament at the Louvre in Paris. The Prelates and Barons had been summoned to take counsel on affairs touching the welfare of the realm. Only two Archbishops, Sens and Narbonne, three Bishops, Meaux, Nevers, and Angers,[b] obeyed the royal summons; but the Barons made up an imposing assemblage. Before this audience appeared William of Nogaret, one of the great lawyers, most eminent in the King's favour. Nogaret was born in the diocese of Toulouse, of a race whose blood had been shed by the Inquisition.[c] The Nemesis of that awful persecution was about to wreak itself on the Papacy. Nogaret had become a most distinguished Professor of Civil Law and Judge of Beaucaire: he had been ennobled by Philip the Fair. It is dangerous to crush hereditary religion out

Parliament at the Louvre. March 12.

[b] So writes Sismondi. It is Antessiodor in the document; but the Bishop of Auxerre was possibly still in Rome.

[c] Philip's edict against the Inquisition was probably suggested by Nogaret.

of men's hearts. Law and the most profound devotion to the King had become the religion of Nogaret. He was a man without fear, without scruple; perhaps thought that he was only inflicting just retribution on the persecutors of his ancestors. According to the accustomed form, William of Nogaret began his address to the Assembly with a text of Scripture. "There were false prophets among the people, so among you are masters of lies."[d] These are the words of Saint Peter, and in the chair of Saint Peter sits the master of lies, ill-named the doer of good (Boniface), but rather the doer of evil.[e] Boniface (he went on) had usurped the Holy See; he had wedded the Roman Church, while her lawful husband, Cœlestine, was alive; him he had compelled to an unlawful abdication by fraud and violence. Nogaret laid down, in strict legal phrase, four propositions:—I. That the Pope was not the true Pope. II. That he was a heretic: III. Was a notorious Simoniac: IV. A man weighed down with crimes—pride, iniquity, treachery, rapacity—an insupportable load and burthen to the Church. He appealed to a General Council: he declared it to be the office and function of the King of France to summon such Council. "Before that Council he was prepared to appear and to substantiate all these charges." The public notaries made record of these accusations, advanced in the presence of the two Archbishops and the three Bishops, of many princes and nobles, whose names were recited in the decree of record.

Ordinance of Reformation.

Philip, to attach all orders of his subjects to the throne during this imminent crisis, and perhaps to divert the minds of men from the daring blow, the arraignment of a Pope before a General Council, had prepared his great Ordinance for the reformation of the realm. The Ordinance was manifestly designed for the especial conciliation of the clergy. All churches and monasteries, all prelates and ecclesiastics, were to be held in the grace and favour of the King, as of his religious ancestors: their immunities and privileges were to be respected, as in the time of St. Louis: all good and ancient

[d] S. Peter, Epist. ii. 21. [e] Maleficus.

customs were to be maintained; all new and bad ones annulled. The right of the King to seize or confiscate the goods of the clergy was indeed asserted, but in guarded and temperate terms. The Regale was not to be abused, and (a curious illustration of the mode of life) the fishponds of the ecclesiastics were not to be drained during the time of vacancy. Ecclesiastics coming to the King's Court were to be immediately heard, that they might return to their sacred charge. No fees were to be received by the King's officers from ecclesiastics.[f]

The Ordinance for the reformation of the realm was skilfully designed to cover the extension of the royal power by the extension of the royal jurisdiction: yet it professed to respect all separate jurisdictions of Prelates and Barons; it was content to supersede them without violence. Two Parliaments were to be held yearly at Paris, two Exchequer Courts at Rouen, two Days at Troyes, one Parliament at Toulouse. No doubt Philip's jurists intended thus, without alarming the feudal Lords, quietly to draw within their own sphere almost the whole business of the realm. Their more profound science, the more authoritative power of executing their sentences, the greater regularity of their proceedings, would give to the King's Courts and to those of the Parliaments every advantage over that of the Bishop or of the Baron. As though the King were disposed to win the affections of every class of his people, there are in the Ordinance special instructions to the royal officers to execute their functions with moderation and gentleness.[g] The Crown was absolutely compelled to the harsh and unwelcome duty of levying taxes by the disloyalty and rebellion of some of its subjects. Not only were the King's bailiffs and seneschals to be thus courteous and forbearing, even the serjeants were to be mild and soft-spoken.[h]

The Pope had either not heard, or disdained to regard, what he might yet esteem the impotent audacity of Wil-

[f] Ordonnances des Rois de France, vol. i. sub anno.

[g] "C'est assavoir que vous devez être avisez de parler au peuple par douces paroles, et démonstrer les grans désobéissances, rebellions, et domages."—Ibid.

[h] "Et vous avisez de mettre Sergens débonnaires et tractables pour faire vos exécutions, si que il n'aient cause de eux doloir."—Ordonnance.

liam of Nogaret, and the audience given to his unprecedented requisition by the Parliament held in the Louvre. In his letter, dated one month after, to the Cardinal S. Marcellinus, in which he rejected the replies of Philip to his demands, there is no allusion to this glaring insult. But the King of France had early intimation of the contents of the Papal letters, which commanded the Cardinal of S. Marcellinus to declare him actually excommunicate.[1] The bearers of these letters were the Archdeacon of Coutances and Nicolas Benefracto, a servant of the Cardinal. It is said that, in the pride of being employed on such important services, they betrayed the secret of their despatches. "They bore that which would make the King tremble on his throne." Orders were given to the King's officers to arrest them: they were seized and thrown into prison at Troyes. Certain other priests boasted that they had been permitted to take copies of these Briefs, and were promulgating them in order to stir up the people to insurrection. The Cardinal protested, and imperiously demanded the delivery of the Briefs into his hands. The Edict confiscating the goods of the Bishops who had attended the Synod at Rome was renewed, if not put in execution. The Order which convoked again the States-General, to take counsel on the crimes and disabilities of his master the Pope, was fixed on the walls of the Monastery of St. Martin at Tours, where the Legate was lodged. All his movements were watched; he could neither receive a visit nor a single paper without the King's knowledge. He determined to return to Rome, mortified and humbled by the total failure of his mission, which he had been instructed to carry out with such imposing haughtiness. No doubt he had acted up to those instructions.

The States-General held their second meeting in the

[1] The succession of events, on which much depends, is by no means clear. Velly places the mission of Cardinal Le Moine, the articles offered by him, the elaborate answer of the King, after the Parliament in the Louvre, in which William of Nogaret appeared (March 12). The Pope's letter to the Cardinal expressing his dissatisfaction at Philip's answers, as contained in the Cardinal's to Rome which he had then received, is dated April 13. The mission, the reception by Philip, the offer of the articles, the time for the deliberate reply, the communication of the result to Rome, the Pope's letter, could not possibly have been concluded in a month.

Louvre on the 13th of June. Louis Count of Evreux, Guy Count of St. Pol, John Count of Dreux, William of Plasian, Knight and Lord of Vezenoble (Peter Flotte, the Chancellor, had fallen at Courtrai, William of Nogaret was elsewhere), presented themselves before the Assembly, and declared that Christendom was in the utmost danger and misery through the misrule of Boniface; that a lawful Pope was necessary for her salvation; that Boniface was laden with crimes. William of Plasian swore upon the Gospels that these charges were true; that he was prepared to prove them before a General Council; that the King, as champion of the faith, was compelled to summon such Council. It was no less the duty of the Prelates and Nobles to concur in this measure. The Prelates observed that it was an affair of the gravest import, and required mature deliberation. The next day William of Plasian produced his charges, charges of the most monstrous heresy, infidelity, and, what was perhaps worse, wizardry and dealing with evil spirits; charges against a Pope who for nearly nine years had exercised the full authority of St. Peter's successor; a man now in extreme old age, whose life and stern inflexible orthodoxy had been till now above question; who had been the chosen arbiter of Kings in their quarrels; who had been almost adored at the Jubilee by assenting Christendom; who was even at this time bestowing the Imperial crown, accepted by Albert of Austria with the humblest gratitude. These charges were advanced with a solemn appeal to the Holy Gospels, before the King and the nobility of France, before a great body of ecclesiastics, who, so far from repudiating them at once with indignant impatience, admitted them as the groundwork of a process to be submitted to a General Council of all Christendom, which there seems no reasonable doubt was in the actual contemplation, and was deliberately determined on by Philip and his advisers. The articles of accusation cannot be judged without the examination of their startling, repulsive, even loathsome detail: they must be seen too in their strange confusion. The Pope neither believed the immortality nor

Second Parliament in the Louvre. June 13.

The charges.

the incorruptibility of the human soul, it perished with the body. He did not believe in eternal life; he had averred that it was no sin to indulge the body in all pleasures; he had publicly declared and preached that he had rather be a dog, an ass, or any brute beast, than a Frenchman; that no Frenchman had a soul which could deserve everlasting happiness: this he had taught to persons on their deathbeds. He did not believe in the Real Presence in the Eucharist. He was reputed (all these things were advanced as matters of public fame and scandal) to have averred that fornication and other obscene practices were no sin. He had often said that to depress the King of France and the French he would devote himself, the world, and the Church to ruin. "Perish the French, come what may." He had approved a book written by a physician, Arnold of Villeneuve, which had been condemned by the Bishop and the Masters of Theology in Paris as heretical. He had caused, to perpetuate his damnable memory, silver images of himself to be set up in the churches, to which the people were tempted to pay idolatrous worship. "He has a special familiar devil, whose counsels he follows in all things."[k] He is a sortilege, and consults diviners and fortune-tellers. He has declared that Popes cannot commit simony, which declaration is heresy. He keeps a market by one Simon, an usurer, of ecclesiastic dignities and benefices. Contrary to Christ's charge to his Apostles, "My peace I leave with you," he has constantly stirred up and fomented discords and wars. On one occasion, when two parties had agreed to terms of peace, Boniface inhibited them and said, "If the Son of God or Peter the Apostle had descended upon earth and given such precept, I would have replied, 'I believe you not.'" Like certain heretics who assert themselves to be the only true Christians, he called all others, especially that most Christian people the French, Paterins. He was a notorious sodomite. He had caused the murder of many

[k] This afterwards grew into a minute detail of all the famous wizards and sorcerers from whom he had obtained many different familiar spirits with whom he dealt: one was in a ring which he always wore, but offered to the King of Naples, who rejected the gift with pious abhorrence.

clerks in his own presence, and urged his officers to their bloody work, saying, "Strike home, strike home!" He had refused the Eucharist, as unnecessary, to a nobleman in prison in his last agony. He had compelled priests to reveal confessions. He did not observe the Fasts of the Church, not even Lent. He depresses and always has depressed the whole Order of Cardinals, the Black and the White Monks, the Franciscan and Preaching Friars: he calls them all hypocrites. He never utters a good word, but words of scorn, lying reproach, and detraction against every bishop, monk, or ecclesiastic. He has conceived an old and implacable hatred against the King of France, and owned that he would subvert Christianity if he might humble what he calls the pride of the French. He has granted the tenths of his realm to the King of England, on condition of his waging war on France; he has leagued with Frederick of Arragon against the French King of Naples; he has granted the Empire to Albert of Austria, whom he had so long treated as unduly elected, as a traitor, and as a murderer, with the avowed purpose of employing him to crush the pride of the French. The Holy Land is lost through his fault; he has diverted the subsidies raised for the Christians of the Holy Land to enrich his kindred. He is the fountain and ground of all simony; he has reduced all prelates and ecclesiastics to servitude, and loaded them with taxation; the wealth he has extorted from Christendom he has lavished on his own family, whom he has raised to the rank of counts and barons, and in building fortresses on the lands of Roman nobles, whom he has cruelly oppressed and driven into exile. He has dissolved many lawful marriages; he has promoted his nephew, a man of notoriously profligate life, to the Cardinalate, forced that nephew's wife to take a vow of chastity, and himself begotten upon her two bastard sons. He treated his holy predecessor Cœlestine with the utmost inhumanity, and caused his death. He has privately made away in prison with many others who denied his lawful election to the Papacy. To the public scandal he has allowed many nuns to return to a worldly life. He has also said that in a short time he would make all the

French martyrs or apostates. Lastly, he seeks not the salvation, but the perdition of souls." [m]

Each of these separate articles was declared to rest on public fame and notoriety, and so the accuser might seem in some degree to guard himself against personal responsibility for their truth. Still it is almost inconceivable, how even such bold men, so fully possessed of the royal favour, could venture on some of these charges, so flagrantly false. The Colonnas, no doubt, whose wrongs were not forgotten, some of whom will soon be discovered in active league with Philip's Jurists, had disseminated these rumours of the Pope's tyrannies and cruel misdeeds in Italy, not improbably the enormities charged on his private life. The coarse artifice (skill it cannot be called) with which the vanity of the French nation is constantly appealed to; the accumulation on one man of all the accusations which could be imagined as most odious to mankind; were not merely ominous of danger to Boniface himself, but signs of the declining awe of the Popedom beyond the walls of Rome, beyond the confines of Italy. William of Plasian solemnly protested that he was actuated by no hatred or passion; in the most formal manner he declared his adhesion to the appeal before made by William of Nogaret.

The King commanded his own appeal to be read. "We, Philip, King of France, having heard the charges now alleged by William of Plasian, as heretofore by William of Nogaret, against Boniface, now presiding over the Roman Church; though we had rather cover the shame of our father with our garment, yet in the fervour of our Catholic faith, and our devotion to the Holy See, and to our Mother the Church, for which our ancestors have not hesitated to risk their lives, we cannot but assent to these requisitions: we will use our utmost power for the convocation of a General Council, in order to remove these scandals from the Church; and we call upon and entreat, in the bowels of mercy in Jesus Christ, all you archbishops, bishops, and prelates, to join us in promoting this General Council; and lest the aforesaid Boniface should utter sentences of excommunication or interdict, or

King Philip's appeal.

[m] Compare for all this Dupuy, Preuves.

any act of spiritual violence against us, our realm, our churches, our prelates, our barons, or our vassals, we appeal to this Great Council, and to a legitimate Pope."

No Churchman uttered one word of remonstrance. It might have been difficult to treat with scorn, or repel with indignation, an arraignment made with such formal solemnity; accusations openly recognised by the King as grave and serious subjects of inquiry. The Jurists had taken care that all was conducted according to unexceptionable rules of procedure. The prelates veiled their weak compliance with the King's wishes, their assent to the unusual act of permitting a Pope to be arraigned as a criminal for the most hateful and loathsome offences, and denounced before a General Council, under the specious plea of the necessity of investigation into such fearful scandals, and the pious hope that the innocence of Boniface would appear. To this assent were signed the names of five archbishops—Nicosia (in Cyprus), a Frenchman by birth, Rheims, Sens, Narbonne, Tours; of twenty-one bishops—Laon, Beauvais, Chalons-sur-Marne, Auxerre, Meaux, Nevers, Chartres, Orleans, Amiens, Terouanne, Senlis, Angers, Avranches, Coutances, Evreux, Lisieux, Seez, Clermont, Limoges, Puy, Macon (afterwards St. Omer, Boulogne, Ypres); eleven of the great abbots—Clugny, Premontrè, Marmoutier, Citeaux, St. Denis, Compiegne, St. Victor, St. Geneviève, St. Martin de Laon, Figeac, Beaulieu; the Visitors of the Orders of the Temple and of St. John.[n]

The King was not content with this general suffrage of the States-General, nor even with the mutual guarantee entered into between himself, the ecclesiastics, and the barons of France, to stand by each other and co-operate in holding the General Council; in permitting no excommunication or interdict to be published within the realm, and to pay no regard to any mandate or Bull of the Pope. He

[n] Dupuy, Preuves. Baillet published a special appeal of the Archbishop of Narbonne containing ten charges against the Pope, in substance much the same with those of De Plasian, but darkening the charge of immorality into his having seduced two of his married nieces, by whom he had many children. "O patrem fœcundum!" It is said that this appeal was made in the States-General at the Louvre. Baillet found it among the Brienne papers; but what proof is there of its authenticity?—Baillet, Démelès, Additions des Preuves, p. 29.

appealed severally to all the ecclesiastical and monastic bodies of the realm. He obtained seven hundred acts of adhesion from bishops, chapters, conventual bodies, and the Orders of friars. Of the numerous houses of the Clugniacs, seven only refused, eleven sent evasive answers. All who had hitherto been the most ardent and servile partisans of the Popedom, the Preachers the Sons of St. Dominic, the Minorites the Sons of St. Francis, the Templars and Hospitallers, were for the King. The University of Paris gave in its unqualified concurrence to the royal demands. Philip sent his appeal into some of the neighbouring kingdoms. All these gave at least their tacit assent to the arraignment of the Pope before a General Council: some, no doubt, reconciled it to their conscience by doubts as to the validity of the election of Boniface, and his title to be considered a lawful Pope: all were careful that the appeal lay not merely to the Council, but to a future lawful Pope; all protested their fervent reverence and attachment to the Church, their loyalty to the See of Rome.

General adhesion of the Kingdom.

The Pope had retired, as usual, from the summer heats, perhaps not without mistrust of the Romans, to his native city, Anagni. There, in a public consistory, he purged himself by oath of the charge of heresy; the more scandalous accusations against his life and morals he disdained to notice. In the Bull issued from that consistory, he declared that he had received intelligence of the proceedings of the King and the Barons in the Louvre, of their appeal to a General Council, to a future lawful Pope, of their proclamation that they would receive neither legate nor letter from him, and their renunciation of all obedience. "With what sincerity, with what charity, with what zeal, this conventicle had acted, might be understood, by all who value truth, from the blasphemies which they had poured forth against him, and the open reception of his deadly enemy, Stephen Colonna." "They have lyingly blasphemed us with lying blasphemies, charging us with heresy, and with other monstrous criminalities over which they have affected to weep. Who in all the world has heard that we have been suspected of the

Boniface at Anagni. Consistory. Aug. 16.

taint of heresy? Which of our race, who in all Campania, has been branded with such a name? We were sound Catholics when he received favours from us. Valentinian the Emperor humbled himself before the Bishop of Milan: the King of France is as much below the Emperor as we are above the Bishop of Milan. The state of the Church will be utterly subverted, the power of the Roman Pontiff annihilated, if such kings and princes, when the Roman Pontiff shall think it right to inflict correction upon them, shall presume to call him a heretic or of notoriously scandalous life, and so escape censure. This pernicious example must be cut up by the roots. Without us no General Council can be held. Henceforth no king, no prince, or other magnate of France shall dare, by the example of the King, to break out in words of blasphemy, and thus hope to elude due correction. Not to name the King of France deposed by Pope Zacharias, did Theodosius the Great, excommunicated by St. Ambrose, kindle into wrath? Did the glorious Lothair lift up his heel against Pope Nicolas? or Frederick against Innocent?" In proper time and place he, Boniface, would proceed to the extreme censure, unless full satisfaction should be offered, lest the blood of Philip should be required at his hands.°

The stress laid upon the reception of Stephen Colonna shows that Boniface knew whence sprung much of the most desperate hostility to his fame and authority. He was peculiarly indignant at the presumption of the Archbishop of Nicosia, whom he had ordered, and again ordered in a separate Bull, to return to his diocese, and not to presume to meddle in the affairs of France. A third Bull, to punish the prelates who had been seduced into rebellion by the King, suspended in all the ecclesiastical corporations the right of election, declared all vacant benefices at the sole disposal of the Pope, annulled all elections made during this suspension, and until the King should have returned to his obedience. A fourth deprived the Universities of the right of teaching, of granting any degree in theology, canon or civil law. This privilege the Pope declared to be derived entirely from the Apostolic See, and to have

° The Bull in Dupuy and Raynaldus, sub ann.

been forfeited by their rebellious adhesion to the cause of the King.[p]

Boniface seemed, as it were, to pause, to be gathering up his strength to launch the last crushing thunders upon the head of the contumacious King. The sentence of excommunication had been prepared; it had received the Papal Seal. It began with more than the usual solemnity and haughtiness. "We who sit on the high throne of St. Peter, the vicegerent of Him to whom the Father said, 'Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee,' 'Ask of me, I will give Thee the nations as Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth as Thy possession: to bruise kings with a rod of iron, and to break them in pieces like a potter's vessel.' An awful admonition to kings! But the unlimited power of St. Peter has ever been exercised with serene lenity." The Bull then recapitulates all the chief causes of the quarrel: the prohibition of the bishops to attend the Papal summons to Rome; the missions of James de Normannis Archdeacon of Narbonne, and of the Cardinal of St. Marcellinus rejected with scorn, (it is silent as to the burning of the Bull,) the seizure and imprisonment of Nicolas de Benefracto, the bearer of the Papal letters; the entertainment of Stephen Colonna at the Court in Paris. The King of France was declared excommunicate; his subjects released from their allegiance, or rather peremptorily inhibited from paying him any acts of obedience; all the clergy were forbidden, under pain of perpetual disability to hold preferment, from receiving benefices at his hands; all such appointments were void, all leagues were annulled, all oaths abrogated, "and this our Bull is ordered to be suspended in the porch of the Cathedral of Anagni." The 8th of September was the fatal day.[q]

Excommunication.

Boniface, infatuated by the sense of his unapproachable majesty, and of the sanctity of his office, had taken no precautions for the safeguard of his person. He could not but know that his two deadliest enemies, William of Nogaret, the most daring of Philip's legal counsellors, and Sciarra Colonna, the most fierce

William of Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna.

[p] Preuves. Raynaldus.

[q] Preuves, p. 182.

and desperate of the house, which he had driven to desperation, had been for several months in Italy, on the Tuscan borders at no great distance from Rome. They were accompanied by Musciatto dei Francesi, in whose castle of Staggia, not far from Sienna, they had taken up their abode. They had unlimited power to draw on the Panizzi, the merchant bankers of the King of France at Florence. To the simple peasantry they held out that their mission was to reconcile the Pope with the King of France; others supposed that they were delegated to serve upon the Pope the citation to appear before the General Council. They bought with their gold many of the petty barons of Romagna. They hired to be at their command a band of the lawless soldiery who had been employed in the late wars. They had their emissaries in Anagni; some even of the Cardinals had not been inaccessible to their dark intrigues.

On a sudden, on the 7th September (the 8th was the day for the publication of the Bull), the peaceful streets of Anagni were disturbed. The Pope and the Cardinals, who were all assembled around him, were startled with the trampling of armed horse, and the terrible cry, which ran like wildfire through the city, "Death to Pope Boniface! Long live the King of France!" Sciarra Colonna, at the head of three hundred horsemen, the Barons of Cercano and Supino, and some others, the sons of Master Massio of Anagni, were marching in furious haste, with the banner of the King of France displayed. The ungrateful citizens of Anagni, forgetful of their pride in their holy compatriot, of the honour and advantage to their town from the splendour and wealth of the Papal residence, received them with rebellious and acclaiming shouts.

The bell of the city, indeed, had tolled at the first alarm; the burghers had assembled; they had chosen their commander; but that commander, whom they ignorantly or treacherously chose, was Arnulf, a deadly enemy of the Pope. The banner of the Church was unfolded against the Pope by the captain of the people of Anagni.[r] The

[r] Statement of William of Nogaret. Dupuy, p. 247. I see no reason to doubt this.

first attack was on the palace of the Pope, on that of the Marquis Gaetani, his nephew, and those of three Cardinals, the special partisans of Boniface. The houses of the Pope and of his nephew made some resistance. The doors of those of the Cardinals were beaten down, the treasures ransacked and carried off; the Cardinals themselves fled from the backs of the houses through the common sewer. Then arrived, but not to the rescue, Arnulf, the Captain of the People; he had perhaps been suborned by Reginald of Supino. With him were the sons of Chiton, whose father was pining in the dungeons of Boniface.[s] Instead of resisting, they joined the attack on the palace of the Pope's nephew and his own. The Pope and his nephew implored a truce; it was granted for eight hours. This time the Pope employed in endeavouring to stir up the people to his defence: the people coldly answered that they were under the command of their Captain. The Pope demanded the terms of the conspirators. "If the Pope would save his life, let him instantly restore the Colonna Cardinals to their dignity, and reinstate the whole house in their honours and possessions; after this restoration the Pope must abdicate, and leave his body at the disposal of Sciarra." The Pope groaned in the depths of his heart. "The word is spoken." Again the assailants thundered at the gates of the palace; still there was obstinate resistance. The principal church of Anagni, that of Santa Maria, protected the Pope's palace. Sciarra Colonna's lawless band set fire to the gates; the church was crowded with clergy and laity and traders who had brought their precious wares into the sacred building. They were plundered with such rapacity that not a man escaped with a farthing.

The Marquis found himself compelled to surrender, on the condition that his own life, that of his family and of his servants, should be spared. At these sad tidings the Pope wept bitterly. The Pope was alone; from the first the Cardinals, some from treachery, some from cowardice, had fled on all sides, even his most familiar friends: they had crept into the most ignoble hiding-places. The aged

[s] The Chiton of Walsingham is probably the Massio of Villani.

Pontiff alone lost not his self-command. He had declared himself ready to perish in his glorious cause; he determined to fall with dignity. "If I am betrayed like Christ, I am ready to die like Christ." He put on the stole of St. Peter, the imperial crown was on his head, the keys of St. Peter in one hand and the cross in the other: he took his seat on the Papal throne, and, like the Roman Senators of old, awaited the approach of the Gaul.[t]

But the pride and cruelty of Boniface had raised and infixed deep in the hearts of men passions which acknowledged no awe of age, of intrepidity, or religious majesty. In William of Nogaret the blood of his Tolosan ancestors, in Colonna the wrongs, the degradation, the beggary, the exile of all his house, had extinguished every feeling but revenge. They insulted him with contumelious reproaches; they menaced his life. The Pope answered not a word. They insisted that he should at once abdicate the Papacy. "Behold my neck, behold my head," was the only reply. But fiercer words passed between the Pope and William of Nogaret. Nogaret threatened to drag him before the Council of Lyons, where he should be deposed from the Papacy. "Shall I suffer myself to be degraded and deposed by Paterins like thee, whose fathers were righteously burned as Paterins?" William turned fiery red, with shame thought the partisans of Boniface, more likely with wrath. Sciarra, it was said, would have slain him outright: he was prevented by some of his own followers, even by Nogaret. "Wretched Pope, even at this distance the goodness of my Lord the King guards thy life."[u]

He was placed under close custody, not one of his own attendants permitted to approach him. Worse indignities awaited him. He was set on a vicious horse, with his face to the tail, and so led through the town to his place of imprisonment. The palaces of the Pope and of his nephew were plundered; so vast was the wealth, that the annual revenues of all the kings in the world would not have been equal to the treasures found and carried

[t] Villani, *in loc.* [u] Chroniques de St. Denys.

off by Sciarra's freebooting soldiers. His very private chamber was ransacked; nothing left but bare walls.

At length the people of Anagni could no longer bear the insult and the sufferings heaped upon their illustrious and holy fellow-citizen. They rose in irresistible insurrection, drove out the soldiers by whom they had been overawed, now gorged with plunder, and doubtless not unwilling to withdraw. The Pope was rescued, and led out into the street, where the old man addressed a few words to the people: "Good men and women, ye see how mine enemies have come upon me, and plundered my goods, those of the Church and of the poor. Not a morsel of bread have I eaten, not a drop have I drunk since my capture. I am almost dead with hunger.[x] If any good woman will give me a piece of bread and a cup of wine, if she has no wine, a little water, I will absolve her, and any one who will give me their alms, from all their sins." The compassionate rabble burst into a cry, "Long life to the Pope!" They carried him back to his naked palace. They crowded, the women especially, with provisions, bread, meat, water, and wine. They could not find a single vessel: they poured a supply of water into a chest. The Pope proclaimed a general absolution to all except the plunderers of his palace. He even declared that he wished to be at peace with the Colonnas and all his enemies. This perhaps was to disguise his intention of retiring, as soon as he could, to Rome.[y]

Return to Rome.

The Romans had heard with indignation the sacrilegious attack on the person of the Supreme Pontiff. Four hundred horse under Matteo and Gaetano Orsini were sent to conduct him to the city. He entered it almost in triumph; the populace welcomed him with every demonstration of joy. But the awe of his greatness was gone; the spell of his dominion over the minds of

[x] According to S. Antoninus, his assailants treated him with respect, and only kept him in safe custody.

[y] I have drawn this account from the various authorities, the historians, Villani, Walsingham, the Chroniques de St. Denys, and others, with the declarations of Nogaret and his partisans, according to my own view of the trustworthiness of the statements, and the probability of the incidents. The reference to each special authority would have been almost endless and perplexing. The reader may compare Drumann, whose conscientious German industry is more particular.—P. 128, *et seqq.*

men was broken. His overweening haughtiness and domination had made him many enemies in the Sacred College, the gold of France had made him more. This general revolt is his severest condemnation. Among his first enemies was the Cardinal Napoleon Orsini. Orsini had followed the triumphal entrance of the Pope. Boniface, to show that he desired to reconcile himself with all, courteously invited him to his table. The Orsini coldly answered "that he must receive the Colonna Cardinals into his favour; he must not now disown what had been wrung from him by compulsion." "I will pardon them," said Boniface, "but the mercy of the Pope is not to be from compulsion." He found himself again a prisoner.

This last mortification crushed the bodily, if not the mental strength of the Pope. Among the Ghibellines terrible stories were bruited abroad of his death. In an access of fury, either from poison or wounded pride, he sat gnawing the top of his staff, and at length either beat out his own brains against the wall, or smothered himself (a strange notion!) with his own pillows.[z] More friendly, probably more trustworthy, accounts describe him as sadly but quietly breathing his last, surrounded by eight Cardinals, having confessed the faith and received the consoling offices of the Church. The Cardinal-Poet anticipates his mild sentence from the Divine Judge.[a]

Death of Boniface. Oct. 11, 1303.

The religious mind of Christendom was at once perplexed and horror-stricken by this act of sacrilegious violence on the person of the Supreme Pontiff: it shocked some even of the sternest Ghibellines. Dante, who brands the pride, the avarice, the treachery of Boniface in his most terrible words, and has consigned him to the direst doom (though it is true, that his alliance with the French, with Charles of Valois, by whom the poet had been driven into exile, was among the deepest causes of his hatred to

[z] Ferretus Vicentinus, apud Muratori, a fierce Ghibelline.

[a] "Leto prostratus, anhelus
Procubuit, fassusque fidem, curamque professus
Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Christo tunc redditur almus
Spiritus, et sævi nescit jam judicis iram,
Sed mitem placidumque patris, ceu credere fas est." *Apud Muratori, S. R. I.*

See in Tosti's Life the account of the exhumation of Boniface. His body is said to have appeared, after 302 years, whole and with no marks of violence.

Boniface), nevertheless expresses the almost universal feeling. Christendom "shuddered to behold the Fleur-de-lis enter into Anagni, and Christ again captive in his Vicar, the mockery, the gall and vinegar, the crucifixion between living robbers, the insolent and sacrilegious cruelty of the second Pilate." [b]

[b] Purgatorio, XX. 89 :—

"Veggio in Alagni entrar lo flor d' aliso,
E nel vicario suo Christo esser catto ;
Veggiolo un altra volta esser deriso,
Veggio rinovellar l' aceto e l' fele,
E tra vivi ladroni esser anciso.
Veggio il nuovo Pilato si crudele,
Che ciò nol satia."

Strange! to find poetry ascribed to Boniface VIII., and in that poetry (an address to the Virgin) these lines :—

"Vedea l' aceto ch' era col fiel misto
Dato a bevere al dolce Jesu Cristo,
E un gran coltello il cor la trapassava."

The poem was found in a MS. in the Vatican by Amati; it was said in the MS. that it was legible in the 15th century on the walls of S. Paolo fuori delle mure. It was given by Amati to Perticari, who published it in his Essay in Monti's Proposta, p. 244.

CHAPTER X.

BENEDICT XI.

Never did the Church of Rome want a calmer, more sagacious, or a firmer head: never was a time in which the boldest intellect might stand appalled, or the profoundest piety shrink from the hopeless office of restoring peace between the temporal and the spiritual power. How could the Papacy maintain its ground with safety, or recede with dignity? There seemed this fearful alternative, either to continue the strife with the King of France, with the nation, with the clergy of France; with the King of France, who had not respected the sacred person of the Pope, against whose gold and against whose emissaries in Italy no Pope was secure: with the nation, one with the King; with the clergy of France, who had acknowledged the right of bringing the Pope before a General Council, a Council not to be held in Rome or in Italy, but in Lyons, if not in the dominions, under the control, of the King of France; among whom it could not be unknown, that new and extreme doctrines had been propagated unrebuked, and with general acceptance.[a] Or, on the other hand, to disown the arrogance, the offensive language, the naked and unmeasured assertion of principles which the Pontificate was not prepared to abandon; to sacrifice the memory, to leave unreproved, unpunished, the outrage on the person of Boniface. Were the Colonnas to be admitted to all the honours and privileges of the Cardinalate? the dreadful days at Anagni, the violence against Boniface, the plunder of the Papal treasures to be left (dire precedent!) in impunity? Were

[a] Two remarkable writings will be found in Goldastus, De Monarchia, ii., which endeavoured to define the limits of the temporal and spiritual powers, asserting the entire independence and superiority of the temporal sovereign in temporal things; one by Ægidius, Archbishop of Bourges; one by John of Paris. There is an excellent summary of both in the posthumous volume of Neander's history, pp. 24-35.

William of Nogaret, and Sciarra Colonna, and Reginald de Supino, and the other rebellious Barons to triumph in their unhallowed misdeeds, to revel in their impious plunder? Yet how to strike the accomplices and leave the author of the crime unscathed? Would the proud King of France abandon his loyal and devoted subjects to the Papal wrath?

Yet the Conclave,[b] as though the rival factions had not time to array themselves in their natural hostility, or to provoke each other to mutual recriminations, in but a few days came, it should seem, to an unanimous suffrage. Nicolas Boccasini, Bishop of Ostia, was raised to the throne of St. Peter. He was a man of humble race, born at Treviso, educated at Venice, of the Order of St. Dominic. He was of blameless morals and gentle manners. He had been employed to settle the affairs of Hungary during the contested succession for the crown: he had conducted himself with moderation and ability. He had been one of the Cardinals who adhered with unshaken fidelity to Boniface; he had witnessed, perhaps suffered in, the deplorable outrage at Anagni. He took the name of Benedict XI. Benedict XI.

Benedict began his reign with consummate prudence, yet not without the lofty assertion of the Papal power. He issued a Bull to rebuke Frederick of Arragon, the King of Trinacria, for presuming to date the acts of his reign from the time at which he had assumed the crown of Sicily, not that of the treaty in which the Pope acknowledged his title. The Arragonese prince was reminded that he held the crown but for his life, that it then passed back to the Angevine line, the French house of Naples.[c]

The only act which before the close of the year took cognisance of the affair of Anagni, was a Bull of excommunication not against the assailants of the Pope's person, but against the plunderers of the Papal treasures. The Archdeacon of Xaintonge was armed with full powers to persuade or to enforce their restitution. A fond hope!

[b] According to Ciacconius there were eighteen Cardinals living at the time of the death of Boniface. See the list, not of course including the Colonnas. There were two Orsinis, two Gaetanis.

[c] Bull in Raynaldus, sub ann.

as if such treasures were likely to be either won or extorted from such hands. The rest of the year and the commencement of the next were occupied with remote negotiations—which, in however perilous state stood the Papacy, were never neglected by the Pope—the affairs of Norway and of the Byzantine Empire in the East.

Philip had no sooner heard of the death of Boniface and the accession of Benedict than he named his ambassadors to offer his congratulations, worded in the most flattering terms, on the elevation of Benedict. They were Berard, Lord of Marcueil, Peter de Belleperche a Canon of Chartres, a profound jurist, and, it might seem as a warning to the Pope that he was determined to retract nothing, William de Plasian. But already Benedict, in his wisdom, had, uncompelled, out of his own generous will, made all the concessions to which he was disposed, or which his dignity would endure. Already in Paris the King, the Prelates, the Barons, and people of France had been declared absolved from the excommunication under which they lay.[d] During that excommunication the Pope could hold no intercourse with the King of the realm; he could receive no ambassadors from the Court.

Feb. 25, 1304.

His conciliatory measures.

The envoys of the King were received with civility. In the spring a succession of conciliatory edicts seemed framed in order to heal the threatened breach between the Papacy and its ancient ally, the King of France. There was nothing to offend in a kind of pardonable ostentation of condescension, kept up by the Pope, a paternal superiority which he still maintained; the King of France was to be the pious Joash, to listen to the counsels of the High Priest, Jehoiada. The censures against the prelates for contumacy in not obeying the citation to Rome were rescinded; the right of giving instruction in the civil and canon law restored to the universities. Even the affairs of the Archbishop of Narbonne and the Bishop of Pamiers, the first causes of the

April 2, 1304.

[d] This was granted "absente et non petente."—Benedict's letter in Dupuy, p. 207. This is confirmed by the continuator of Nangis. Compare Mansi's note in Raynaldus, ad ann. 1304. The Anagni excommunication had not been promulgated.

dispute, were brought to an amicable conclusion. All the special privileges of the Kings of France in spiritual matters were given back in the amplest and most gracious manner. The tenths on the clergy were granted for two years on account of the war in Flanders; the famous Bull "Clericis Laicos" was mitigated so as to deprive it of its injurious and offensive spirit. It permitted all voluntary subsidies, leaving the King and the clergy to determine what degree of compulsion was consistent with free-will offerings.

The Colonnas found a hearing with this calm and wise Pope. They had entreated the interference of the King of France in their cause; they asserted that the Pope had no power to degrade Cardinals; that they had been deposed, despoiled, banished by the mere arbitrary mandate of Boniface, without citation, without trial, without hearing: and this by a Pope of questionable legitimacy. Their restoration by Benedict is described by himself as an act of becoming mercy: he eludes all discussion on the justice of the sentence, or the conduct of his predecessor. But their rehabilitation was full and complete, with some slight limitations. The sentence of deposition from the Cardinalate, the privation of benefices, the disability to obtain the Papacy, the attainder of the family both in the male and female line, were absolutely revoked. The restitution of the confiscated property was reserved for future arrangement with the actual possessors. Palestrina alone was not to be rebuilt or fortified; it was to remain a devoted place, and not again to become the seat of a Bishop. Even the name of Sciarra Colonna appears in this act of clemency.[e] William of Nogaret was the only Frenchman excepted from this comprehensive act of amnesty: even he was not inflexibly excluded from all hope of absolution. But the act of pardon for so heinous an offence as his was reserved for the special wisdom and mercy of the Pope himself. In another document[f] Sciarra Colonna is joined with William of Nogaret as the yet unforgiven offenders.

The Colonnas.

Peace might seem at hand. The King of France, with

[e] Raynald. sub ann. 1304. [f] Seen by Raynaldus. See *in loco*.

every one of the great causes of quarrel thus generously removed, with such sacrifices to his wounded pride, would resume his old position as the favourite son, the close ally, the loyal protector of the Papacy. If, with a fidelity unusual in kings, in kings like Philip, he should scruple to abandon his faithful instruments, men who had not shrunk from sacrilege, hardly from murder, in his cause, yet the Pope did not seem disposed to treat even them with immitigable severity. The Pope, though honour, justice, the sanctity of the person of the Pontiff, might require that some signal mark of retribution should separate from all other criminals William of Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, perhaps too his own rebellious barons and the inhabitants of Anagni, who rose against Boniface; yet would hardly think it necessary to drive such desperate men to worse desperation. But the profound personal hatred of Philip the Fair to Boniface VIII., or his determination still further to humiliate that power which could presume to interfere with his hard despotism, was not satiated with the death: he would pursue the memory of Boniface, and so far justify his own cruel and insulting acts by obtaining from a General Council the solemn confirmation of those strange charges of which Boniface had been arraigned by Nogaret and De Plasian.

The King determines to persecute the memory of Boniface.

Another embassy from France appeared at Rome, but not addressed to the Pope—Walter de Chatenay and Peter de Celle, with a notary, Peter de Piperno. According to their instructions, they visited singly and severally each of the Cardinals then resident in Rome. "The King of France," they said, "in the full Parliament of all his Prelates and Barons, from his zealous reverence for the Church and the throne of St. Peter, had determined that the Church should be ruled by a legitimate Pontiff, and not by one who so grossly abused his power as Boniface VIII. They had resolved to summon a General Council, in order that Boniface might prove his innocence (they had the effrontery to say, as they devoutly hoped!) of the accusations urged against him, and not only for that purpose, but for the good of Christendom, and (of course)

for the war in the Holy Land."[8] To each of the Cardinals was put the plain question whether he would concur in the convocation of this General Council, and promote it by his aid and countenance. Five made the cautious answer that they would deliberate with the Pope in his Consistory on this weighty matter. Five gave in their adhesion to the King of France. The same proceeding took place with six Cardinals at Viterbo. Of these four took the more prudent course; two gave their suffrage for the General Council.

Benedict XI. might think that he had carried concession far enough. He had shown his placability, he had now to show his firmness. The obstinacy of the King of France in persecuting the memory of Boniface, in pressing forward the General Council; the profound degradation of the Papacy, if a General Council should be permitted to sit in judgement even on a dead Pope; the desecration of the Papal Holiness if any part of these foul charges should be even apparently proved; the injustice, the cowardliness of leaving the body of his predecessor to be thus torn in pieces by his rabid enemies; the well-grounded mistrust of a tribunal thus convoked, thus constituted, thus controlled; all these motives arrested the Pontiff in his conciliatory course, and unhappily disturbed the dispassionate dignity which he had hitherto maintained.

A Bull came forth against the actors in the tragedy of Anagni. Language seemed labouring to express the horror and detestation of the Pope at this "flagitious wickedness and wicked flagitiousness." Fifteen persons were named—William of Nogaret, Reginald de Supino and his son, the two sons of the man whom Boniface held in prison, Sciarra Colonna, the Anagnese who had aided them. It denounced their cruelty, their blasphemy against the Pope, their plunder of the sacred treasures. These acts had been done publicly, openly, notoriously, in the sight of Benedict himself—acts of capital treason, of rebellion, of sacrilege; crimes against the Julian law of public violence, the Cornelian against assas- June 7, 1309.

[8] April 8, 1304. The King could not have received the Papal edicts, but he must have known the mild disposition of Benedict.

sinations; acts of lawless imprisonment, plunder, robbery, crimes and felonies which struck men dumb with amazement. "Who is so cruel as to refrain from tears? who so hateful as to refuse compassion? What indolent and remiss judge will not rise up to punish? Who is safe, when in his native city no longer is security, his house is no longer his refuge? The Pontiff himself is thus dishonoured, and the Church thus brought into captivity with her Lord. O inexpiable guilt! O miserable Anagni, who hast endured such things! May the rain and the dew never fall upon thee! O most unhappy perpetrators of a crime, so adverse to the spirit of King David, who kept untouched the Lord's anointed though his foe, and avenged his death." The Bull declares excommunicate all the above-named, who in their proper persons were guilty of the crime at Anagni, and all who had aided and abetted them by succour, counsel, or favour. Philip himself could hardly stand beyond this sweeping anathema. The Pope cited these persons to appear before him on the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, there to receive their sentence. The citation was fixed on the gates of the cathedral of Perugia. The Bull[h] was promulgated on the 7th of June; on the 27th of July Benedict was dead.

June 29.

The Pope had retired to Perugia from Rome—perhaps to avoid the summer heats, but no doubt also for greater security than he could command in Rome, where the Colonnas were strong, and the French party powerful through their gold—while he meditated and aimed this blow, which, by appalling the more rancorous foes of Boniface, might scare them from thus preying on his remains, and thus reinvest the Papacy, which had condescended far below its wont, in awe and majesty. Many of the Cardinals had remonstrated against the departure of the Pope from Rome, which was almost by stealth; it was rumoured that he thought of fixing the Papal residence in one of the Lombard cities. They had refused to accompany him. But Perugia was not more safe than Rome. It is said that while the Pope was at dinner, a young female veiled and in the dress of a novice of St. Petronilla in Perugia,

[h] The Bull in Raynaldus, sub ann.

offered him in a silver basin some beautiful fresh figs, of which he was very fond, as from the abbess of that convent. The Pope, not suspecting a gift from such a hand, ate them eagerly, and without having them previously tasted.[1] That he died of poison few in that age would venture to doubt. William of Nogaret, Sciarra Colonna, Musciatto de' Francesi, the Cardinal Napoleon Orsini, were each silently arraigned as guilty of this new crime. One Ghibelline writer, hostile to Benedict, names the King of France as having suborned the butler of the Pope to perpetrate this fearful deed. Yet the disorder was a dysentery, which lasted seven or eight days, not an unusual effect of the immoderate use of rich fruit. No one thought that a death so seasonable to one party, so unseasonable to another, could be in the course of nature.

Fifteen years afterwards a Franciscan friar of Toulouse, named Bernard, was accused at Carcassonne as concerned, by magic and other black arts, in the poisoning of Benedict XI. This was not his only crime. He was charged with having excited the populace against the rival Order of the Friar Preachers and the Inquisition, of having broken open the prisons of the Inquisition, and set free the prisoners: he was charged with magic and divination, and with believing in the visions of the Abbot Joachim. He was one of the fanatic Fraticelli, seemingly a man of great daring and energy. The Ecclesiastical Judges declared that they could find no proof, either from his own mouth or from other evidence, of his concern in the poisoning of Benedict. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in irons. The King's advocates impeached the sentence, renewed the charge of his being an accomplice in the poisoning of the Pope, and demanded that he should be delivered to the secular arm. The Pope (John XXII.) aggravated the severity of his sentence by prohibiting any mitigation of his penance; but spoke very generally of his enormous crimes.[k]

[1] "Le mangiava volentieri e senza farne fare saggio."—Villani. This simple sentence of wonder, that the Pope would eat anything untasted, is frightfully expressive.—viii. c. 80.

[k] See the very curious documents in Baluzius.—Vitæ Papar. Avinionen., vol. ii. No. liii.

CHRONOLOGY OF BOOK XII.

POPES.	EMPERORS.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF SCOTLAND.
A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.
1305 Clement V. 1314	1298 Albert of Austria 1307		Edward I. 1307	
Vacancy.	1308 Vacant.		1307 Edward II. 1327	1306 Robert I. (Bruce) 1329
	1309 Henry of Luxemburg 1313			
	1314 Louis of Bavaria 1347	Philip the Fair 1314		
1316 John XXII. 1334		1314 Louis le Hutin		
		1315 John I.		
		1316 Philip the Long 1321		
			1327 Edward III. 1377	
		1321 Charles IV. the Fair 1328		1329 David II.
	(Frederick of Austria.)		*Archbishops of Canterbury.*	
		1328 Philip of Valois 1351		
1334 Benedict XII. 1342			1294 Robert of Winchelsey 1313	
1342 Clement VI. 1352			1313 Walter Reynolds.	
			1327 Simon Mepham.	
			1333 John Stratford.	
	1347 Charles IV. of Luxemburg 1378		1348 Thomas Bradwardine.	
1352 Innocent VI. 1362		1351 John II. 1364	1349 Simon Islip.	
1362 Urban V. 1370		1364 Charles IV. 1380	1366 Simon Langham.	
			1367 William Whittlesey.	
1370 Gregory XI. 1378			1375 Simon Sudbury.	1370 Robert II.

KINGS OF SPAIN.	KINGS OF PORTUGAL.	KINGS OF SWEDEN.	KINGS OF POLAND.	EASTERN EMPERORS.
A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.
Castile.	Dionysius 1325	Berger II. 1326	1306 Ladislaus IV.	Andronicus Palæologus 1390
Ferdinand IV. 1312		1324 Magnus III.		
1312 Alfonso XI. 1350	1325 Alfonso IV. 1357		1333 Casimir the Great.	1320 Andronicus II. Palæologus 1341
1350 Peter the Cruel.		1364 Albert.		
	1357 Peter the Cruel 1367		1370 Louis of Hungary.	1341 John V. Palæologus.
1369 Henry the Bastard				
	1367 Ferdinand I.			
Arragon.		KINGS OF DENMARK.		
James the Just 1327		Erick VIII. 1321		
1327 Alfonso IV. 1336		1291 Christopher 1333		
1336 Peter IV. 1380		1333 Waldemar.		

BOOK XII.

THE POPES IN AVIGNON.

CHAPTER I.

CLEMENT V.

THE period in the Papal history has arrived which in the Italian writers is called the Babylonish captivity: it lasted more than seventy years.[a] Rome is no longer the Metropolis of Christendom; the Pope is a French Prelate. The successor of St. Peter is not on St. Peter's throne; he is environed with none of the traditionary majesty or traditionary sanctity of the Eternal City; he has abandoned the holy bodies of the Apostles, the churches of the Apostles. It is perhaps the most marvellous part of its history, that the Papacy, having sunk so low, sank no lower; that it recovered its degradation: that, from a satellite, almost a slave, of the King of France, the Pontiff ever emerged again to be an independent potentate; and, although the great line of mediæval Popes, of Gregory, of Alexander III., and the Innocents, expired in Boniface VIII., he could resume even his modified supremacy. There is no proof so strong of the vitality of the Papacy as that it could establish the law that wherever the Pope is, there is the throne of St. Peter; that he could cease to be Bishop of Rome in all but in name, and then take back again the abdicated Bishopric.

Never was revolution more sudden, more total, it might seem more enduring in its consequences. The

[a] From 1305 to 1376.

close of the last century had seen Boniface VIII. advancing higher pretensions, if not wielding more actual power, than any former Pontiff; the acknowledged pacificator of the world, the arbiter between the Kings of France and England, claiming and exercising feudal as well as spiritual supremacy over many kingdoms, bestowing crowns as in Hungary, awarding the Empire; with millions of pilgrims at the Jubilee in Rome, still the centre of Christendom, paying him homage which bordered on adulation, and pouring the riches of the world at his feet. The first decade of the new century is not more than half passed; Pope Clement V. is a voluntary prisoner, but not the less a prisoner, in the realm, or almost within the precincts of France; struggling in vain to escape from the tyranny of his inexorable master, and to break or elude the fetters wound around him by his own solemn engagements. He is almost forced to condemn his predecessor for crimes of which he could hardly believe him guilty; to accept a niggardly, and perhaps never-fulfilled, penance from men almost murderers of a Pope; to sacrifice, on evidence which he himself manifestly mistrusted, one of the great military orders of Christendom to the hatred or avarice of Philip. The Pope, from Lord over the freedom of the world, had ceased to be a free agent.

Conclave.

The short Pontificate of Benedict XI. had exasperated, rather than allayed, the divisions in the Conclave.[b] The terrible fate of the two last Popes had not cooled down the eager competition for the perilous dignity. The Cardinals assembled at Perugia. The two factions, the French, and that of the partisans and kindred of Boniface VIII., were headed, the latter by Matteo Orsini and Francesco Gaetani, brother of the late Pope, the former by Napoleon Orsini and the Cardinal da Prato.[c] The Colonna Cardinals had not yet been permitted to resume their place in the Conclave. The elder, James Colonna, had lived in seclusion, if not in concealment, at

[b] There were now nineteen Cardinals, according to Ciacconius, exclusive of the Colonnas. One of the former Conclave had died. Pope Benedict had named two, the Cardinal of Prato (Ostia and Velletri), and an Englishman, Walter Winterburn of Salisbury.

[c] Ferretus Vicentinus, Murat. R. I. S. p. 1014.

Perugia. He came forth from his hiding-place; he summoned his nephew, who had found an asylum at Padua, to his aid. They had an unlimited command of French money. But this money could hold, it could not turn, the balance between the two Orsini, each of whom aspired to be, or to create, the Pope. The Conclave met, it separated, met again; they wrangled, intrigued; each faction strove, but in vain, to win the preponderance by stubbornness or by artifice, by bribery in act or promise.[d] Months wore away. At length the people of Perugia grew weary of the delay: they surrounded the Conclave; threatened to keep the Cardinals as prisoners; demanded with loud outcries a Pope; any hour they might proceed to worse violence: by one account they unroofed the house in which the Cardinals sat, and cut off their provisions.[e] One day the Cardinal da Prato accosted Francesco Gaetani, "We are doing sore wrong: it is an evil and a scandal to Christendom to deprive it so long of its Chief Pastor." "It rests not with us," replied Gaetani. "Will you accede to any reasonable scheme which may reconcile our differences?" The Cardinal da Prato then proposed that one party should name three Ultramontane (Northern) Prelates, not of the Sacred College, on one of whom the adverse party should pledge itself to unite its suffrages. Gaetani consented, on condition that the Bonifacians should name the three Prelates. They were named; among the three the Archbishop of Bourdeaux.

Compact.

Bernard de Goth had been raised by Boniface VIII. from the small bishopric of Comminges to the archiepiscopal seat of Bourdeaux. As a subject of the King of England, he owed only a more remote allegiance to his suzerain, the King of France.[f] He was committed in some personal hostility with Charles of Valois. Throughout the strife between the Pope and the King he had been on the Pope's side. He had withdrawn in disguise from the Court in order to obey the Pope's summons to Rome: he was among the Prelates assembled in November at

[d] "Ut multum valet aurea persuasio, quæque constat in donis expectata fiducia."—Ferret. Vicent.

[e] Ibid. p. 4015.

[f] Yet it is said, "Licet in Anglicâ regione præsul esset, tamen Philippo gratissimus, quod a juventute familiaris extitisset."—Ferret. Vicent.

Rome. If there were any Transalpine Prelate whom the kindred and friends of Boniface might suppose secure to their party, from his inclinations, his gratitude, his animosities, his former conduct, it was Bernard de Goth. But the sagacious Cardinal da Prato knew the man; he knew the Gascon character. Forty days were to elapse before the election. In eleven days a courier was in Paris. In six days more the King and the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, each with a few chosen attendants, met in a forest belonging to the Monastery of St. Jean d'Angely. The secrets of that interview are related, perhaps with suspicious particularity. Yet the King, having achieved his purpose, was not likely to conceal his part in the treaty, especially from his secret counsellors, who had possibly some interest to divulge, none to conceal, the whole affair. The King began by requesting the reconciliation of the Archbishop with Charles of Valois. He then opened the great subject of the interview. He showed to the dazzled eyes of the Prelate the despatch of the Cardinal da Prato. "One word from me, and you are Pope." But the King insisted on six conditions:— I. His own full and complete reconciliation with the Church. II. The absolution of all persons whom he had employed in his strife with Boniface. III. The tenths for five years from the clergy of the realm. IV. The condemnation of the memory of Boniface. V. The reinvestment of the Colonnas in the rank and honours of the Cardinalate. The VI.th and last was a profound secret, which he reserved for himself to claim when the time of its fulfilment should be come. That secret has never been fully revealed. Some have thought, and not without strong ground, that Philip already meditated the suppression of the Templars. The cautious King was not content with the acquiescence, or with the oath, of the Archbishop, an oath from which, as Pope, he might release himself. De Goth was solemnly sworn upon the Host: he gave up his brother and two nephews as hostages. Before thirty-five days had passed, the Cardinal da Prato had secret intelligence of the compact. They proceeded to the ballot; Bernard de Goth was unani-

Interview of King and Archbishop.

June 5, 1305.

mously chosen Pope. In the Cathedral of Bourdeaux he took the name of Clement V.

The first ominous warning to the Italian prelates was a summons to attend the coronation of the new Pope, not at Rome or in Italy, but at Lyons. The Cardinal Matteo Orsini is said to have uttered a sad vaticination: "It will be long before we behold the face of another Pope."[g] Clement began his slow progress towards Lyons at the end of August. He passed through Agen, Toulouse, Beziers, Montpellier, and Nismes. The monasteries which were compelled to lodge and entertain the Pope and all his retinue murmured at the pomp and luxury of his train: many of them were heavily impoverished by this enforced hospitality. At Montpellier he received the homage of the Kings of Majorca and Arragon: he confirmed the King of Arragon in the possession of the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, and received his oath of fealty. Oct. 7. He had invited to his coronation his two sovereigns, the Kings of France and England. The King of England alleged important affairs in Scotland as an excuse for not doing honour to his former vassal. The Kings of France and Majorca were present. On the Cardinal Matteo Orsini, Italian, Roman, to the heart, devolved the office of crowning the Gascon Pope, whose aversion to Italy he well knew. Nov. 14. Coronation at Lyons. The Pope rode in solemn state from the Church of St. Just in the royal castle of Lyons to the palace prepared for him. The King of France at first held his bridle, and then yielded the post of humble honour to his brothers, Charles of Valois and Louis of Evreux, and to the Duke of Bretagne. The pomp was interrupted by a dire and ominous calamity. An old wall fell as they passed. The Pope was thrown from his horse, but escaped unhurt: his gorgeous crown rolled in the mire. The Duke of Bretagne, with eleven or twelve others, was killed: Charles of Valois seriously hurt.

Clement V. hastened to fulfil the first of his engagements to the King of France, perhaps designing by this ready zeal to avert, elude, or delay the The Pope fulfils his vows.

[g] VI. Vit. Clement. apud Baluz.

accomplishment of those which were more difficult or more humiliating. The King of France had plenary absolution: he was received as again the favoured son and protector of the Church. To the King were granted the tenths on all the revenues of the Church of France for five years. The Colonnas were restored to their dignity; they resumed the state, dress, and symbols of the Cardinalate, and took their place in the Sacred College. A promotion of ten Cardinals showed what interest was hereafter to prevail in the Conclave. Among the ten were the Bishops of Toulouse and Beziers, the Archbishop (Elect) of Bourdeaux and the nephew of the Pope, the King's Confessor Nicolas de Francavilla, the King's Chancellor Stephen, Archdeacon of Bruges. A French Pope was to be surrounded by a French Court.

New cardinals.

Measure followed measure to propitiate the Pope's master. Of the two famous Bulls, that denominated "Clericis Laicos" was altogether abrogated, as having been the cause of grievous scandals, dangers, and inconveniences. The old decrees of the Lateran and other Councils concerning the taxation of the clergy were declared to be the law of the Church. As to the other, the "Unam Sanctam," the dearest beloved son, Philip of France, for his loyal attachment to the Church of Rome, had deserved that the Pope should declare this statute to contain nothing to his prejudice; that he, his realm and his people, were exactly in the same state, as regarded the See of Rome, as before the promulgation of that Bull.

But there were two articles of the compact, besides the secret one, yet unaccomplished, the complete absolution of all the King's agents in the quarrel with the Pope, and the condemnation of the memory of Boniface. The Pope writhed and struggled in vain in the folds of his deathly embarrassment. The King of France could not in honour, he was not disposed by temper to abandon the faithful executioners of his mandates: he might want them for other remorseless services. He could not retreat or let fall the accusations against the deceased Pope. Philip was compelled, like other persecutors, to go on in his persecution. This immitigable, seemingly vindictive, hostility

to the fame of Boniface was his only justification. If those high crimes and misdemeanors of which the Pope had been arraigned, those heresies, immoralities, cruelties, enormities, were admitted to be groundless, or dropped as not thought worthy of proof, the seizure at Anagni became a barbarous, cowardly, and unnecessary outrage on a defenceless old man, an impious sacrilege: William of Nogaret and his accomplices were base and cruel assassins.

Already, before the death of Benedict, William of Nogaret had issued one strong protest against his condemnation. During the vacancy he allowed no repose to the memory of Boniface, and justified himself against the terrible anathema of Benedict. He appeared before the official of his diocesan, the Bishop of Paris, and claimed absolution from a censure issued by the Pope under false information. He promulgated two memorials: in the first he adduced sixty heads of accusation against Boniface; in the second he protested at great length against the rash proceedings of Pope Benedict. The Bull of Benedict had cited him to appear at Rome on the Festival of St. Peter and St. Paul. He excused his contumacy in not appearing: he was in France, the citation had not been served upon him; and also by reason of the death of the Pope, as well as on account of his powerful enemies in Italy. Nogaret entered into an elaborate account of his own intercourse with Pope Boniface. Five years before he had been the King's ambassador to announce the treaty of Philip with Albert, King of the Romans. The Pope demanded Tuscany as the price of his consent to that alliance. It was then that William of Nogaret heard at Rome the vices and misdeeds of the Pope, of which he was afterwards arraigned, and had humbly implored the Pope to desist from his simonies and extortions. The Pope had demanded whether he spoke in his own name or in that of the King. Nogaret had replied, in his own, out of his great zeal for the Church. The Pope had roared with passion, like a madman, and had heaped on him menaces, insults, and blasphemies.[h]

William of Nogaret.

Nogaret treats the refusal of Boniface to appear before the Council when first summoned at Anagni as an act of

[h] Preuves, p. 252.

contumacy; he therefore (Nogaret) was justified in using force towards a contumacious criminal. He asserts that he saved the life of Boniface when others would have killed him; that he tried to protect the treasure, of which he had not touched a penny; he had kept the Pope with a decent attendance, and supplied him with food and drink. Had he slain the wicked usurper he had been justified, as Phineas who pleased the Lord, as Abraham who slew the Kings, Moses the Egyptian, the Maccabees the enemies of God. Pope Benedict had complained of the loss of his treasure, he ought rather to have complained that so vast a treasure had been wrung by cruel exactions from the impoverished churches. He asserts that for all his acts he had received absolution from Boniface himself. For all these reasons he appealed to a General Council in the vacancy of the Pontificate, and demanded absolution from the unjust censures of the misinformed Pope Benedict.

William of Nogaret was necessary, as other men of his stamp, for meditated acts of the King, not less cruel or less daring than the surprisal at Anagni, and the abasement of the Supreme Pontiff. The King of France, ever rapacious, yet ever necessitous, who must maintain his schemes, his ambition, his wars in Flanders, at lavish cost, but with hardly any certain income but that of the royal domains, had again taken to that coarse expedient of barbarous finance, the debasement of the coin. There were now two standards: in the higher the King and the Nobles exacted the payments of their subjects and vassals; the lower the subjects and vassals were obliged to receive as current money. Everywhere was secret or clamorous discontent, aggravated by famine;[1] discontent in Paris and Orleans rose to insurrection, which endangered the King's government, even his person, and was only put down by extreme measures of cruelty. The King was compelled to make concessions, to consent himself to be paid in the lower coin. But some time had elapsed since the usual financial resource in times of difficulty had been put in force. The Jews had had leisure to become again alluringly rich. William of Nogaret proceeded with his usual rapid resolution. In

King's distresses.

Jews plundered.

[1] During the winter 1304-5.

one day all the Jews were seized, their property confiscated to the Crown, the race expelled the realm. The clergy, in their zeal for the faith, and the hope that their own burthens might be lightened, approved this pious robbery, and rejoiced that France was delivered from the presence of this usurious and miscreant race. William of Nogaret had atoned for some at least of his sins.[k] But even this was not his last service.

Pope Clement, in the meantime, hastened to return to Bourdeaux. He passed by a different road, through Macon, Clugny, Nevers, Bourges, Limoges, again severely taxing by the honour of his entertainment all the great monasteries and chapters on his way. The Archbishop of Bourges was so reduced as to accept the pittance of a Canon. At Bourdeaux the Pope was in the dominions of England, and to Edward of England he showed himself even a more obsequious vassal than to the King of France. He could perhaps secure Edward's protection if too hardly pressed by his inexorable master, the King of France. He gave to Edward plenary absolution from all his oaths to maintain the Charters (the Great Charter and the Charter of Forests) extorted from him, as was asserted, by his disloyal subjects.[m] Afterwards, casting aside all the haughty pretensions of Pope Boniface, he excommunicated Robert Bruce, now engaged in his gallant strife for the crown of Scotland.[n]

The Pope at Bourdeaux.

England.

But the Pope could not decline the commanding invitation of King Philip to an interview within the realm of France, at Poitiers. To that city he went, but soon repented of having placed himself so completely within the King's power. He attempted to make an honourable retreat; he was retained with courteous force, and overwhelmed with specious honour and reverence.

June, 1307.

A Congress of Princes might seem assembled to show their flattering respect to the Pontiff:—Philip, with his three sons, his brothers Charles of Valois and Louis Count of Evreux, Robert Count of Flanders, Charles King of Naples, the ambassadors of Edward King of

[k] Ordonnances des Rois, i. 443, 447. p. 594. Raynald. sub ann. 1306, c. 29. Vita Clementis. Continuator. Nangis, [m] Rymer. [n] Rymer.

England. Clement, by the prodigality of his concessions, endeavoured to avert the fatal question, the condemnation of Boniface. He was seized with a sudden ardour to place Charles of Valois on the throne of Constantinople, in right of his wife, Isabella of Courtenay. He declared himself the head of a new Crusade, addressed Bulls to all Christendom, in order to expel the feeble Andronicus from the throne, which must fall under the power of the Turks and Saracens, unless filled by a powerful Christian Emperor. He pronounced his anathema against Andronicus. He awarded the kingdom of Hungary to Charobert, grandson of the King of Naples. He took the first steps for the canonisation of Louis, the second son of Charles, who had died Archbishop of Toulouse in the odour of sanctity. He remitted the vast debt owed by the King of Naples to the Papal See, which amounted to 360,000 ounces of gold; a third was absolutely annulled, the rest assigned to the Crusade of Charles of Valois.°

But the inflexible Philip was neither to be diverted nor dissuaded from exacting the full terms of his bond. He offered to prove forty-three articles of heresy against Boniface; he demanded that the body of the Pope should be disinterred and burned, the ignominious fate of heretics, which he had undeservedly escaped during life. Even the French Cardinals saw and deprecated the fatal consequences of such a proceeding to the Church. All the acts of Boniface, his bulls, decrees, promotions, became questionable. The College of Cardinals was dissolved, at least the nomination of almost all became precarious. The title of Clement himself was doubtful. The effects of breaking the chain of traditional authority were incalculable, interminable. The Supplement to the Canon Law, the Sixth Book of Decretals, at once the most unanswerable proof of the orthodoxy of Boniface and the most full assertion of the rights of the Church, fell to the ground The foundations of the Papal power were shaken to the base. By the wise advice of the Cardinal da Prato, Clement determined to dissemble and so gain time. Philip

° Acta apud Baluzium, xxv.

himself had demanded a General Council of all Christendom. A General Council alone of all Christendom could give dignity and authority to a decree so weighty and unprecedented as the condemnation of a Pope. They only could investigate such judgement. In such an assembly the Prelates of the Christian world, French, English, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, might meet; and the Church, in her full liberty, and with irrefragable solemnity, decide the awful cause. He named the city of Vienne in Dauphiny as the seat of this Great Council. In the meantime he strove to conciliate the counsellors who ruled the mind of Philip. William of Nogaret and his accomplices received full absolution for all their acts in the seizure of Boniface and the plunder of the Papal treasures, on condition of certain penances to be assigned by some of the Cardinals. William of Nogaret was to take arms in the East against the Saracens, and not to return without permission of the Holy See; but he was allowed five years' delay before he was called on to fulfil this penitential Crusade.[p]

Council of Vienne determined on.

Absolution of De Nogaret.

The Pope could breathe more freely: he had gained time, and time was inestimable. Who could know what it might bring forth? Even the stubborn hatred of Philip might be, if not mitigated, distracted to some other object. That object seemed to arise at once, great, of absorbing public interest, ministering excitement to all Philip's dominant passions, a religious object of the most surprising, unprecedented, almost appalling nature, and of the most dubious justice and policy, the abolition of the great Order of the Knights Templars. The secret of the last stipulation in the covenant between the King and the Pope remained with themselves; what it was, and whether it was really demanded, was not permitted to transpire. Was it this destruction of the Templars? No one knew; yet all had their conjecture. Or was it some yet remoter scheme, the elevation of his brother or himself to the Imperial throne? It was still a dark, profound, and so more stimulating mystery.

The famous Order of the Temple of Jerusalem had

[p] Raynaldus, sub ann. 1307, c. xi.

sprung, like all the other great religious institutions of the middle ages, from the humblest origin. Their ancestors were a small band of nine French Knights,[q] engaged on a chivalrous adventure, sworn to an especial service, the protection of the Christian pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre through the dangerous passes between Jerusalem and the Jordan, that they might bathe, unmolested by the marauding Moslemin, in the holy waters. The Templars had become, in almost every kingdom of the West, a powerful, wealthy, and formidable republic, governed by their own laws, animated by the closest corporate spirit, under the severest internal discipline, and an all-pervading organisation; independent alike of the civil power and of the spiritual hierarchy. It was a half-military, half-monastic community. The three great monastic vows, implicit obedience to their superiors, chastity, the abandonment of all personal property, were the fundamental statutes of the Order: while, instead of the peaceful and secluded monastery, the contemplative, devotional, or studious life, their convents were strong castles, their life that of the camp or the battle-field, their occupation chivalrous exercises or adventures, war in preparation, or war in all its fierceness and activity. The nine brethren in arms were now fifteen thousand of the bravest, best-trained, most experienced soldiers in the world; armed, horsed, accoutered in the most perfect and splendid fashion of the times; isolated from all ties or interests with the rest of mankind; ready at the summons of the Grand Master to embark on any service; the one aim the power, aggrandisement, enrichment of the Order.

A.D. 1118. The Order of the Knights Templars.

St. Bernard, in his devout enthusiasm, had beheld in the rise of the Templars a permanent and invincible Crusade. The Order (with its rival brotherhood, the Knights of the Hospital or of St. John) was in his view a perpetual sacred militia, which would conquer and maintain the sepulchre of the Lord, become the body-guard of the

[q] A.D. 1118. Hugo di Payens, Godfrey de St. Omer, Raoul, Godfrey Bisol, Pagans de Montdidier, Archembold de St. Aman, Andrew, Gundomar, Hugh Count of Provence.—Wilcke, Geschichte des Tempelherren Ordens, p. 9.

Christian Kings of Jerusalem, the standing army on the outposts of Christendom. His eloquent address to the soldiers of the Temple[r] was at once the law and the vivid expression of the dominant sentiments of his time; here, as in all things, his age spake in St. Bernard. From that time the devout admiration of Western Christendom in heaping the most splendid endowments of lands, castles, riches of all kinds, on the Knights of the Temple and of the Hospital, supposed that it was contributing in the most efficient manner to the Holy Wars. Successive Popes, the most renowned and wise, especially Innocent III., notwithstanding occasional signs of mistrust and jealousy of their augmenting power, had vied with each other in enlarging the privileges and raising the fame of the Knights of the Temple. Eugenius III., under the influence of St. Bernard, first issued a Bull in their favour; but their great Charter, which invested them in their most valuable rights and privileges,[s] was issued by Alexander III. They had already ceased to be a lay community, and therefore under spiritual subjection to the clergy. The clergy had been admitted in considerable numbers into the Order, and so their own body administered within themselves all the rites and sacraments of religion. Innocent III. released the clergy in the Order of the Templars from their oath of fidelity and obedience to their Bishop; henceforth they owed allegiance to the Pope alone.[t] Honorius III. prohibited all Bishops from excommunicating any Knight Templar, or laying an interdict on their churches or houses. Gregory IX., Innocent IV., Alexander III., Clement IV maintained their absolute exemption from episcopal authority. The Grand Master and the brotherhood of the Temple were subordinate only to the supreme head of Christendom. Gregory X. crowned their privileges with an exemption from all contributions to the Holy War, and

A.D. 1172.

[r] Refer back to vol. iii. 399. Sermo ad Milites Templi, Opera, p. 830.

[s] The Bull, Omne datum optimum. Compare Wilcke, p. 77. It is translated by Mr. Addison, the Knights Templars, p. 70.

[t] Innocent III., Epist. i. 508, ii. 35, 84, 257, 259. To the Bishops, "Quatenus a capellanis ecclesiarum, quæ pleno jure jam dictis fratribus sunt concessæ, nec fidelitatem, nec obedientiam exigatis, quia Romano tantum Pontifici sunt subjecti."

from the tenths paid by the rest of Christendom for this sacred purpose. The pretence was that their whole lands and wealth were held on that tenure.[u]

Nearly two hundred years[x] had elapsed since the foundation of the Order, two hundred years of slow, imperceptible, but inevitable change. The Knights Templars fought in the Holy Land with consummate valour, discipline, activity, and zeal; but they fought for themselves, not for the common cause of Christianity. They were an independent army, owning no subordination to the King or Bishop of Jerusalem, or to any of the Sovereigns who placed themselves at the head of a Crusade. They supported or thwarted, according to their own views, the plans of campaigns, joined vigorously in the enterprise, or stood aloof in sullen disapprobation: they made or broke treaties. Thus formidable to the enemies of the faith, they were not less so to its champions. There was a constant rivalry with the Knights of St. John, not of generous emulation, but of power and even of sordid gain. During the expedition of Frederick II. the Master of the Templars and the whole Order had espoused the cause of the Pope. To their stubborn opposition was attributed, no doubt with much justice, the failure or rather the imperfect success of that Crusade.

The character of the war in the East had also changed, unnoticed, unobserved. There was no longer the implacable mutual aversion, or rather abhorrence, with which the Christian met the Saracen, the Saracen the Christian; from which the Christian thought that by slaying the Saracen he was avenging the cause of his Redeemer, and washing off his own sins; the Saracen that in massacring the Christian, or trampling on the Christian dog, he was acting according to the first principles of his faith, and winning Paradise. This traditionary, almost inborn, antipathy had worn away by long intermingling, and given place to the courtesies and mutual respect of a more

[u] "Cum vos ad hoc principaliter laboratis, ut vos pariter et omnia quæ habetis pro ipsius terræ sanctæ defensione, ac Christianæ fidei exponatis, vos eximere a præstatione hujusmodi (decimæ pro terrâ sanctâ) de benignitate Apostolicâ curaremus."—Compare Wilcke, ii. p. 195.

[x] 1118—1307.

chivalrous warfare. The brave and generous Knight could not but admire bravery and generosity in his antagonist. The accidents of war led to more intimate acquaintance, acquaintance to hospitable even to social intercourse, social intercourse to a fairer estimation of the better qualities on both sides. The prisoner was not always reduced to a cruel and debasing servitude, or shut up in a squalid dungeon. He became the guest, the companion, of his high-minded captor. A character like that of Saladin, which his fiercest enemies could not behold without awe and admiring wonder, must have softened the detestation with which it was once the duty of the Christian to look on the Unbeliever. The lofty toleration of Frederick II. might offend the more zealous by its approximation to indifference, but was not altogether uncongenial to the dominant feeling. How far had that indifference, which was so hardly reproached against Frederick, crept into the minds and hearts of Frederick's most deadly enemies? How far had Mohammedanism lost its odious and repulsive character to the Templars? and begun to appear not as a monstrous and wicked idolatry to be refuted only with the good sword, but as a sublime and hardly irrational Theism? How far had Oriental superstitions, belief in magic, in the power of amulets and talismans, divination, mystic signs and characters, dealings with genii or evil spirits, seized on the excited imaginations of those adventurous but rude warriors of the West, and mingled with that secret ceremonial which was designed to impress upon the initiated the inflexible discipline of the Order? How far were the Templars orientalised by their domiciliation in the East? Had their morals escaped the taint of Oriental licence? Vows of chastity were very different to men of hot blood, inflamed by the sun of the East, in the freedom of the camp or the marauding expedition, provoked by the sack and plunder of towns, the irruption into the luxurious hareems of their foes; and to monks in close-watched seclusion, occupied every hour of the day and night with religious services, emaciated by the fast and scourge, and become, as it were, the shadows of men. If even Western devotees were so apt, as was

Oriental manners.

ever the case, to degenerate into debauchery, the individual Templar at least would hardly maintain his austere and impeccable virtue. Those unnatural vices, which it offends Christian purity even to allude to, but which are looked upon if not with indulgence, at least without the same disgust in the East, were chiefly charged upon the Templars. Yet after all, it was the pride rather than the sensuality of the Order which was their characteristic and proverbial crime. Richard I., who must have known them well in the East, bequeathed not his avarice, or his lust, but his pride, to the Knights of the Temple.

But the Templars were not a great colony of warriors transplanted and settled in the East as their permanent abode, having broken off all connexion with their native West. They were powerful feudal lords, lords of castles and domains and estates, a self-governed community in all the kingdoms of Europe. Hence their total expulsion, with the rest of the Christian establishments, from Palestine, left them not, as might have been expected, without home, without possessions, discharged, as it were, from their mission by its melancholy and ignominious failure. The loss of the Temple, the irretrievable loss, might seem to imply the dissolution of the defenders of the Temple: it might be thought to disband and disclaim them as useless and worn-out veterans. The bitter disappointment of the Christian world at that loss would attribute the shame, the guilt, to those whose especial duty it was, the very charter of their foundation, to protect it. That guilt was unanswerably shown by God's visible wrath. His abandonment of the tomb of his Blessed Son was a proof which could not be gainsaid, that the Christians, those especially designated for the glorious service, were unworthy of that honour. Any charge of wickedness so denounced, it might seem, by God himself, would find ready hearing.

Loss of Palestine.

The Knights of the Hospital, more fortunate or more sagacious, had found an occupation for their arms, of which perhaps themselves did not appreciate the full importance, the conquest of Rhodes. Their establishment in that island became the

Conquest of Rhodes by Knights of St. John.

bulwark, long the unconquerable outpost of Christendom in the East. The Templars, if they did not altogether stand aloof from that enterprise, disdained to act a secondary part, and to aid in subduing for their rivals that in which those rivals would claim exclusive dominion.[y]

Clement V., soon after his accession, had summoned the Grand Masters of the two Orders to Europe, under the pretext of consulting them on the affairs of the East, on succours to be afforded to the King of Armenia, and on plans which had been already formed for the union of the two Orders. It does not appear whether, either with a secret understanding with the King of France, or of his own accord, he as yet contemplated hostile measures against the Order. He declares himself, that while at Lyons he had heard reports unfavourable both to the faith and to the conduct of the Templars: but he had rejected with disdain all impeachment against an Order, which had warred so valiantly and shed so much noble blood in defence of the Sepulchre of the Lord. His invitation was couched in the smoothest terms of religious adulation.[z]

Du Molay.

Du Molay,[a] Grand Master of the Order, manifestly altogether unsuspecting, obeyed the Papal invitation. The Grand Master of the Hospitallers alleged his engagement in the siege of Rhodes. But if Du Molay had designed to precipitate the fall of his Order, he could not have followed a more fatal course of policy. His return to Europe was not that of the head of an institution whose occupation and special function was in the East, and who held all they possessed on the tenure of war against the Moslemin. He might rather seem an independent Prince, intending to take up his permanent abode and live in dignity and wealth on their ample domains, or rather territories, in Europe. He might seem almost wantonly to alarm the jealous apprehensions, and stimulate the insatiable rapacity of Philip the Fair. He

[y] Raynald. sub ann. 1308.

[z] "De quorum circumspectâ probitate, et probatâ circumspectione ac vulgatâ fidelitate fiduciam tenemus." So wrote Clement V. The letter is in Raynaldus, date June 6, 1306.

[a] See in Raynouard, Monuments Historiques, p. 15 *et seqq.*, the life and services of Du Molay.

assembled around him in Cyprus a retinue of sixty, the most distinguished Knights of the Order, collected a great mass of treasure, and left the Marshal of the Order as Regent in that island. In this state, having landed in the south, and made his slow progress through France, he entered the capital, and proceeded to the mansion of the Order, in Paris as well as in London perhaps the most spacious, the strongest, and even most magnificent edifice in the city. The treasure which Du Molay brought was reported to amount to the enormous sum of one hundred and fifty thousand golden florins and a vast quantity of silver. The populace wondered at the long train of sumpter horses,[b] as they moved through the narrow streets to the Temple citadel, which confronted the Louvre in its height and strength. Du Molay was received with ostentatious courtesy by the King. Everything flattered his pride and security; there was no sign, no omen of the danger which lowered around him.

Entry into Paris.

Yet Du Molay, if of less generous and unsuspicious nature, should have known the character of Philip, and that every motive which actuated that unscrupulous King was concentred in its utmost intensity against his Order. Philip's manifest policy was the submission of the whole realm to his despotic power; the elevation of the kingly authority above all feudal check, or ecclesiastical control. Would he endure an armed brotherhood, a brotherhood so completely organised, in itself more formidable than any army he could bring into the field, to occupy a fortress in his capital and other strongholds throughout the kingdom? It was no less his policy to establish an uniform taxation, a heavy and grinding taxation, on all classes, on the church as on the laity. The Templars had stubbornly refused to pay the tenths which he had levied everywhere else almost without resistance.[c] There were strong suspicions that during the strife with the

[b] Raynouard says, p. 17, "Outre l'immense trésor que l'Ordre conservait dans le palais du Temple à Paris, le chef apporta de l'Orient cent cinquante mille florins d'or, et une grande quantité de gros tournois d'argent, qui formaient la charge de douze chevaux; sommes considérables pour le temps."

[c] They were exempt by the Papal privilege. These tenths were still in theory permitted by the Pope, as though for holy uses—the recovery of Palestine.

King, Boniface had reckoned on the secret if not active support of the Templars, who, as highly favoured by the Pope, had almost always been high Papalists.[d] If they had not held a congregation in defence of Boniface, such congregation might have been held.[e] For this reason no doubt, if not for a darker one—some concern in the burning of his father—William of Nogaret hated the Templars with all the hatred which he had not exhausted on Pope Boniface.[f]

Philip knew well not only the strength but the wealth of the Order. He knew their strength, for during the insurrections at Paris on account of the debasement of the coin, he had fled from his own insecure Louvre, and taken refuge in the Temple. From that impregnable fortress he had defied his rebellious subjects, and afterwards having gathered some troops, perhaps with the aid of the Templars themselves, suppressed the mutiny (which the Templars nevertheless were accused of having instigated), and had hanged the insurgents[g] on the trees around the city.[h] Philip knew too their wealth. From their treasures alone he had been able to borrow the dowry of his daughter Isabella, on her marriage with Prince Edward of England. Debtors love not their creditors. Du Molay is said to have made importunate and unwelcome demands for repayment.[i] Every race or community possessed of dangerous riches had in turn suffered the extortionate persecutions of Philip. Would

[d] "In diebus suis admirabilis novitas et persequutio facta est super Ordinem Templariorum, quod processit ex invidiâ et cupiditate Philippi Francorum regis, qui odio Templarios habebat, eo quod ausi fuerant stare contra ipsum ex sententiâ excommunicationis, datâ per dictum Bonifacium contra dictum Regem." —Chronic. Astens. Murator. xi. p. 193.

[e] One writer says, "Quia contra Regem congregationem fecerunt."

[f] "Gulielmus de Nogaret, Regis Franciæ auctor fuit pro posse ruinæ ordinis Templariorum, eò quod patrem ejus tanquam hæreticum comburi fecerunt." This can hardly be literally true. But see further the striking speech of a Templar going to the stake, and (what cannot be true) the death of Nogaret.—Chron. Astens. ut supra.

[g] Continuator Nangis apud Bouquet, p. 594.

[h] Of their wealth:

"Li frere, li mestre au Temple
Qu'estoient rempli et ample
D'or, d'argent et de richesse,
Et qui menoient tel noblesse . . .
Tozjors achetoient sans vendre."
Chronique quoted by Raynouard, p. 7.

According to Paris, "Habent Templarii in Christianitate novem millia maneriorum."—p. 417.

[i] "Quia is magistrum ordinis exosum habuit, propter importunam pecuniæ exactionem, quam in nuptiis filiæ suæ Isabellæ ei mutuum dederat. Inhiabat præterea prædiis militum et possessionibus."—Thom. de la Moor, Vit. Edward II., quoted in note to Baluzius, Pap. Avionen. p. 589.

his avarice, which had drained the Jews, the Lombards, and laid his sacrilegious hands on the Church, so tempted, respect the Templars, even if he had no excuse of religious zeal or regard for morals to justify his confiscation of their riches?

Du Molay at Poitiers.

Du Molay, in his lofty security, proceeded to the great meeting at Poitiers, to pay his allegiance with the Princes and Sovereigns, and to give counsel to the Pope on the affairs of the East and those of the Military Orders. Du Molay's advice as to the future Crusade, however wise and well-grounded, might seem a death-blow to all hopes of success. There could be no reliance on the King of Armenia; to reconquer the Holy Land would demand the league and co-operation of all the Kings of Christendom. Their united forces, conveyed by the united fleets of Genoa, Venice, and other maritime cities, should land at Cyprus; and from Cyprus carry on a regular and aggressive war. The proposal for the fusion of the Knights of the Temple and of St. John, a scheme proposed by Gregory X. and by St. Louis, he coldly rejected as impracticable. "That which is new is not always the best. The Orders, in their separate corporations, had done great things; it was doubtful how, if united, they would act together. Both were spiritual as well as secular institutions: neither could, with safe conscience, give up the statutes to which they had sworn, to adopt those of the other. There would rise inextinguishable discord concerning their estates and possessions. The Templars were lavish of their wealth, the Hospitallers only intent on amassing wealth: on this head there must be endless strife. The Templars were in better fame, more richly endowed by the laity. The Templars would lose their popularity, or excite the envy of the Hospitallers. There would be eternal contests between the heads of the Orders, as to the conferring dignities and offices of trust. The united Order might be more strong and formidable, and yet many ancient establishments fall to the ground; and so the collective wealth and power might be diminished rather than augmented."[k]

[k] See the Document in Baluzius, vol. ii. p. 174.

Yet even now that Du Molay was holding this almost supercilious language, the mine was under his feet, ready to burst and explode. Du Molay could not be absolutely ignorant of the sinister rumours which had long been spread abroad concerning the faith, the morals, the secret mysteries of his Order; he could not be ignorant that they had been repeatedly urged upon the Pope by the King himself, by his counsellors, by the Prior of the new convent in Poitiers.[m] But he maintained, both he and the other Preceptors of the Order, the same haughty demeanour. They demanded again and again, and in the most urgent terms, rigid investigation, so that, if blameless, as they asserted, they might receive public absolution; if guilty, might suffer condemnation.[n] Content with this defiance of their enemies, Du Molay and the other Preceptors returned quietly to Paris.[o]

There was a certain Squino di Florian, Prior of Montfalcon, in the county of Toulouse, who had been condemned, as a heretic and a man of evil life, to perpetual imprisonment in the dungeons of one of the royal castles. There he met one Roffo, a Florentine, an apostate Templar, perhaps some others: he contrived to communicate to the King's officers that he could reveal foul and monstrous secrets of the Order. He was admitted to the royal presence; and on his attestation the vague and terrible charges, which had been floating about as rumours, grew into distinct and awful articles of accusation.[p] Squino di Florian.

[m] Letter of Clement to Philip, Baluzius, ii. p. 74. This letter is misdated by Baluzius. Wilcke has retained the error. The letter mentions the death of Edward I., which took place July 7, 1307. It was written when Clement was at or near Poitiers. The king had left the city.

[n] "Quia verò magister militiæ Templi ac multi præceptores, tam de regno tuo quam de aliis, ordinis cum eodem, audito, ut dixerunt, quid tam erga nos te quam erga aliquos alios dominos temporales super prædicto facto eorum opinio gravabatur, a nobis, nedum semel, sed pluries cum magnâ instantiâ petierunt quod nos super illis eis falsò impositis, ut dicebant, vellemus inquirere veritatem, ac eos, si reperirentur, ut asserebant, inculpabiles, absolvere, vel ipsos si reperirentur culpabiles, quod nullatenus credebant, condemnare vellemus."—Ex Epist. ut supra.

[o] Raynouard, p. 18.

[p] Baluzii Vit. vi. Villani, viii. 92. This was the current history of the time. The historian expresses, too, the prevailing opinion out of France. "Ma più si dice, che fu per trarre di loro molta moneta. E per sdegno preso col maestro del tempio, e colla magione. Il Papa per levarsi del dosso il Re di Francia per la richiesta del condannare Papa Bonifazio . . . per piacere al Re

Charges against the Order.

Christendom heard with amazement and horror that this noble, proud, and austere Order, which had waged irreconcileable war with the Saracens, poured its best blood, like water, for two hundred years on the soil of Palestine, sworn to the severest chastity as to the most rigorous discipline, was charged and publicly charged by the King of France with the most deliberate infidelity, with the most revolting lust, with the most subtle treason to Christendom. The sum of these charges, as appeared from the examinations, was,—that at the secret initiation into the Order, each novice was compelled to deny Christ, and to spit upon the Cross; that obscene kisses were given and received by the candidate; that an idol, the head either of a cat, or with two human faces, or that of one of the eleven thousand virgins, or of some other monstrous form, was the object of their secret worship; that they wore a cord which had acquired a magical or talismanic power by contact with this idol; that full licence was granted for the indulgence of unnatural lusts; that parts of the canon of the mass were omitted in their churches; that the Grand Master and other great officers, even when not in Holy Orders, claimed the power of granting absolution; that they were in secret league with the Mohammedans, and had constantly betrayed the Christian cause, especially that of St. Louis at Mansura. These were the formal legal charges, of which the accusers offered to furnish proof, or to wring confession by torture from the criminals themselves. Popular credulity, terror, hatred, envy, either by the usual inventiveness of common rumour, or by the industrious malice of the King and his counsellors, darkened even these crimes into more appalling and loathsome acts. If a Templar refused to continue to his death in his wickedness, he was burned and his ashes given to be drank by the younger Templars. A child begotten on a virgin was cooked and roasted, and the idol anointed with its fat.[q]

li assentè di ciò fare." Dupuy observes (De la Condemnation des Templiers, p. 8), that *all* the historians of the times agree in this. He refers to them. Compare also Note, p. 193, in Haveman, Geschichte des Ausgangs des Tempelherren Ordens. Stutgard, 1843.

[q] See the eleven articles in the Chronique de Saint Denys, Bouquet, p. 686. Observe among the more heinous

Philip did not await the tardy decision of the Pope. A slower process might have banded together this formidable body, thus driven to despair, in resistance if not in rebellion. On the 14th of September, the Feast of the Elevation of the Cross, sealed instructions were issued to all the seneschals and other high officers of the crown throughout the realm, to summon each a powerful armed force, on the night of the 12th of October: then and not before, under pain of death, to open those close instructions.[r] The instructions ran, that according to secret counsels taken with the Holy Father the Pope, with his cognizance if not his sanction, the King gave command to arrest on one and the same day all the Knights Templars within the kingdom; to commit them to safe custody, and to set the royal seal on all their goods, to make a careful inventory thereof, and to retain them in the name of the King. Philip's officers were trained to execute these rapid and simultaneous movements for the apprehension and spoliation of some devoted class of his subjects. That which had succeeded so well with the defenceless Lombards and Jews, was executed with equal promptitude and precision against the warlike Templars. In one day (Friday, October 13th), at the dawn of one day, with no single act of resistance, with no single attempt at flight, as if not the slightest intimation of measures which had been a month in preparation had reached their ears; or as if, presuming on their innocence, numbers, or popularity, they had not deigned to take alarm: the whole Order, every one of these highborn and valiant warriors, found the houses of the Order sur-

Arrest of the Templars.

charges is one that they refused to pay taxes to the king. "Que eux reconnurent du Trésor du Roi a aucuns avoir donné, qui au Roi avoient fait contrariété, laquelle chose étoit moult domageable au Royaume."—Art. vi.

[r] In Dupuy, i. p. 311. There is a copy of the orders addressed to the Vidame and the Bailiff of Amiens. It is dated Pontisera ("Pontoise"). But the fullest "instructions" are those from the archives of Nismes, published by Menard, "Histoire de Nismes," Preuves, p. 195. They begin with these inflaming words: "Res amara, res flebilis, res quidem cogitatu horribilis, auditu terribilis, detestabilis crimine, execrabilis scelere, abhominabilis opere, detestanda flagitio, res penitus ymo ab omni humanitate seposita, dudum fide dignorum relacione multorum . . ." Those employed "saizare" must be well armed, "in manu forti ne possit per illos fratres et eorum familias resisti." Inquisition was to be made "particulariter et diversim omnimodo quo poterunt, etiam ubi faciendum viderint, *per tormenta*."—p. 197.

rounded by the King's soldiers, and was dragged forth to prison. The inventory of the whole property was made, and was in the King's power. In Paris William of Nogaret and Reginald de Roye, fit executioners of such a mandate, were intrusted with the arrest of the Grand Master and the Knights in Paris. Jacques du Molay but the day before had held the pall at the funeral of the King's sister.[s] They were confined in separate dungeons. The royal officers took possession of the strong and stately mansion which had given refuge to the King. Everywhere throughout France there was the same suddenness, the same dispatch, the same success. Every Templar in the realm was a prisoner.[t]

Further proceedings.

The secrecy, the celerity, the punctuality with which those orders were executed throughout the realm, could not but excite, even had they been employed on an affair of less moment, amazement and admiration bordering on terror. The Templars were wealthy, powerful, had connections at once among the highest and the humblest families. They had been haughty, insolent, but many at least lavish in almsgiving. They partook of the sanctity which invested all religious bodies; they were or had been the defenders of the Sepulchre of Christ; they had fought, knelt, worshipped in the Holy Land. It was prudent, if not necessary, to crush at once all popular sympathy; to leave no doubt of the King's justice, or suspicion of his motives in seizing such rich and tempting endowments. The very day after the apprehension of the Knights, the Canons of Nôtre Dame and the Masters of the University of Paris were assembled in the Chapter-house of that church. The Chancellor William of Nogaret, the Provost of Paris, and others of the King's ministers, with William Imbert, the King's confessor and Grand Inquisitor of the realm, to whose jurisdiction the whole affair was committed, made their appearance, and arraigned the Order on five enormous charges.[u] I. The denial of Christ

[s] Poele. Baluz., Vit. i. Michelet, Hist. des Français, vol. iv. ch. iii.

[t] Neither the names nor the numbers of the prisoners in other seneschalties are known. Sixty were arrested at Beaucaire; forty-five of these incarcerated at Aigues Mortes, fifteen at Nismes. Thirty-three were committed to the royal castle of Alais.

[u] Casus enormissimos. Baluzii Vit. i.

and the insult to the Cross; II. The adoration of an idolatrous head; III. The kisses at their reception; IV. The omission of the words of consecration in the mass; V. Unnatural crimes. On the same day (Saturday) the theological faculty of Paris was summoned to give judgement whether the King could proceed against a religious Order on his own authority. They took time for their deliberation: their formal sentence was not promulgated till some months after; its substance was probably declared or anticipated. A temporal judge cannot pass sentence in case of heresy, unless summoned thereto by the Church, and where the heretics had been made over to the secular arm. But in case of necessity he may apprehend and imprison a heretic, with the intent to deliver him over to the Church.[x] The next day (Sunday) the whole clergy and the people from all the parishes of the city were gathered together in the gardens of the royal palace. Sermons were delivered by the most popular preachers, the Friars; addresses were made to the multitude by the King's ministers, denouncing, blackening, aggravating the crimes of the Templars. No means were spared to allay any possible movement of interest in their favour. Blow followed blow without pause or delay; every rebellious impulse of sympathy, every feeling of compunction, respect, gratitude, pity, must be crushed by terror out of the hearts of men.[y] The Grand Inquisitor opened his Court, with the Chancellor, and as many of the King's ministers as were present. The apprehension of the Templars, in order to their safe custody, and with the intent to deliver them over to the Church, was assumed or declared to be within the province of the temporal power. The final judgement was reserved for the Archbishops and Bishops: but the Head of the Inquisition, the Dominican William Imbert, thus lent the terrors of his presence to the King's commission.

Charges.

Preachings.

The first of these Lives (of Clement V.) was written by John, Canon of St. Victor in Paris, and therefore is the best authority for the events in Paris.

[x] Crevier, ii. p. 207. Wilcke, i. p. 284.

[y] "Ne populus scandalizaretur de eorum tam subitaneâ captione. Erant quippe potentissimi divitiis et honore. —Vit. i. p. 9.

The tribunal sat from day to day, endeavouring to extort confession from the one hundred and forty prisoners, who were separately examined. These men, some brave and well-born, but mostly rude and illiterate soldiers, some humble servitors of the Order, were brought up from their dungeons without counsel, mutual communication, or legal advice, and submitted to every trial which subtlety or cruelty could invent, or which could work on the feebler or the firmer mind, —shame, terror, pain, the hope of impunity, of reward. Confession was bribed out of some by offers of indulgence, wrung from others by the dread of torture, by actual torture,—torture, with the various ways of which our hearts must be shocked, that we may judge more fairly on their effects. These were among the forms of procedure by torture in those times, without doubt mercilessly employed in the dungeons which confined the Templars. The criminal was stripped, his hands tied behind him; the cord which lashed his hands hung upon a pulley at some height above. At the sign of the judge he was hauled up with a frightful wrench, and then violently let fall to the ground. This was called, in the common phrase, hoisting. It was the most usual, perhaps the mildest, form of torture. After that the feet of the criminal were fixed in a kind of stocks, rubbed with oil, and fire applied to the soles. If he showed a disposition to confess, a board was driven between his feet and the fire; if he gave no further hopes, it was withdrawn again. Then iron boots were fitted to the naked heels, and contracted either by wedges or in some other manner. Splinters of wood were driven up the nails into the finger-joints; teeth were wrenched out; heavy weights hung on the most sensitive parts of the body, even on the genitals. And these excruciating agonies were inflicted by the basest executioners, on proud men, suddenly degraded into criminals, their spirits shattered either by the sudden withdrawal from the light of day, from the pride, pomp, it might be the luxury of life into foul, narrow, sunless dungeons; or more slowly broken by long incarceration in these clammy, noisome holes: some almost starved. The

The tribunal.

Tortures.

effect upon their minds will appear hereafter from the horror and shuddering agony with which they are reverted to by the bravest Knights. If their hard frames, inured to endurance in adventure and war, might feel less acutely the bodily sufferings, their lofty and generous minds would be more sensitive to the shame and degradation. Knights were racked like the basest slaves; and there was nothing to awaken, everything to repress, the pride of endurance; no publicity, nothing of the stern consolation of defying, or bearing bravely or contemptuously before the eyes of men the cruel agony. It was all secret, all in the depths of the gloomy dungeon, where human sympathy and human admiration could not find their way. And according to the rigour and the secrecy of the torture was the terrible temptation of the weak or fearful, of those whose patience gave way with the first wrench of the rack, to purchase impunity by acknowledging whatever the accuser might suggest: to despair of himself, of the Order, whose doom might seem irretrievably, irrevocably sealed. Their very vices (and no doubt many had vices), the unmeasured haughtiness of most, the licentious self-indulgence of some, would aggravate the trial; utter prostration would follow overweening pride, softness, luxury.

Confessions.

Some accordingly admitted at once or slowly, and with bitter tears, a part or the whole of the charges; some as it seemed, touched with repentance, some at the threats, at the sight of the instruments of torture; some not till after long actual suffering; some beguiled by bland promises; some subdued by starvation in prison. Many, however, persevered to the end in calm and stedfast denial, more retracted their confessions, and expired upon the rack.[z] The King himself, by one account, was present at the examination of the Grand Master: the awe of the royal presence wrought some to confession. But Philip

[z] "Factumque est ut eorum nonnulli sponte quædam præmissorum vel omnia lacrymabiliter sunt confessi. Alii quidem, ut videbatur, pœnitentiâ ducti, alii autem diversis tormentis quæstionati, vel comminatione vel eorum aspectu perterriti; alii blandis tracti promissionibus et illecti; alii carceris inediâ cruciati vel coacti multipliciterque compulsi. . . . Multi tamen penitus omnia negaverunt, et plures qui confessi primò fuerunt ad negationem postea reversi sunt, in ea fortiter perseverantes, quorum nonnulli inter ipsa supplicia perierunt."—Continuat. Nangis.

withdrew, it should seem, when tortures were actually applied, under which, it is said, in the unintentional irony of the historian, some *willingly* confessed, though others died without confession. To those who confessed the King seemed disposed to hold out the possibility of mercy.[a]

Confession of Grand Master.

After some interval the University of Paris was summoned to the Temple to hear nothing less than the confession of the Grand Master himself. How Du Molay was wrought to confession, by what persuasion or what violence, remained among the secrets of his dungeon; it is equally uncertain what were the articles which he confessed. Some at this trial asserted that the accursed form of initiation had been unknown in the Order till within the last forty years. But this was not enough; they must be won or compelled to more full acknowledgement. At a second session before the University the Master and the rest pleaded guilty, and in the name of the whole Order, to all the charges.[b] The King's Almoner, the Treasurer of the Temple at Paris, made the same confession. But this confession of the Grand Master, however industriously bruited abroad, in whatever form it might seem fit to the enemies of the Order, though no doubt it had a powerful effect upon the weaker brethren who sought a precedent for their weakness, and with those who might think a cause abandoned by the Grand Master utterly desperate, by no means produced complete submission. Still a great number of the Knights repudiated the base example, disbelieved its authenticity, or excused it, as wrung from him by intolerable tortures; they sternly adhered to their denial. One brave old Knight in the South declared that "if the Grand Master had uttered such things, he had lied in his throat."

[a] "Magister militiæ Templariorum cum multis militibus, et viris magnis sui Ordinis captus apud Parisios *coram Rege* productus fuisset. Tunc quidam ipsorum propter verecundiam veritatem de præmissis denegaverunt, et quidam alii ipsam sibi confessi fuerunt. Sed postea illi qui denegabant cum tormentis ipsam tunc *libenter* confitebantur, et aliqui ipsorum in tormentis sine confessione moriebantur, vel comburebantur (the burning was later). Et tunc de confitentibus ultra (ultro?) veritatem ipse mitius se habebat."—Vit. VI. apud Baluz. p. 101.

[b] They were not content to admit "quosdam articulorum." "Item in aliâ congregatione coram Universitate Magister et alii plures simpliciter sunt confessi, et Magister pro toto Ordine."—Vit. I. p. 10.

The interrogatory had done its work. The prisoners were carried back to their dungeons, some in the Temple, some in the Louvre, and in other prisons. The Grand Master with the three Preceptors of the Order were transferred to the royal castle of Corbeil; the Treasurers to Moret. In these prisons many died of hunger, of remorse, and anguish of mind; some hung themselves in despair.[c]

With no less awful dispatch proceeded the interrogatories in other parts of France. Everywhere torture was prodigally used; everywhere was the same result: some free confessions, some retractations of confessions; some bold and inflexible denials of the whole; some equivocations, some submissions manifestly racked out of unwilling witnesses by imprisonment, exhaustion, and agony.

The Grand Inquisitor proceeded on a circuit to Bayeux: in the other northern cities he delegated his work usually to Dominican Friars. Thirteen were examined at Caen, seven of them had been previously interrogated at Pont de l'Arche. Twelve made confession after torture, on the promise of absolution from the Church, and security against secular punishment. Ten others were examined at Pont de l'Arche. In the south, of seven at Cahors, two recanted their confession. At Clermont twenty-nine obstinately denied the charges, forty admitted their truth. Two German Templars, returning from Paris, were arrested at Chaumont, in Lorraine; they stedfastly denied the whole. In the seneschalty of Beaucaire and Nismes[d] sixty-six Templars had been arrested by Edward de Maubrisson and William de St. Just, the Lieutenant of the Seneschal, Bertrand Jourdain de l'Isle. They had been committed to different prisons. Edward de Maubrisson held his first sitting at Aigues Mortes upon forty-five who were in the dungeons of that city. The King's Advocate, the King's Justice, and two other nobles were present, but no ecclesiastic

Interrogatories in the Provinces. Oct. 28, 1307.

[c] "Ubi fama referebat, plures mortuos fuisse inediâ, vel cordis tristitiâ vel ex desperatione suspendio periisse."—Vit. I.

[d] In this seneschalty lay the great estate of William of Nogaret. There are several royal grants in the documents at the end of Ménard, Histoire de Nismes, vol. i., which show that Nogaret was not sparingly rewarded, even by his parsimonious king, for his services.

either during this or any of the subsequent sessions. According to the precise instructions the following questions were put to the criminals, but cautiously and carefully,[e] and at first only in general terms, in order to elicit free confession. Where it was necessary torture was to be applied. I. That on the reception the postulant was led into a sacristy behind the altar, commanded thrice to deny Christ, and to spit on the crucifix. Then, II. When he was unclothed, the Initiator kissed him on the navel, the spine, and the mouth. III. He was granted full licence for the indulgence of unnatural lusts. IV. Girt with a cord which had been drawn across the idol-head. In the provincial chapters an idol, a human head, was worshipped. V. The clerical brethren were alone to be pressed on the omission of the words in the mass.

Eight servitors were first introduced. They confessed the whole of the first charges; they declared that they had denied Christ in fear of imprisonment, even of death; but they had denied him with the lips, not the heart; they swore that they had never committed unnatural crimes; of the idol and the omission of the words in the mass they knew nothing. On the following day thirty-five more were examined, all servitors except one clerk and three Knights, Pons Seguin, Bertrand de Silva, Bertrand de Salgues. The same confession, word for word, the same reservation: the priest alone acknowledged that he had administered an unconsecrated Host, omitting the words of consecration; but in his heart he had never neglected to utter them. There is throughout the same determination to limit the confession to the narrowest bounds, to keep to the words of the charges, absolutely to exculpate themselves, and to criminate the Order, from which some might rejoice to be released, others think irrevocably doomed. They were all afterwards summoned, in the presence of two monks in the Dominican cloister at Nismes, to whom the Grand Inquisitor had given power to act for the Holy Office, to repeat their confession, and admonished within eight days still further to confess any heresies of which they might have been guilty. Maubrisson also passed to Nismes;

Nov. 8, 1307.

[e] "Caute et diligenter."

fifteen servitors were interrogated; there were the same confessions, the same denials. At Carcassonne the Preceptor of the wealthy house of Villedieu, Cassaignes, with four others, were examined before the Bishop, Peter de Rochefort: they admitted all, even the idol.[f]

The Pope was no less astounded than the rest of Christendom by this sudden and rapid measure, so opposite to the tardy and formal procedures of the Roman Court. It was a flagrant and insulting invasion of the Papal rights, the arrest of a whole religious Order, under the special and peculiar protection of the Pope, and the seizure of all their estates and goods, so far as yet appeared, for the royal use. It looked at first like a studied exclusion of all spiritual persons even from the interrogatory. Clement could not suppress his indignation: he broke out into angry expressions against the King; he issued a Bull, in which he declared it an unheard-of measure that the secular power should presume to judge religious persons; to the Pope alone belonged the jurisdiction over the Knights Templars. He deposed William Imbert from the office of Grand Inquisitor, as having presumptuously overstepped his powers. He sent two Legates, the Cardinal Berenger of Fredcol and Stephen of Suza, to demand the surrender of the prisoners and of their estates to the Pope. In a letter to the Archbishops of Rheims, Bourges, and Tours, he declared that he had been utterly amazed at the arrest of the Templars, and the hasty proceedings of the Grand Inquisitor, who, though he lived in his immediate neighbourhood, had given him no intimation of the King's design. He had his own views on the subject; his mind could not be induced to believe the charges.[g]

Conduct of the Pope.

Poitiers. Oct. 27.

But, when the first impulse of his wrath was over, the Pope felt his own impotence; he was in the toils, in the power, now imprudently within the dominions, of the relentless Philip; his resentment speedily cooled down. The

[f] The report, the fullest and most minute of all, as to the interrogatories at Nismes, is dated 1310. But it contains the earlier proceedings from the beginning of the prosecution out of the Authentic Acts. I have therefore dwelt upon it more at length. — Ménard, Hist. de Nismes, p. 449; Preuves, p. 195.

[g] Dachery, Spicilegium, x. 366.

great prelates of France arrayed themselves on the side of the King. The King held secret councils at Melun, and at other places, with the Princes and Bishops of the realm, meditating, it might be, strong measures against the Pope. Somewhat later, the Archbishop of Rheims announces to the King that himself, with his Suffragans and Chapter, had met at Senlis, and were prepared to aid the King in his prosecution of the Templars.[h]

The King of France had laid down a wide scheme for the suppression of the Templars, not in his own dominions alone, but throughout Christendom. Abolished on account of their presumed irregularities in France, they could not be permitted, as involved in the same guilt, to subsist in the English dominions in France, in Provence, or even in England. Already, on the issuing the instructions for their arrest, Philip had despatched an ecclesiastic, Bernard Pelet, to his son-in-law, Edward II. of England, to inform him of their guilt and heresy, and to urge him to take the same measures for their apprehension. Edward and his Barons declared themselves utterly amazed at the demand.[i] Neither he nor his Prelates and Barons could at first credit the abominable and execrable charges; but before the end of the year, the Pope himself, as if unwilling that Edward, as Philip had done, should take the affair into his own hands and proceed without Papal authority, hastened to issue a Bull, in which he commanded the King to arrest all the Templars in his dominions, and to sequester their lands and property. The Bull, however, seemed studiously to limit the guilt to individual members of the Order.[k] The goods were to be retained for the service of the Holy Land, if the Order should be condemned, otherwise to be preserved for the Order. It referred to the confession of the Grand Master at Paris, that this abuse had crept in at the

Message to England.

[h] "Ad vestram presenciam duximus destinandum (episcopum) ad assentiendum secundum Deum et justitiam vestræ majestati."—Archives Administrat. de Rheims, Collect. Documents Inédits, ii. 65.

[i] 22nd Sept., Edwardus Philippo.—Rymer, iii. ad ann. 1307.

[k] "Quod *singuli* fratres dicti ordinis in suâ professione . . . expressis verbis abnegant Jes. Christum. . . ." See the Bull, "Pastoralis præeminentiæ solio."—Raynaldus sub ann. Nov. 22, Rymer.

instigation of Satan, contrary to the Institutes of the Order. The Pope declares that one brother of the Order, a man of high birth and rank, had made full confession to himself of his crime; that in the kingdom of Cyprus a noble knight had made his abnegation of Christ at the command of the Grand Master in the presence of a hundred knights.

King Edward had hesitated. On the 4th December, as though under the influence of the Templars themselves, he wrote to the Kings of Portugal, Castile, Sicily, and Arragon. He expressed strong suspicion of Bernard Pelet, who had presumed to make some horrid and detestable accusations against the Order, and endeavoured by letters of certain persons, which he had produced (those of the King of France), but had procured, as Edward believed, by undue means, to induce the King to imprison all the brethren of the Temple in his dominions. He urged those Kings to avert their ears from the calumniators of the Order, to join him in protecting the Knights from the avarice and jealousy of their enemies.[m] Still later, King Edward, in a letter to the Pope, asserts the pure faith and lofty morals of the Order, and speaks of the detractions and calumnies of a few persons jealous of their greatness, and convicted of ill will to the Order.[n]

The Papal Bull either appalled or convinced the King of England. Only five days after his letter (the Bull having arrived in the interim), orders were issued to the sheriffs for the general arrest of the Templars throughout England. The persons of the knights were to be treated with respect, the inventory of their names and effects returned into the Exchequer at Westminster. The same instructions were sent to Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. On the 28th December the King informed the Pope that he would speedily carry his commands into execution. On the Wednesday after Epiphany the arrest took place with the same simultaneous promptitude as in France, and without resistance.

Arrest. Dec. 20.

The King of Naples, as Count of Provence, followed

[m] "Aures vestras a perversorum detractionibus, qui, ut credimus, non zelo rectitudinis sed cupiditatis et invidiæ spiritibus excitantur, avertere velitis." —Redyng. Dec. 4, Rymer sub ann.

[n] Rymer, Dec. 10.

exactly the plan of the King of France. He transmitted sealed instructions to all the officers of the Crown, which were to be opened on the 24th January. On the 25th all the Templars in Provence and Forcalquier were committed to the prisons of Aix and Pertuis; those of the counties of Nice, Grafe, St. Maurice, and the houses in Avignon and Arles, to the Castle of Meirargues.

King of Naples.

Just at this juncture an appalling event took place, which in some degree distracted the attention of Christendom from the rapidly unfolding tragedy of the Templars, and had perhaps no inconsiderable though remote influence on their doom. The Emperor Albert was murdered at Königstein by his own nephew, John, in the full view of their ancestral house.[o] The King of France was known to aspire to the imperial crown, if not for himself, for his brother Charles of Valois. He instantly despatched ambassadors to secure the support of the Pope for Charles of Valois—Charles, the old enemy of Clement, to whom he had been reconciled only on compulsion. It is even asserted that he demanded this as the last, the secret stipulation, sworn to by the Pope when he sold himself to the King for the tiara.[p] But the

Death of the Emperor.

Charles of Valois seeks the Empire.

[o] Coxe has told coldly the terrible vengeance of the Empress Agnes. She witnessed the execution of sixty-three of the retainers of the Lord of Balm, the accomplice of John of Hapsburg. "Now," she said, as the blood flowed, "I bathe in honey dew." She founded the magnificent convent of Königstein, of which fine ruins remain. Christianity still finds a voice in the wildest and worst times. The rebuke of the hermit to the vengeful Empress must be heard: "God is not served by shedding innocent blood, and by building convents from the plunder of families, but by confession and forgiveness of injuries." — Compare Coxe's Austria, ch. vi.

[p] "Rex autem Franciæ Philippus, auditâ vacatione imperii, cogitavit facile posse imperium redire ad Francos, ratione sextæ promissionis factæ sibi a Papâ, si operam daret ut papa crearetur, sicut factum est. Nam cum explicasset jam eam, videlicet in delendo quicquid gestum fuit per Bonifacium et memoriam ejus, ad quod Papa se difficultabat, et in posterum hoc offerebat agendum, arbitratus est Rex commutari facere quod fuerat postulatûm ab eo in sibi utilius et honorabilius negotium, ut videlicet loco prædictæ petitionis hoc concederetur, ut Dominus Carolus Valisiensius, frater ejus eligeretur in Imperatorem. Quod satis æquum et exiguibile videbatur, cum Bonifacius Papa hoc ei promississet, et ad hoc multa fecerat pro ecclesiâ. Sed et olim imperium fuerat apud Francos tempore Caroli magni, translatum a Græcis ad eos, sic possit transire de Teutonicis ad Francos."—S. Antonini Chronicon, iii. p. 276. This Chronicle is a compilation in the words of other writers, but shows what writers were held in best esteem, when the Archbishop of Florence (afterwards canonised) wrote during the next century.

accumulation of crowns on the heads of the princes of France was not more formidable to the liberties of Europe than to the Pope, who must inevitably sink even into more ignoble vassalage. A Valois ruled in France and in Naples. A daughter of the King of France was on the throne of England: it might be hoped, or foreseen, that the young, beautiful, and ambitious bride might wean her feeble husband from the disgraceful thraldom of his minions, and govern him who could not govern himself. If Charles were Emperor, what power in Europe could then resist or control this omnipotent house of Valois?

Philip had already bought the vote and support of the Archbishop of Cologne; he anticipated the tame acquiescence of the Pope. Charles of Valois visited the Pope with the ostentation of respect, but at the head of six thousand men-at-arms.

But the sagacious Cardinal da Prato was at hand to keep alive the fears and to guide the actions of Clement. The Pope had no resource but profound dissimulation, or rather consummate falsehood. He wrote publicly to recommend Charles of Valois to the electors; his secret agents urged them to secure their own liberties and the independence of the Church by any other choice.[q] The election dragged on for some months of doubt, vacillation, and intrigue. At length Henry of Luxemburg was named King of the Romans.[r] Clement pretended to submit to the hard necessity of consenting to a choice in which six of the electors had concurred; he could no longer in decency assert the claims of Charles of Valois. Philip suppressed but did not the less brood over his disappointment and wrath. Henry of Luxemburg Emperor.

Thus all this time, if Clement had any lingering desire to show favour or justice to the Templars, or to maintain the Order, it had sunk into an object not only secondary to that which he thought his paramount duty and the chief interest of the Papacy, to avert the condemnation from the memory of Boniface; but also to that of rescuing the im-

[q] "Sed omnipotens Deus (writes S. Antoninus) qui dissipat consilia principum . . . non permisit rem ipsam suum habere effectum, ne ecclesia regno Franciæ subjiceretur."—Ibid.

[r] At Frankfort, Nov. 27, 1308.

perial crown from the grasp of France. To contest a third, a more doubtful issue with King Philip, was in his situation, and with his pliant character, with his fatal engagements, and his want of vigour and moral dignity, beyond his powers.

The King neglected no means to overawe the Pope. He had succeeded in making his quarrel with Pope Boniface a national question. For the first time the Commons of France had been summoned formally and distinctly to the Parliament, which had given weight and dignity to the King's proceedings against Pope Boniface.[s] The States-General, the burghers and citizens, as well as the nobles and prelates, the whole French nation, were now again summoned to a Parliament at Tours on May 1. Philip knew that by this time he had penetrated the whole realm with his hatred of the Templars. The Order had been long odious to the clergy, as interfering with their proceedings, and exercising spiritual functions at least within their own precincts. The Knights sat proudly aloof in their own fastnesses, and despised the jurisdiction of the Bishop or the Metropolitan. The excommunication, the interdict, which smote or silenced the clergy, had no effect within the walls of the Temple. Their bells tolled, their masses were chanted, when all the rest of the kingdom was in silence and sorrow; men fled to them to find the consolations forbidden elsewhere. Their ample and growing estates refused to pay tithe to the clergy; their exemption rested on Papal authority. It was one of the charges which in enormity seemed to be not less hateful than the most awful blasphemy or the foulest indulgences, that the great officers, the Grand Master, though not in orders, dared to pronounce the absolution. The Nobles were jealous of a privileged Order, and no doubt with the commonalty looked to some lightening of their own burthens from the confiscation, to which they would willingly give their suffrage, of the estates of the Templars; nor did these proud feudal lords like men prouder than themselves.[t] Among the commonalty the dark rumours

Parliament of Tours.

[s] See above, page 235.

[t] Eight of the nobility of Languedoc, at the Parliament of Tours, entrusted their powers to William of Nogaret.—Hist. de Languedoc, iv. 146.

so industriously disseminated, the reports of full and revolting confessions, had now been long working; the popular mind was fully possessed with horror at these impious, execrable practices. At particular periods, free institutions are the most ready and obsequious instruments of tyranny: the popular Parliament of Philip the Fair sanctioned, by their acclamation, his worst iniquities;[u] and the politic Philip, before this appeal to the people, knew well to what effect the popular voice would speak. The Parliament of Tours, with hardly a dissentient vote, declared the Templars worthy of death.[x] The University of Paris gave the weight of their judgement as to the fulness and authenticity of the confessions; at the same time they reasserted the sole right of the Roman Court to pass the final sentence.

From Tours, the King, with his sons, brothers, and chief counsellors, proceeded at Whitsuntide to the Pope at Poitiers. He came armed with the Acts of the General Estates of the realm. They were laid before the Pope by William de Plasian. The Pope was summoned to proceed against the Order for confessed and notorious heresy.

This appeal to his tribunal seemed to awaken Clement to the consciousness of his strength. For the temporal power to assume the right, even now when the Pope was in the King's realm, of adjudging in causes of heresy, was too flagrant an invasion on the spiritual power. The fate of the Order too must depend on the Pope. The King might seize, imprison, interrogate, even put to the torture, individual Templars, his subjects; but the dissolution of the Order, founded under the Papal sanction, guaranteed by so many Papal Bulls, could not be commanded by any other authority. Clement entrenched himself behind the yet lingering awe, the yet unquestioned dignity of the Papal See. "The charges were heavy, but they had been pressed on with indecent haste, without consulting the successor of St. Peter; the Grand Inquisitor had exceeded

[u] "Intendebat enim Rex sapienter agere. Et ideo volebat hominem cujuslibet conditionis regni sui habere judicium vel assensum, ne possit in aliquo reprehendi."—Vit. i. p. 12.

[x] Vit. i. ibid.

his powers; the Pope demanded that all the prisoners should be made over to himself, the sole judge in such high matters." Long and sullen discussions took place between the Cardinals and the Counsellors of the King.[y]

The King (the affair of the Empire was not settled, that was the secret of Clement's power) was unwilling to drive the Pope to extremities. He ordered copies of all the proceedings against the Knights, and the inventories of their goods, to be furnished to the Pontiff. This Clement took in good part. The custody of the estates and property of the Order had given a perilous advantage to the King. The Pope now issued a circular Bull to the Archbishops and Bishops of France to take upon themselves the administration of all the sequestered goods; and to them was to be consigned, to each within his own diocese, the final examination and judgement.[z] The Templars caught at the faint gleam of hope that the Church would assume the judgement; they were fondly possessed with a notion of the justice, the humanity of the Church. Some instantly recanted their confessions. The King broke out into a passion of wrath. He publicly proclaimed, that while he faithfully discharged the duties of a Christian king and a servant of the Lord, the lukewarm Vicegerent of Christ was tampering with heresy, and must answer before God for his guilt. The Pope took alarm. At length it was agreed that the custody both of the persons and the goods should remain with the King; that the Knights should be maintained in prison, where they were to lie, out of the revenues of their estates; that no personal punishment should be inflicted without the consent of the Pope; that the fate of the Order should be determined at the great Council of Vienne, summoned for October 10, 1310.[a] Clement reserved for himself the

[y] "Fuitque ibi pretactum negotium factis, allegationibus et rationibus, pro parte Papæ et responsionibus pro Rege, rationibusque et replicationibus multis utrinque coram cardinalibus cleroque et cæteris qui aderant *morosè* discussum." —Vit. i.

[z] Clemens Philippo.—Baluz. ii. 98. The date is erroneous; it should be July 3, 1308.

[a] "Tandem conventum est inter eos, quod Rex bona eorum omnia levaret, seu levari faceret fideliter per ministros, et servare ea usquequo Papa cum ipso Rege deliberasset quid regi expediret, sed punitionem corporum non faceret; corpora tamen eorum servari faceret, sicut fecerat, et de proventibus domorum Templi sustentari usque ad conciliam generale futurum; corpora au-

sentence on the Grand Master and other chief officers of the Temple.

Yet before Philip left Poitiers, seventy-two Templars were brought from different prisons (with the King and the King's Counsellors rested the selection): they were interrogated before the Pope and the Cardinals. All confessed the whole; they were remanded. In a few days after, their confessions were read to them in the vulgar tongue, in the Consistory; all adhered to their truth.

But the Grand Master and some of the principal preceptors of the Order—those of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Poitou—were now in confinement in the castle of Chinon. Some of them could not mount on horseback, some were so weak that they could not be conveyed to Poitiers:[b] the torture, and the dungeon had done their work. Three Cardinals (Berenger of S. Nireus and Achilles, Stephen of S. Cyriac, Landolph of S. Angelo) were commissioned to go and receive their depositions. The Cardinals reported that all those Knights, in the presence of public notaries and other good men, had sworn on the Gospels, without compulsion or fear, to the denial of Christ, and the insult to the cross on initiation; some others to foul and horrible offences, not to be named. Du Molay had confessed the denial; he had empowered a servitor of the Order to make the rest of his confession.[c] The Cardinals, having regard to their penitence, had pronounced the absolution of the Church, and recommended them to the royal mercy.[d]

The Pope pretended that conviction had been forced upon him by these dreadful revelations. He now issued a Bull, addressed to all Christendom, in which he declared how slowly and with difficulty he had been compelled to believe the infamy, the apostacy of the noble and valiant Order. His beloved son, the King of France, not urged

tem ex tunc ponebat Papa in manu suâ." This left, as we shall see, all future public trial to the Church.—Vit. i. p. 13.

[b] "Sed quoniam quidam ex eis sic infirmabantur tunc temporis, quod equitare non poterant, nec ad nostram presenciam quoquomodo adduci." The Pope's own words in the Bull, "faciens *misericordiam*"!!

[c] See on, page 320.

[d] Epistol. Cardinalium.—Baluz. ii. 121.

by avarice,[e] for he had not intended to confiscate or appropriate to his own use the goods of the Templars—he that excuses sometimes accuses,—but actuated solely by zeal for the faith, had laid information before him which he could not but receive. One Knight of noble race, and of no light esteem (could this be Squino de Florian, the Prior of Montfalcon?), had deposed in secret, and upon his oath, to these things. It had now been confirmed by seventy-two, who had confessed the guilt of the Order to him; the Grand Master and the others to the Cardinals. Throughout the world therefore, he commanded, by this Apostolic Bull, that proceedings should be instituted against the Knights of the Temple, against the Preceptor of the Order in Germany. The result was to be transmitted, under seal, to the Pope. The secular arm might be called in to compel witnesses who were contemptuous of Church censures to bear their testimony.[f]

Pope Clement, when this conference was over, hastened to leave his honourable imprisonment at Poitiers. He passed some months at Bourdeaux, the Cardinals in the neighbourhood. After the winter he retired to Avignon, hereafter to be the residence of the Transalpine Popes.[g] As he passed through Toulouse he addressed a circular letter to the King of France, in which, having declared the unanswerable evidence of the heresy and the guilt of the Templars, he prohibited all men from aiding, counselling, or favouring, from harbouring or concealing, any member of the proscribed Order; he commanded all persons to seize, arrest, and commit them to safe custody. All this under the pain of severe spiritual censure. Yet there were many who stole away unperceived; and for concealment or from want submitted to the humblest functions of society, to plebeian services or illiberal arts. Many bore exile, degradation, indigence, with noble mag-

[e] Is it charity in the Pope to exculpate the king of avarice? "Non gippo avaritiæ, cum de bonis Templariorum nihil sibi vendicare vel appropriare intendat," or adroitness to clench his concession? See the secret compact about the custody of the goods.—Dupuy, Condemnation, p. 107.

[f] The Bull, "faciens misericordiam," dated Aug. 12, 1308.

[g] Baluz. ii. p. 134. He was at Narbonne, April 5, 1309, then at Montpellier and Nismes; he arrived at Avignon at the end of April.—Ménard, p. 456.

nanimity—all asserting, wherever it was safe to assert it, as in the Ghibelline cities of Lombardy, the entire and irreproachable innocence of the Order.[h]

As he passed through Nismes the Pope issued his commission to Bertrand, Bishop of that city, to reinvestigate the guilt of the prisoners. Bertrand held one session; then, on account of his age and infirmity, devolved the office on William St. Lawrence Curé of Durfort. Durfort opened his court first at Nismes, afterwards at Alais. Thirty-two, a few Knights, others servitors, the same who had confessed before the royal commissioners—now that the milder and more impartial Church sat in judgment—now that their chains were struck off, and they felt their limbs free, and hoped that they should not return to their fœtid prisons—almost with one voice disclaimed their confessions. One only, manifestly in a paroxysm of fright, and in the eager desire of obtaining absolution, recanted his recantation. Another, Drohet, had abandoned the Order: he confessed, but only from hearsay, and intreated not to be sent back to prison among men whose heresy he detested. A third appeared to the Court to have concerted his evidence, was remanded, made amends by a more ample confession, clearly from panic: he had heard of the cat-idol. The rest firmly, resolutely denied all.[i]

[h] "Si qui autem ex Templariorum cœtu manumissi aut per fugam abstracti evadere potuerunt, projecto Religionis suæ habitu ministeriis plebeiis ignoti, aut artibus illiberalibus se dederunt. Nonnulli autem ex clarissimis parentibus orti, dum transfugæ laboribus multis et periculis dudum expositi, vitæ tædium magnificis animorum nobilium conatibus vilipenderunt, ultro se gentibus edidere, adjurantes se objecti criminis prorsus insontes." Ferretus of Vicenza had before said (and in Lombardy the refugees would not fear to describe their sufferings) that many had died in prison, "tam diu vinculis retentos pædoris squallorisque rigidi angustia peremit."—Apud Murator. R. I. S. ix. p. 1017.

[i] The examination at Alais began June 19, 1310, ended July 14. St. Lawrence took as his assessors two canons of Nismes, three Dominicans, two Franciscans of Alais (Ménard, p. 260). Eight were brought from Nismes (of these were three knights), seventeen from Aigues Mortes, seven from the prisons in Alais. It should be added that the recanting witness, Bernard Arnold, swore that the prisoners had met to concert—when? and where? —"quod cotidie tenebant sua colloquia et suos tractatus super hiis; et sese ad invicem instruunt qualiter negent omnia, et dicant dictum ordinem bonum esse et sanctum."—Preuves, p. 175.

CHAPTER II.

PROCESS OF THE TEMPLARS.

The affair of the Templars slumbered for some months, but it slumbered to awaken into terrible activity. A Papal Commission[a] was now opened to inquire, not into the guilt of the several members of the Order, but of the Order itself. The Order was to be arraigned before the Council of Vienne, which was to decide on its reorganisation or its dissolution. This Commission therefore superseded all the ordinary jurisdictions either of the Bishop or of the Inquisition, and, in order to furnish irrefragable proof before the Council, summoned before it for re-examination all who had before made depositions in those Courts. Their confessions were put in as evidence, but they had the opportunity of recanting or disclaiming those confessions.[b]

At the head of the Commission was Gilles d'Aiscelin, Archbishop of Narbonne, a man of learning, but no strength of character; the Bishop of Mende, who owed his advancement to King Philip; the Bishops of Bayeux and Limoges; the Archdeacons of Rouen (the Papal Notary), of Trent, and Maguelonne, and the Provost of Aix. The Provost excused himself from attendance. The Archbishop and the Bishop of Bayeux grew weary and withdrew themselves gradually, on various pretexts, from the sittings.

The Commission opened its Court in the Bishop's palace at Paris[c] August 7th, 1309. The Bull issued by

[a] Aug. 1309. The Commission sat, with some intermission, to May, 1311.

[b] See Haveman, p. 227.

[c] The acts of this Commission are the most full, authentic, and curious documents in the history of the abolition of the Templars. They were published imperfectly, or rather a summary of them, by Moldenhauer, Hamburg, 1792. The complete and genuine proceedings have now appeared in the original Latin, among the 'Documents Inédits sur

the Pope at Poitiers was read.[d] Then, after other documents, a citation of the Order of Knights Templars, and all and every one of the Brethren of the said Order. This citation was addressed to the Archbishops of the nine Provinces, Sens, Rheims, Rouen, Tours, Lyons, Bourges, Bourdeaux, Narbonne, and Auch, and to their suffragans. It was to be suspended on the doors of all cathedral and collegiate churches, public schools, and court-houses, the houses of the Templars, and the prisons where the Templars were confined. Sworn messengers were despatched to promulgate this citation in the provinces and dioceses. The Templars were to appear on the day after the Feast of St. Martin.

On that day not a Templar was seen. Whether the Bishops were reluctant to give orders, or the keepers of the prisons to obey orders; whether no means of transport had been provided, no one knew; or, what is far less likely, that the Templars themselves shrunk from this new interrogatory, hardly hoping that it would be conducted with more mildness, or dreading that it might command fresh tortures. On five successive days proclamation was made by the apparitor of the Official of Paris, summoning the Knights to answer for their Order. No voice replied. On the Tuesday inquiry was made into the answers of the Bishops to the Court. Some were found to have published the citation, others to have neglected or disobeyed; from some had come no answers. To them letters were addressed of mild rebuke or exhortation. The Templars were to be informed that the investigation was not against individual members of the Order, but against the Order itself. No one was to be compelled to appear; but all who voluntarily undertook the defence of the Order had free liberty to go to Paris.[e]

Nov. 12. Commission at Paris. No Templars appear.

l'Histoire de France,' under the care of M. Michelet. The second volume has recently been added. My citations, if not otherwise distinguished, refer to these volumes.

[d] "Faciens misericordiam."

[e] "Nec volumus quod contra fratres singulares dicti ordinis, et de hiis quæ ipsos tamquam singulares personas tangant, non intendimus inquirere contra eos, sed duntaxat contra ordinem supradictum juxta traditam nobis formam. Nec fuit nostræ intencionis, nec est, quod aliqui ex eis venire cogantur vel teneantur, sed solum ii qui voluntarie venire valeant pro premissis."—p. 25.

On the 22nd of November the Bishop of Paris appeared in Court. He declared that he had himself gone to the prison in which the Grand Master, Hugo de Peyraud the Visitor of the Order, and other Knights were confined; that he had caused the Apostolic letter to be read in Latin, and explained in the vulgar tongue; that the Knights had declared themselves ready to appear before the Court; some were willing to defend the Order. He had published the citation in the churches and other public places, and sent persons of trust to make known and to explain the citation to all the prisoners in the city and diocese of Paris. Orders were issued to Philip de Vohet, Provost of the church of Poitiers, and John de Jamville, doorkeeper to the King, who had the general custody of the prisoners, to bring before the Court, under a strong and trusty guard, the Master, the Visitor, and all who would undertake the defence. The Provost and De Jamville bowed and promised to obey. On the same day appeared a man in a secular habit, who called himself John de Melot, of the diocese of Besançon. He was manifestly a simple and bewildered man, who had left the Order or who had been dismissed ten years before, and seemed under the influence of panic. "He knew no harm of the Order, did not come to defend it, was ready to do or to suffer whatever the Court might ordain; he prayed that they would furnish him with subsistence, for he was very poor." The Court saw that he was half-witted, and sent him to the Bishop of Paris to be taken care of.[f] Six Knights then stood before the Court. Gerald de Caus was asked why he appeared. He replied, in obedience to the citation: he was prepared to answer any interrogatory. The Court answered, that they compelled no one to come before them, and asked whether he was ready to defend the Order. After many words he said that he was a simple soldier, without house, arms, or land: he had neither ability nor knowledge to defend the Order. So

[f] "Et quia fuit visum eisdem dominis commissariis, ex aspectu et consideracione personæ suæ, actuum, gestuum, et loquelæ, quod erat valde simplex vel fatuus, et non bene compos mentis suæ, non processerunt ulterius cum eodem." —p. 27. By some strange mistake of his own or of his authorities, Sismondi has attributed the speech and conduct of this poor crazy man to Du Molay.

said the other five. Then appeared Hugo de Peyraud, Visitor of the Order, under the custody of the Provost of Poitiers and John de Jamville. He came in consequence of the citation, made known by the Bishop of Paris, to answer any interrogatory. He came further to entreat the Pope and the King not to waste and dissipate the goods of the Temple, but religiously to devote them to their original use, the cause of the Holy Land. He had given his answers to the three Cardinals at Chinon, had been prepared to do the same before the Pope; he could only say the same before the Commissioners. He too declined to undertake the defence, and was remanded to prison.[g] Hugh de Peyraud.

After two days' adjournment, on Wednesday, November 26th, Du Molay, at his own request, was brought before the Court. He was asked whether he would defend the Order. "The Order was founded," he replied, "and endowed with its privileges by the Pope. He wondered that the Pope would proceed in such haste to the abolition of such an Order. The sentence hung over Frederick II. for thirty-two years. Himself was an unlearned man, unfit, without counsel, to defend the Temple; yet he was prepared to do it to the best of his ability. He should hold himself a base wretch, he would be justly held as a base wretch by others, if he defended not an Order from which he had received so much honour and advantage. Yet this was a hard task for one who had been thrown into prison by the King and by the Pope, and had but four deniers in the world to fee counsel. All he sought was that the truth might be known concerning the Order, not in France only, but before the kings, princes, prelates, and barons of the world. By the judgement of those kings, princes, prelates, and barons he would stand." The Court replied that he Du Molay.

[g] The Court received private information that certain Templars had arrived in Paris, disguised in secular habits, and furnished with money to provide counsel and legal aid to defend the Order; they had been arrested by the king's officers; the Provost of the Châtelet was commanded to bring them before the Court. It was a false alarm. One of them only had been a servitor for those monks; he was poor, and had come to Paris to seek a livelihood. They were gravely informed that if they designed to defend the Order, the Court was ready to hear them; they disclaimed such intention.

should deliberate well on his defence. The Master said, "he had but one attendant, a poor servitor of the Order: he was his cook." They reminded him significantly of his confessions: they would have him to know that, in a case of heresy or faith, the course was direct and summary, without the noise and form of advocates and judicial procedure.

They then, without delay, read the Apostolic letters, and the confession which Du Molay was reported to have made before the three Cardinals. The Grand Master stood aghast; the gallant knight, the devout Christian, rose within him. Twice he signed himself with the sign of the cross. "If the Lords Commissioners were of other condition, he would answer them in another way." The Commissioners coldly replied "that they sat not there to accept wager of battle." Du Molay saw at once his error. "I meant not that, but would to God that the law observed by the Saracens and the Tartars, as to the forgers of false documents, were in use here! The Saracens and Tartars strike off the heads of such traitors, and cleave them to the middle." The Court only subjoined, "The Church passes sentence on heretics, and delivers over the obstinate to the secular arm."

William de Plasian, the subtlest of Philip's counsellors, was at hand. He led Du Molay aside: he protested that he loved him as a brother-soldier; he besought him with many words not to rush upon his ruin. Du Molay, confused, perplexed, feared that if he acted further without thought he might fall into some snare. He requested delay. He felt confidence (fatal confidence!) in De Plasian, for De Plasian was a knight!

The day after, Ponsard de Gisi, Preceptor of Payens, was brought up with Raoul de Gisi, Preceptor of Lagny Sec. Ponsard boldly declared himself ready to undertake the defence of the Order. All the enormous charges against the Order were utterly, absolutely false; false were all the confessions, extorted by terror and pain, from himself and other brethren before the Bishop of Paris. Those tortures had been applied by the sworn and deadly enemies and accusers of the Order,

Nov. 27.

by the Prior of Montfalcon, and William Roberts, the monk.[h] He put in a schedule:—"These are the traitors who have falsely and disloyally accused the religion of the Temple: William Roberts the monk, who had them put to the torture; Esquin de Florian of Beziers, Prior of Montfalcon; Bernard Pelet, Prior of Maso (Philip's Envoy to England); and Gervais Boysol, Knight of Gisors."[i]

Had Ponsard himself been tortured? He had been tortured before the Bishop of Paris three months ere he made confession. His hands had been tied behind him till the blood burst from his nails. He had stood thus in a pit for the space of an hour.[k] He protested that in that state of agony he should confess or deny whatever they would. He was prepared to endure beheading, the stake, or the cauldron, for the honour of the Order; but these slow, excruciating torments he could not bear, besides the horrors of his two years' imprisonment. He was asked if he had anything to allege wherefore the Court should not proceed. He hoped that the cause would be decided by good men and true.[m] The Provost of Poitiers interposed; he produced a schedule of charges advanced by Ponsard himself against the Order. "Truth," answered Ponsard, "requires no concealment. I own that, in a fit of passion, on account of some contumelious words with the Treasurer of the Temple, I did draw up that schedule." Those charges, however, dark as were some of them, were totally unlike those now brought against the brotherhood. Before he left the Court Ponsard expressed his hope that the severity of his imprisonment might not be aggravated because he had undertaken the defence of the Order. The Court gave instructions to the Provost of Poitiers and De Jamville that he should not be more harshly treated.

[h] "Per vim et propter periculum et timorem, quia torquebantur a Florigerano de Biturres, priori Montefalconis, Gulielmo Roberto monacho, inimicis eorum." This is a new and terrible fact, that the accusers, even the Prior of Montfalcon, were the *torturers!*

[i] Moldenhauer says that they gave in a paper, "Ces sont les treytours, liquel ont proposé fauseté et debaute contre leste de la Religion deu Temple, Guilealmes Robers Moynes, qui les mitoyet a geinas; Esquino de Flexian de Biterris, en Priens de Montfaucon, Bernard Pelete Priens de Maso de Genois, et Everannes de Boxxol, Echalier vencus a Gisors" (*sic*).—p. 33.

[k] Leuge.

[m] See also this in the Procès and in Moldenhauer, p. 35.

Du Molay again.

On the Friday before the Feast of St. Andrew Du Molay appeared again. De Plasian had alarmed, or persuaded or caressed him to a more calm and suppliant demeanour. He thanked the commissioners for their indulgence in granting delay. Asked if he would defend the Order, he said that "he was an unlettered and a poor man. The Pope had reserved for his own decision the judgement on himself and other heads of the Order. He prayed to be brought, as speedily as might be (for life was short), into the presence of the Pope." Asked whether he saw cause why the Court should not proceed, not against individual Knights, but against the Order, he replied, "None; but to disburthen his conscience, he must aver three things: I. That no religious edifices were adorned with so much splendour and beauty as the chapels of the Templars, nor the services performed with greater majesty, except in cathedral churches; II. That no Order was more munificent in almsgiving; III. That no Brotherhood and no Christians had confronted death more intrepidly, or shed their blood more cheerfully for the cause of Christ." He especially referred to the rescue of the Count of Artois. The Court replied that these things profited not to salvation, where the groundwork of the faith was wanting. Du Molay professed his full belief in the Trinity, and in all the articles of the Catholic faith.

William of Nogaret came forward, and inquired whether it was not written in the Chronicles of St. Denys, that Saladin had publicly declared, on a certain defeat of the Templars, that it was "a judgement of God for their apostasy from their faith, and for their unnatural crimes." Du Molay was amazed; "he had never heard this in the East." He acknowledged that he and some young Knights, eager for war, had murmured against the Grand Master, William de Beaujeu, because he kept peace with the Sultan, peace which turned out to be a wise measure. He entreated to be allowed the mass and the divine offices, to have his chapel and his chaplain. He withdrew, never to leave his prison till some years after, to be burned alive.

Up to this time none but the prisoners confined in Paris had been brought before the Commission. It was still

found that the citations had been but partially served in the prisons of the other provinces. Letters were again written to the Archbishops and Bishops, enjoining them to send up all the Templars who would undertake the defence of the Order to Paris. The King issued instructions to the Bailiffs and Seneschals of the realm to provide horses and conveyances, and to furnish a strong and sufficient guard. This was the special office of the Provost of Poitiers, and John de Jamville, who had the general custody of the captives in the provinces of Sens, Rheims, and Rouen. The prisons of Orleans were crowded. They were compelled to disgorge all their inmates. The appointed day was the morrow after the Purification. From that day till the end of March the prisoners came pouring in from all parts of the kingdom. Great numbers had died of torture, of famine, of shame and misery at their confinement in fetid and unwholesome dungeons, men accustomed to a free and active life. The survivors came, broken in spirit by torture, not perhaps sure that the Papal Commission would maintain its unusual humanity; most of them with the burthen of extorted confessions, which they knew would rise up against them. Perhaps some selection was made. Some, no doubt, the more obstinate, and the more than obstinate, those who had recanted their confessions, were kept carefully away. Yet even under these depressing, crushing circumstances their numbers, their mutual confidence in each other, the glad open air, the face of man, before whom they were now to bear themselves proudly, and—vague hope!—some reliance on the power, the justice, or the mercy of the Pope, into whose hands they might seem to have passed from that of the remorseless King, gave them courage. They heard with undisguised murmurs of indignation the charges now publicly made against the Order, against themselves: the blood boiled as of old; the soldier nerved himself in defiance of his foe.

Prisoners from the provinces.

Feb. 2, 1310.

The first interrogatory, to which all at the time collectively before the Court[n] were exposed, was whether

[n] See the detail—from Clermont 34, Amiens 12, from that of Paris about 10, from Sens 6, from the Bishopric of from Tours 7 or 8 (of the Touraine Tem-

they would defend the Order. By far the larger number engaged with unhesitating intrepidity. There were some hundreds. Dreadful tales transpired of their prison-houses. Of those from St. Denys John de Baro had been three times tortured, and kept twelve weeks on bread and water. Of those from Tyers one declared that twenty-five of the Brethren had died in prison of torture and suffering: he asserted that if the Host were administered to them, God would work a miracle to show which spoke truth, those who confessed or those who denied. Of the twenty who arrived later from the province of Sens one, John of Cochiac, produced a letter from the Provost of Poitiers, addressed to Laurence de Brami, once commander in Apulia, and to other prisoners, urging them to deny to the Bishop of Orleans that they had been tampered with, and pressed to confess falsehoods: to act according to the advice of John Chiapini, "the beloved clerk;" and warning them that the Pope had ordered all who did not persevere in their confessions to be burned at once.° The Provost, having examined the document with seeming care, said, that he did not believe that he had written such a letter, or that it was sealed with his seal: "a certain clerk sometimes kept his seal, but he had not urged the prisoners to speak anything but the truth." One of those from Toulouse had been so dreadfully tortured by fire, that some of the bones of his feet had dropped out; he produced them before the Court.

Asked if they will defend the Order. Feb. 3.

These many hundred Knights, Clerks, and Servitors, a great majority at least of those before the Court, resolved, notwithstanding their former sufferings, to defend their Order. Some of their answers were striking from their emphatic boldness. "To death." "To the end." "To the peril of my soul." "I have never

Undertake the defence.

plars, some would defend themselves, not the Order, some as far as themselves were concerned), from St. Martin des Champs in Paris 14, from Nismes 7, from Monlhery 8, from the Temple 34, from Aris in the diocese of Paris 19, from the Castle of Corbeil 38, from St. Denys 7, from Beauvais 10, from Chalons 9, from Tyers in the diocese of Sens 10, from Carcassonne 28. There came from the province of Sens 20 more; there came from Sammartine in the diocese of Meaux 14; from Auxerre 4, from Crevecœur 18, from Toulouse 6, from Poitiers 13, from Cressi 6, from Moissiac 6, from Jamville (Orleans) 21, from Gisors 58, from Vernon 13, from Bourges diocese 14, from the archdiocese of Lyons 22.

° Procès, p. 75.

confessed, never will confess, those base calumnies." "Give us the sacrament on the oaths, and let God judge." "With my body and my soul." "Against all men, against all living, save the King and the Pope." "I have made some confession before the Pope, but I lied. I revoke all, and will stand to the defence of the Order."[p] Those who declined,[q] alleged different excuses, some would defend themselves, not the Order; some would not undertake the defence, unauthorised by the Grand Master; some were simple men, unversed in such proceedings; one with simplicity, which seemed like irony, "would not presume to litigate with the King and the Pope." Very few, indeed, with Gerhard de Lorinche, refused "because there were many bad points in the Order." Many entreated that they might be relieved from some of the hardships of their prisons: that they might be admitted to the holy offices of the Church; some that they might resume the habit of the Order.

Defenders before the Court.

On the 25th of March the Knights, who had undertaken the defence, were assembled in the garden of the Archbishop's palace at Paris, to the number of five hundred and fifty-six; their names are extant in full.[r] The Papal commission, and the articles exhibited against the Order, which had been drawn up, to the number of one hundred and twenty-seven, by the King and his counsellors,[s] and which had before been read[t] and explained in French to about ninety persons, were now read again in Latin at full length. They contained, in minute legal particularity, every charge which had been adduced before.

[p] Raynouard gives the names (p. 271), confirmed by the Procès.

[q] There seems to have been less boldness and resolution among the great officers of the Order; perhaps they were old and more sorely tried. John de Tournon, the Treasurer of the Temple in Paris, refused to undertake their defence. William of Arteblay, the king's almoner, would not offer himself for that purpose. Godfrey de Gonaville, Preceptor of Poithou and Aquitaine, said that he was a prisoner, a rude unlettered man: before the King and the Pope, whom he held for good lords and just judges, he would speak what was right, but not before the Commissioners. The Commissioners pledged themselves for his full security and freedom of speech.—p. 100. "Nec deberet timere de aliquibus violenciis injuriis vel tormentis, quia non inferrent nec inferri permitterent, immo impedirent si inferri deberent."—p. 88. This is noteworthy.

[r] In the Procès; Moldenhauer has 556, Haveman says 544.

[s] Raynouard, whom Haveman quotes, p. 246.

[t] March 14.

As the notary was proceeding to translate the charges, a general outcry arose that they did not need to hear, that they would not hear, such foul, false, and unutterable things in the vulgar tongue.

The Commissioners, in order to proceed with regularity, commanded the prisoners to select from among themselves six or eight or ten proctors to conduct the defence: they promised to these proctors full freedom of speech. After some deliberation Reginald de Pruin, Preceptor of the Temple in Orleans, and Peter of Bologna, Proctor of the Order in the Roman Court, both lettered men, dictated, in the name of the Knights present, this representation: "It appeared hard to them and to the rest of the Brethren that they had been deprived of the sacraments of the Church, stripped of their religious habit, despoiled of their goods, ignominiously imprisoned and put in chains. They were ill provided with all things: the bodies of those who had died in prison had been buried in unconsecrated ground: in the hour of death they had been denied the Sacrament. No one could act as a proctor without the consent of the Grand Master; they were illiterate and simple, they required therefore the aid and advice of learned Counsel. Many knights of high character had not been permitted to undertake the defence: they named Reginald de Vossiniac and Matthew de Clichy as eminently qualified for that high function.

There was great difficulty in the choice of proctors and in their investiture with powers to act in defence of the Order. The public notaries went round the prisons in which the Templars were confined, to require their assent, if determined on the defence, to the nomination of proctors. The Knights had taken new courage from their short emancipation from their fetters, from the glimpse of the light of day. About seventy-seven in the Temple dungeons solemnly averred all the articles to be foul, irrational, detestable, horrid, false to the blackest falsehood, iniquitous, fabricated, invented by mendacious witnesses, base, infamous; that "the Temple" is and always was pure and blameless. If they were not permitted to appear in person at the General Council, they prayed that they might appear by

some of their Brethren. They asserted all the confessions to be false, wrung from them by torture, or by the fear of torture, and therefore to be annulled and thrown aside; that these things were public, notorious, to be concealed by no subterfuge. Other prisoners put in other pleas of defence, as strong, some of them more convincing from their rashness and simplicity. A few bitterly complained of the miserable allowance for their maintenance: they had to pay two sous for knocking off their irons, when brought up for hearing, and ironing them again.[u]

The mass of suffrages, though others were named, were for Peter of Bologna, Reginald de Pruin, priests; William de Chambonnet and Bertrand de Salleges, knights, as those in whom they had greatest confidence as proctors. Already on the 1st of April these four with Matthew de Clichy and Robert Vigier had given in a written paper, stating that without the approbation of the Grand Master they could not act. The Grand Master, the chief Preceptors of France, Guienne, Cyprus, and Normandy, and the other Brethren, must be withdrawn from the custody of the King's officers, and delivered to that of the Church, as it was notorious that they dared not, through fear, or through seduction and false promises, consent to the defence of the Order, and that false confessions would be adduced so long as the cause should last.[x] They demanded everything requisite to defend the cause, especially the counsel of learned lawyers; full security for the proctors and their counsel: that the apostate Brethren, who had thrown off the habit of the Order, should be taken into the custody of the Church till it should be ascertained whether they had borne true or false witness,[y] for it was well known that they had been corrupted by solicitations and bribes; that the priests who had heard the dying confessions of the Templars should be examined as to those confessions; that the accusers should appear before the Court, and be liable to the Lex Talionis.

[u] Procès, passim, at this period.

[x] "Quia scimus predictos fratres non audere consentire defensioni ordinis, propter eorum metum et seductionem, et falsas promissiones, quia quamdiu durabit causa, durabit et confessio falsa." —p. 127.

[y] This was probably aimed especially at Squino de Florian and his colleagues.

On the 7th of April they appeared again with William de Montreal, Matthew de Cresson Essart, John de St. Leonard, and William de Grinsac. Peter of Bologna read the final determination of the Brethren:—"They could not, without leave from the Grand Master, appoint proctors, but they were content that the four, the two priests, Peter of Bologna and De Pruin, the two Knights, De Chambonnet and Salleges, should appear for the defence, produce all documents, allege all laws, and watch the whole proceedings in their behalf. They demanded that no confession, extorted by solicitation, reward, or fear, should be adduced to their prejudice; that all the false Brethren, who had thrown off the habit of the Order, should be kept in safe custody by the Church till found true or mendacious; that no layman should be present at the hearing, no one who might cause reasonable dread;" for the Brethren were in general so downcast in mind from terror, that it is less surprising that they should tell lies than speak truth, when they compare the tribulation, anguish, insults endured by those who speak truth, with the advantages, enjoyments, freedom of those who speak falsehood.[z] "It is amazing that those should be believed who are thus corrupted by personal advantage rather than the martyrs of Christ, who endure the worst afflictions:" "they aver that no Knight in all the world out of the realm of France has or would utter such lies: it is manifest therefore that they that do this in France are seduced by terror, influence, or bribery."[a] They assert distinctly, deliberately, without reserve, the holiness of the Order; their fidelity to their three solemn vows of chastity, obedience, poverty; their dedication to the service of Christ's Sepulchre; they avouch the utter mendacity of the articles exhibited against them. "Certain false Christians, or absolute heretics, moved by the zeal of covetousness, or the ardour of envy, have sought out some few apostates or renegades from the Order (diseased sheep cast out of the

Protest of the Proctors.

[z] "Quia omnes fratres generaliter tanto terrore, et terrore perculsi, quod non est mirandum quodam modo de hiis qui mentiuntur, sed plus de hiis qui sustinent veritatem."—p. 166, and in Moldenhauer.

[a] "Quare dicta sunt in regno Franciæ, quia, qui dixerunt, corrupti timore prece vel pretio testificati sunt"!!

fold), and with them have invented and forged all the horrid crimes and wickednesses attributed to the Order. They have poisoned the ears of the Pope and of the King. The Pope and the King, thus misled by designing and crafty counsellors, have permitted their satellites to compel confessions by imprisonment, torture, the dread of death. Finally, they protested against the form of procedure, as directly contrary to law, an inquisition ex officio, because before their arrest, they were not arraigned by public fame, because they are not now in a state of freedom and security, but at the mercy of those who are continually suggesting to the King that he should urge all who have confessed by words, messages, or letters not to retract their false depositions, extorted by fear; for if they retract them, they will be burned alive." [b]

William de Montreal presented another protest in Provençal French, somewhat different in terms, insisting on their undoubted privilege of being judged by the Pope and the Pope alone.

These protests had no greater effect than such protests usually have; they were overruled by the Commissioners, who declared themselves determined to proceed.

Witnesses.

On April 11th, on the eve of Palm Sunday, the witnesses, how chosen is unknown, were brought forward: oaths of remarkable solemnity were administered in the presence of the four advocates of the Order. The depositions of the first witnesses were loose and unsatisfactory, resting on rumour and suspicion. Raoul de Prael had some years before heard Gervais, Prior of the Temple at Laon, declare that the Templars had a great and terrible secret, he would have his head cut off rather than betray it. Nicolas Domizelli, Provost of the Monastery of Fassat, had heard his uncle, who entered the Order twenty-five years before, declare that the same Gervais had used the same language concerning the secret usages of the Order. He had himself wished to enter the Order, but, though he was very rich, Gervais had raised difficulties. Some of the Court adjourned to the deathbed of John de S. Benedict, Preceptor of Isle Bochard. John

[b] p. 140.

underwent, though said to be at the point of death, a long interrogatory. He confessed, as they reported, the denial of Christ and spitting on the Cross at his reception: of the idol, or of the other charges, he knew nothing. Guiscard de Marsiac had heard of the obscene kisses. His relative, Hugh de Marchant, after he had entered the Order, had become profoundly melancholy; he called himself a lost man, had a seal stamped "Hugh the Lost." Hugh, however, had died, after confession to a Friar Minor and having received the Holy Sacrament, in devotion and peace. Then came two servitors, under the suspicious character of renegades, having cast off the dress of the Order, John de Taillefer, and John de Hinquemet, an Englishman. They deposed to the denial of Christ, the spitting on the Cross, the denial with their lips not their heart (as almost every one did), the spitting near not on the Cross.

The Court adjourned for the Festival of Easter, and resumed its sittings on the Thursday in Easter week. The four defenders had become still more emboldened, perhaps by the meagre and inconclusive evidence. They put in a new protest against the proceedings, as hasty, violent, sudden, iniquitous, and without the forms of law. The Brethren had been led like sheep to the slaughter: they recounted again the imprisonments, the tortures, under which many had died, many were maimed for life, by which some had been compelled to make lying confessions. Further, letters had been shown to the Brethren, with the King's seal attached, promising them, if they would bear witness against the Order, safety of life and limb, ample provision for life, and assuring them at the same time that the Order was irrevocably doomed. They demanded a list of the witnesses, so that they might adduce evidence as to their credibility; that those who had given their depositions should be separated and kept apart from those who had not, so that there might be no collusion or mutual understanding; that the depositions should be kept secret; that every witness should be informed that he might speak the truth without fear, because his deposition would not be divulged till it had been laid before the Pope. They

Easter.

New protest.

demanded that the laymen De Plasian, De Nogaret, and others should not be present in the spiritual court to overawe the judges; they demanded that those who had the custody of the Templars should be interrogated as to the testimony given concerning the Order by the dying in their last hours.

The examinations began again. Another servitor, Huguet de Buris, who, with a fourth, had shared the dungeon of Taillefer and John the Englishman, deposed much to the same effect. Gerard de Passages gave more extraordinary evidence. Seventeen years after his reception he had abandoned the Order for five years on account of the foul acts which had taken place at his reception. After the usual rigorous oaths had been administered, a crucifix of wood was produced: he was asked whether he believed that cross to be God. He replied that it was the image of the Crucified. It was answered, "this is but a piece of wood; God is in heaven." He was commanded to spit upon and trample on the Cross. He did this, not compelled, but from his vow of obedience. He kissed his Initiator on the spine of the back. Yet Gerard de Passages, though thus a renegade to the Order, had suffered, he avers, the most horrible tortures before the King's Bailiff at Macon, weights tied to the genitals and other limbs to compel him to a confession of the idol, of which he declared that he knew nothing. Godfrey de Thatan, the fourth of the servitors, "had been forced to the denial of Christ, on his reception, by the threat of being shut up in a place where he could see neither his hands nor his feet." Raymond de Vassiniac made an admission for the first time of one of the fouler charges, but denied the actual guilt of the Order. Baldwin de St. Just, Preceptor of Ponthieu, had been twice examined, twice put to the torture, at Amiens by the Friar Preachers, at Paris before the Bishop. The sharper tortures at Amiens had compelled him to confess more than the less intolerable tortures at Paris, or than he was disposed to avow before the Commissioners. "At his own reception had taken place the abnegation, the insult to the Cross, the licence to commit unnameable vices. But

Excommunications resumed.

May 6.

at the reception of four Brothers, one his own nephew, at which he had been present, nothing of the kind." The servitor James of Troyes was the most ready witness: he had left the Order four years before from love of a woman. Besides the usual admissions, he had heard, he could not say from whom, that a head was worshipped at the midnight Chapters. The Court itself mistrusted the ease, fluency, and contradictions of this witness.[c]

Still during all these examinations new batches of Knights were brought in, almost all of them eager to undertake the defence of the Order. As yet, considering the means unscrupulously used to obtain evidence, the evidence had been scanty, suspicious, resting chiefly on low persons of doubtful fidelity to their vows. Hope, even something like triumph, might be rising in the hearts, faintly gleaming on the countenances of the Templars. The Court itself might seem somewhat shaken: the weighty protests, unanswered and unanswerable, could hardly be without some effect. Who could tell the turn affairs might take?

Archbishop of Sens.

But now, at this crisis, terrible rumours began to spread that the Archbishop of Sens, in defiance and in contempt of the supreme Papal tribunal, was proceeding (as Metropolitan of Paris) against all who had retracted their confessions, as relapsed heretics. These were the first fruits of the Archbishop's gratitude to the King for his promotion extorted from the reluctant Pope: he had not been a month enthroned!

Stephen, Archbishop of Sens, had died about the Easter of the preceding year. The Pope declared his determination himself to nominate the Metropolitan of this important See, of which the Bishop of Paris was a Suffragan. But the King requested; he demanded the See for Philip, the

Philip de Marigni.

brother of his faithful minister, Enguerrand de Marigni, the author and adviser of all his policy. Clement struggled with some resolution, but gave way at length; he acceded ungraciously, reluctantly, but still acceded.

[c] "Predictus testis videbatur esse in pluribus dictis suis non esse stabilis, valde facilis et procax ad loquendum et sed quasi varians et vacillans."

At Easter Philip de Marigni received his pall. Almost his first act was to summon a Provincial Council to sit in judgement on the Templars who had retracted their confessions. The rapid deliberations of this Council were known to be drawing to a close. On Sunday the four defenders demanded a special audience of the Commissioners. They put in a strong protest against the acts of the Archbishop; they entreated the intervention of the Commissioners to arrest these iniquitous proceedings; they appealed to their authority, to their justice, to their mercy for their Brethren now on trial before another Court. The Archbishop of Narbonne withdrew under the pretext of hearing or celebrating mass. It was not till the evening that they obtained a cold reply. "The proceedings of the Archbishop related to different matters than those before the Court: the trial of relapsed heretics. The Commissioners had no authority to inhibit the Archbishop of Sens and his Suffragans: they would, however, deliberate further on the subject."

A.D. 1310.

Appeal to the Commissioners.

They had no time for deliberation. The next day De Marigni's Council closed its session. The Archbishop pronounced all who had retracted their confessions, and firmly adhered to their retractation, relapsed heretics. It was strange, stern logic: "You have confessed yourselves to be guilty of heresy, on that confession you have received absolution. If you retract your confessions, the Church treats you not as reconciled sinners, but as relapsed heretics, and as heretics adjudges you to be burned." It was in vain urged that their heresy rested on their own confession; that confession withdrawn, there was no proof of their heresy. Those who persisted in their confession, were set at liberty, declared reconciled to the Church, provided for by the King. Those who had made no confession, and refused to make one, were declared not reconciled to the Church, and ordered to be detained in prison, which might be perpetual. For the relapsed there was a darker destiny.

Decision of the Council.

On May 12th fifty-four stakes, encircled with dry wood, were erected outside the Porte St. Antoine. Fifty-four Templars were led forth—men, some of noble birth, many

in the full health and strength of manhood.[d] The habits of their Order were rent from them; each was bound to the stake, with an executioner beside him. The herald proclaimed for the last time that those who would confess should be set at liberty. Kindred and friends thronged around weeping, beseeching, imploring them to submit to the King. Not one showed the least sign of weakness: they resolutely asserted the innocence of the Order, their own faith as Christians. The executioners slowly lit the wood, which began to scorch, to burn, to consume their extremities. The flames rose higher; and through the crackling might be heard the howlings of the dying men, their agonising prayers to Christ, to the Blessed Virgin, to the Saints. Not one but died an unshrinking and resolute martyr to the guiltlessness of the Order. The people looked on in undisguised sympathy. "Their souls," says one chronicler, "incurred deeper damnation, for they misled the people into grievous error."[e] Day after day went on the same sad spectacle. On the eve of the Ascension four were burned, among them the King's Almoner. One hundred and thirteen were burned in Paris alone, and not one apostate!

Examinations proceed.

The examinations were going on, meantime, before the Papal Commission. The day when it was well known that the Archbishop was about to condemn the recreants to the flames, Humphry de Puy, a servitor, gave the most intrepid denial to the whole of the charges: he had been three times tortured, kept in a dungeon on bread and water for twenty-six weeks. He described his own reception as solemn, secret, and austere. He had heard rumours of such things as were said to have taken place; he did not believe one word of them. Throughout his denial was plain, firm, unshaken. John Bertaldi was under examination when the tidings of the burnings at the Porte St. Antoine were made known. The Commissioners sent a tardy and feeble petition at least for delay, and to inform the Archbishop and the King's officers that the

[d] Raynouard (pp. 109-111) has recovered the names of most of the 54.

[e] Chroniques de St. Denys. The best account is in Villani, viii. xcii., Zantfleet Chronicon, apud Martene, v. p. 159.

Templars had entered an appeal to the Council of Vienne. This was all!

The next day Aymeric de Villars le Duc appeared before the Commissioners, pale, bewildered; yet on his oath, and at peril of his soul, he imprecated upon himself, if he lied, instant death, and that he might be plunged body and soul, in sight of the Court, into hell. He smote his breast, lifted his hands in solemn appeal to the altar, knelt down, and averred all the crimes imputed to the Order utterly false: though he had been tortured by G. de Maraillac and Hugo de Celle, the King's officers, to partial confession. He had seen the waggons in which the fifty-four had been led to be burned, he had heard that they had been burned. He doubted whether if he should be burned, he would not through fear confess anything, and confess it on his oath, even if he were asked if he had slain the Lord. He entreated the Commissioners, he even entreated the notaries not to betray his secret lest he should be condemned to the same fate as his Brethren.

The Commissioners found the witnesses utterly paralysed with dread, and only earnest that their confessions or retractations of their confessions, might not be revealed; above forty abandoned the defence in despair. So, after some unmeaning communications with the Archbishop of Sens, they determined to adjourn the Court for some months, till November 3rd.

In the meantime other Metropolitans and Bishops followed the summary and barbarous proceedings of Philip Marigni of Sens.[f] The Archbishop of Rheims held a Council at Senlis; nine Templars were burned: the Archbishop of Rouen at Pont de l'Arche; the number of victims is not known, but they were many.[g] The Bishop of Carcassonne held his Council: John Cassantras, Commander in Carcassonne, with many others perished in the fire.[h] Duke Thiebault of Lorraine, who had seized the goods of the Templars, ordered great numbers to execution. None retracted their retractation of their confession.[i]

[f] Continuator Nangis.—Vit. Clement. vi.

[g] Histoire des Archevêques de Rouen, quoted by Raynouard, p. 120.

[h] Hist. Eccles. de Carcassonne.—Ibid.

[i] "Unum autem mirandum fuit, quod omnes et singuli sigillatim confessiones suas quas prius fecerant in judicio, et jurati confessi fuerant dicere veritatem, penitus retractaverunt, dicentes se falso

On November 3rd the Commission resumed its sittings, but most of the Commissioners were weary or disgusted with their work. Three only were present. The Archbishop of Narbonne and the Bishop of Bayeux were elsewhere employed, it was alleged, on the King's business. The Archdeacon of Maguelonne wrote from Montpellier to excuse himself on account of illness. The Bishop of Limoges withdrew; a letter to the King had been seen, disapproving the reopening of the Commission till the meeting of a Parliament summoned for the day of St. Vincent.[k] They adjourned to the 17th of December.[m] The Commission was then more full; the Archbishop of Narbonne and four others took their seats. Of the four proctors, the Knights William de Chanbonnet and Bernard de Salleges alone appeared. Peter of Bologna and Reginald de Pruin, it was asserted, had renounced the defence. Peter de Bologna was heard of no more; he was reported to have broken prison. Reginald de Pruin, as having been degraded by the Archbishop, was deemed disqualified to act for the Order. Thus was the defence crippled. In vain the Knights, unlettered men, demanded counsel to assist them: they too abandoned the desperate office. The Court, released from their importunate presence, could proceed with greater despatch. Lest any new hindrance should occur, at the suggestion of the Archbishop of Narbonne, it was determined that the Commissioners might sit by deputy.

The Court sat from the 17th of December to the 26th of May. Not less, on the whole, than two hundred and thirty-one witnesses were heard. It cannot now be wondered if the confessions were more in accordance with the views of the King. The most intrepid of the Knights had died at the stake; every one who retracted his confession must make up his mind to be burned. On the other hand, the Order seemed irretrievably doomed: while confession might secure themselves, the most stubborn assertor of the blamelessness of the Order could not avert its dis-

dixisse prius et se fuisse mentitos, nullam super hæc reddentes causam nisi vim vel metum tormentorum quod de se talia faterentur."—iv. Vit. Clement, p. 72.

[k] Jan. 22.

[m] By an error in the Document, Oct. 17.

solution. A few appeared in the habit of the Order, with the long beard: most had either thrown it off, or it had been taken from them, they appeared shaven. This was the case with all who had been absolved by the Church.

The confessions, upon strict examination, manifestly betray this predominant feeling of terror and despair. Some there were who nobly, obstinately denied the whole. Those who confessed, confessed as little as they could, enough to condemn the Order, yet not to inculpate, or to inculpate as little as possible, themselves. The confessions are constantly clashing and contradictory.[n] Men present at certain receptions assert things to have taken place, which others, also present, explicitly deny. The general conclusion was this. Many dwelt on the difficulties which were raised against their admission to the Order. They were admonished that they must not expect to ride about in splendid attire on stately horses, and to live easy and luxurious lives; they had to submit to austere discipline, stern self-denial, almost intolerable privations and hardships. When they would wish to be beyond the sea, they would be thwarted in their wishes; when they would sleep, they would be forced to watch; when to eat, to fast. They were asked if they believed the Catholic faith of the Church of Rome; if they were in Holy Orders, married, under the vows of any other Brotherhood; whether they had given bribe or promise to any Knight Templar to obtain admission into the Order. "Ye ask a great thing," replied the Knight who admitted them to their request.

The first and public act of reception,[o] all agreed, was most severe, solemn, impressive. The three great vows of obedience, chastity, abandonment of property, were administered with awful gravity. Then it was, according to the confession of most who confessed anything, that, after they had been clothed in the dress of the Order, they were led aside into some private chamber or chapel, and compelled, either in virtue of their vow of

Result of confessions.

[n] Raynouard has, with much ingenuity and truth, brought together the direct contradictions.—p. 157 *et seqq.*

[o] See the most full account of the reception by Gerard de Causso, p. 179 *et seqq.*

obedience, or in dread of some mysterious punishment, to deny Christ, to spit on the Cross. Yet, perhaps without exception, all swore that they had denied with their lips, not with their heart; that they spat, beside, above, below, not on the Cross.[p] All declared that never after had any attempt been made to confirm them in apostasy from Christ:[q] all declared that they fully believed the whole creed of the Church; almost all that they believed all their Brethren to have perfect faith in Christ. There were some singular variations and explanations of the denial. One believed it to be a mere test of their absolute obedience; another a probation, as to whether they were of sufficient resolution to be sent to the Holy Land, where, in the power of the Mohammedans, they might be compelled to choose between death and the abnegation of their Redeemer:[r] some that it was a mysterious allusion to the denial of S. Peter; some that it was an idle jest;[s] some that it was treated lightly, "Go, fool, and confess." Many had confessed the crime, most usually to Minorite Friars, and, though their confession shocked the priest, they received, after some penance, full absolution. Most of those who acknowledged the abnegation of Christ, admitted the obscene kiss: some that it was but a brotherly kiss on the mouth; some had received, some had been compelled to bestow this sign of obedience: it was sometimes on the navel, sometimes between the shoulders, sometimes at the bottom of the spine, sometimes, very rarely, lower: it was sometimes on the naked person, more often through the clothes. Here stopped the admissions of great numbers; this they thought would suffice; the whole of the rest they denied. Others went further: some admitted the

[p] "Juxta non super."

[q] Albert de Canellis, preceptor in Sicily, and doorkeeper of Pope Benedict XI., was told, when he denied Christ, "that the Crucified was a false prophet; and that he must not believe or have hope or trust in him."—p. 425.

[r] One had confessed it to a Friar Minor, "et dixit ei dictus frater quod ipse in articulo mortis et aliter audiverat confessiones multorum fratrum dicti ordinis, et nunquam intellexit prædicta, sed credebat quod hoc fecissent, ad *temptandum, si contingeret* eum capi ultra mare a Saracenis, an abnegaret Deum." — p. 405. Another Friar-Preacher took the same view of the denials, and added, "Quia, si non negasset, forsitan citius misissent eum ultra mare."—p. 525. Peter de Charrat said that after his abnegation, "Dictus Odo incepit subridere, quasi *dispiciendo* ipsum testem."

[s] Truffas. It was done "truffatorie."

permission to commit unnatural crimes, though in the charge on reception the sin was declared to be relentlessly punished by perpetual imprisonment; but all swore vehemently that they had never committed such crimes; had never been tempted or solicited to commit them; offences of this kind were very rare, and punished by expulsion from the Order. Some said that they were told it was better to sin so than with women to deter from that sin: some took it merely as an injunction hospitably to share their bed with a Brother: they wore their dress night and day, with a cord which bound it close.[t]

The Idols.

Of the idol but few had heard; still fewer seen it. It was a cat; it was a human head with two faces; it was of stone or metal, with features which might be discerned, or was utterly shapeless; it was the head of one of the eleven thousand virgins:[u] no one idol could be produced, though every mansion of the Templars, and all their most secret treasures, were in the hands of their enemies, had been seized without warning or time for concealment, and searched with the most deliberate scrutiny. In the midst of the examinations came, in a Latin writing from Vercelli, from Antonio Siri, a notary, this wild story, followed by another not less extravagant. A renegade in Sicily had divulged the secret. A Lord of Sidon had loved a beautiful woman: he had never enjoyed her before her death. After her death he disinterred and abused her body. The fruit of this unholy and loathsome connection was a head; and this head, a talisman of good fortune, was the idol of the Templars.[x]

Most of the interrogated seemed to think that they had satisfied all demands when they had made admissions on the first few questions: to the rest they gave a general denial, or pleaded total ignorance. There were some vague answers about secret midnight chapters, of absolution spoken by the Grand Master, but rarely, except in

[t] Theobald of Tavernay added to his indignant denial of those crimes, "We had always money enough to purchase the favours of the most beautiful women."—p. 326.

[u] William de Arreblay, the king's almoner, before his apprehension, had believed it to be the head of one of these Virgins; since, from what he had heard in prison, suspected it was an idol, for it seemed to have two faces, was terrible to see, and had a silver beard!—p. 502.

[x] Pp. 645, 6.

the absence of a priest, or it was conditional, and to be confirmed by a priest: very few knew anything of the omission of the words at the consecration of the host. But throughout they are the confessions of men under terror, some in an agony of dread, others from the remembrance or the fear of torture, or of worse than torture. John de Pollencourt at first protested again and again that he would adhere to his confession made before the Bishop of Amiens that he had denied Christ. The Commissioners saw that he was pale and shivering; they exhorted him to speak the truth, for neither they nor the notaries would betray his secret. He then solemnly denied the whole and every particular; averred that he had made his confession before the Inquisitors from fear of death; that Giles de Boutongi, one of the former witnesses, had urged on him and many others in the prison of Montreuil that they would lose their lives if they did not assist in the dissolution of the Order by confessing the abnegation of Christ and the spitting on the cross.[y] Three days after, the same John de Pollencourt entreats another hearing, not only retracts his retractation, but adds to his former confession, acknowledging the licence to commit sodomy, but denies the worship of the idol-cat. John de Cormeli, Preceptor of Moissiac, at first seems to assert the perfect sanctity of the initiation. Being pressed as to anything unseemly having taken place, he hesitates, entreats to speak with the Commissioners in private. The Commissioners decline this, but, seeing him bewildered with the terror of torture (he had lost four teeth by torture at Paris), allow him to retire and deliberate. Some days after, he appears again with a full confession.[z] John de Rumfrey had confessed because he had been three times tortured. Robert Vigier denied all the charges: he had confessed on account of the violence of the tortures inflicted on him at Paris by the Bishop of Nevers:[a] three of his brethren had died under the torture. Stephen de Domant was utterly bewildered; he confessed to the denial and the spitting on the cross. "Would he maintain this in the face of the Knight who had received him,

[y] P. 368. [z] P. 506. [a] P. 514.

and so give him the lie?" He would not.[b] The Court saw that he was shattered by the tortures undergone two years before under the Bishop of Paris.

All these depositions, signed, sealed, attested, authenticated, were transmitted to the Pope.[c]

Templars in England.

It was not in France alone that the Templars were arrested, interrogated, in some kingdoms, and by the Pope's order, submitted to torture. In England, Edward II., after the example of his father-in-law, and in obedience to the Pope's repeated injunctions, and to his peremptory Bull, had seized with the same despatch, and cast into different prisons, all the Templars in England, Wales, and Ireland; Scotland had done the same. The English Templars were under custody in London, Lincoln, and York. From Lincoln, before the interrogatory, great part, but not all, were transferred to the Tower of London, to the care of John Cromwell, the Constable.[d] The first proceeding was before Ralph Baldock, Bishop of London. On the 21st of October he opened the inquest on forty knights, including the Grand Master, William de la More, in the chapter-house of the monastery of the Holy Trinity, in the presence of the Papal Commissioners, Deodate, Abbot of Lagny, and Sicard de St. Vaur, Canon of Narbonne, Auditor of the Pope.[e] The

[b] P. 557.

[c] M. Michelet writes thus in the Preface to the second volume of the Procès des Templiers, which, it must be admitted, contains on the whole a startling mass of confessions: "Il suffit de remarquer, que dans les interrogatoires que nous publions, les dénégations sont presque *toutes identiques*, comme si elles étaient dictées d'un formulaire convenu, qu'au contraire les aveux sont *tous différens*, variés de circonstances spéciales, souvent très naïves, qui leur donnent un caractère particulier de véracité. Le contraire doit avoir lieu, si les aveux été dictés ou arrachés par les tortures; ils seraient à peu près semblables, et la diversité se trouverait plutôt dans les dénégations." I confess that my impression of the fact is different, though I am unwilling to set my opinion on this point against that of the Editor of the Proceedings. But the fact itself, if true, strikes me just in the contrary way. The denegations were simple denials; the avowals, those of persons who had suffered or feared torture or death, who were bewildered, desperate of saving the Order, and spoke therefore whatever might please or propitiate the judges. Truth is usually plain, simple; falsehood desultory, circumstantial, contradictory. In their confessions they were wildly bidding for their lives. Whatever you wish us to say, we will say it; a few words more or less matters not; or a few more assenting answers to questions which suggested those answers. 25 examined at Elne in Rousillon had not been tortured; they denied calmly, consistently, the whole.—Tom. ii. p. 421.

[d] "Ut commodius et efficacius procedi potest ad inquisitionem."—Rymer, 1309.

[e] Wilkins, Concilia Mag. Britann. ii. p. 334.

questions were at first far more simple, far less elaborately drawn out, than those urged in France.[f] The chief points were these:[g]—Whether the chapters and the reception of knights were held in secret and by night; whether in those chapters were committed any offences against Christian morals or the faith of the Church; whether any one had suspected such offences; whether they knew that any individual brother had denied the Redeemer, and worshipped idols; whether they themselves held heretical opinions on any of the sacraments. The examination was conducted with grave dignity. The warders of the prisons were commanded to keep the witnesses separate, under pain of the greater excommunication; to allow them no intercourse, to permit no one to have access to them. The first four witnesses, William Raven, Hugh of Tadcaster, Thomas Chamberleyn, Ralph of Barton, were interrogated according to the simpler formulary. They described each his reception, by whom, in whose presence it took place; denied calmly, distinctly, specifically, every one of the charges; declared that they believed them to be false, and had not the least suspicion of their truth. Ralph of Barton was a priest; he was recalled, and then first examined, under a more rigid form of oath, on each of the eighty-seven articles used in France, and sanctioned by the Pope. His answer was a plain positive denial in succession of every criminal charge. Forty-seven witnesses deposed fully to the same effect.[h] From all these knights had been obtained not one syllable of confession.[i]

Nov. 20. It was determined to admit the testimony of witnesses not of the Order. Seventeen were examined, clergy, public notaries, and others. Most of

[f] Concil. Magn. Britann. ii. 347. I shall be excused for giving the English examinations somewhat more at length. The trials were here at least *more fair*.

[g] The charges were read to them in Latin, French and English.

[h] Thomas de Ludham, the thirty-first witness, said that he had been often urged to leave the Order; but had constantly refused, though he had quite enough to live upon had he done so.

[i] The forty-fourth, John of Stoke, Chaplain of the Order, was questioned as to the death of William Bachelor, a knight. It appears that Bachelor had been in the prison of the Templars eight weeks, had died, had been buried, not in the cemetery, but in the public way within the Temple, and not in the dress of the Order. He had died excommunicated by the rules of the Order. It was intimated that Bachelor's offence was appropriating some of the goods of the Order.

them knew nothing against the Templars; the utmost was a vague suspicion arising out of the secrecy with which they held their chapters. One man alone deposed to an overt act of guilt against a knight, Guy de Forest, who had been his enemy.

From January 29th to February 4th were hearings before the Bishops of London and Chichester, the Papal Commissioners, and some others, in St. Martin's, Ludgate, and in other churches, on twenty-nine new articles. I. Whether they knew anything of the infidel and foul crimes charged in the Papal Bull. II. Whether the knights deposed under awe of the Great Preceptor or of the Order. III. Whether the form of reception was the same throughout the world, &c. Thirty-four witnesses, some before examined, persisted in the same absolute denial. On the 8th of June the Inquest dwelt solely on the absolution pronounced by the Grand Preceptor. William de la More deposed that when an offender was brought up before the chapter he was stripped of the dress of the Order, his back exposed, and the President struck three blows with scourges. He then said, "Brother, pray to God to remit thy sins." He turned to those present, "Brethren, pray to God that he remit our brother's sin, and repeat your Pater Noster." He swore that he had never used the form, "I absolve thee, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." This was the case with all offences, save those which could not be confessed without indecency. These he remitted as far as he might by the powers granted to him by God and the Pope.[k] This was the universal practice of the Order. All the witnesses confirmed the testimony of William de la More. Interrogatories were also made at different times June 1, 1310. at Lincoln under the Papal Commission, and April 28. before the Archbishop at York with the two Papal Commissioners.[m] All examined denied the whole as firmly and unanimously as at London.

The conclusions to which the chief Court arrived, after

[k] "Sed alia peccata, quæ non audent confiteri propter erubescentiam carnis vel timorem justitiæ ordinis, ipse ex potestate sibi concessâ, a Deo et domino Papâ, remittit ei in quantum potest."—p. 357.

[m] Thos. Stubbs, Act. Pontif. Eborac. apud Twysden, p. 1730; also Hemingford.

these Inquisitions, were in part a full and absolute acquittal of the Order; in part were based on a distorted and unjust view of the evidence; in part on evidence almost acknowledged to be unsatisfactory. The form of reception was declared to be the same throughout the world; of the criminality of that form, or of any of its particular usages, not one word. Certain articles were alleged to be proved: the absolution pronounced by the Grand Preceptor, and by certain lay knights in high office, and by the chapters; also that the reception was by night and secret; that they were sworn not to reveal the secret of their reception (proved by seven witnesses), were liable to be punished for such revelation (by three witnesses); that it was not lawful among themselves to discuss this secret (by three witnesses); that they were sworn to increase the wealth of the Order, by right or wrong;[n] by four witnesses that they were forbidden to confess except to priests of their own Order.[o]

The testimony of certain hostile witnesses was all this time kept separate; it was admitted that at the utmost even this was but presumptive against the Order. The Court seemed to have been ashamed of it, as well they might. In one place there is a strong intimation that the witnesses had contradicted and forsworn themselves.[p] To what did it amount, and what manner of men were the witnesses?

An Irish Brother, Henry Tanet, had *heard* that in the East one knight had apostatised to Islam: he had *heard* that the Preceptor of Mount Pelerin in Syria had received knights with the denial of Christ; the names of the knights he knew not. Certain knights of Cyprus (unnamed) were not sound in the faith. A certain Templar had a brazen head which answered all questions. He never heard that any knight worshipped an idol, except the apostate to Mohammedanism! and the aforesaid Preceptor.

John of Nassingham had heard from others, who said that they had been told, that at a great banquet given by

[n] "Per fas vel per nefas."

[o] Concil. p. 548.

[p] "Suspicio (quæ loco testis 21 in MS. allegatur) probare videtur, quod omnes examinati in aliquo dejeraverunt, ut ex inspectione processuum apparet."

the Preceptor at York many brothers met in solemn festival to worship a calf.

John de Eure, knight (not of the Order), had invited William de la Fenne, Preceptor of Wesdall, to dinner. De la Fenne, after dinner, had produced a book, and given it to his wife to read, which book denied the virgin birth of the Saviour, and the Redemption: "Christ was crucified, not for man's sins, but for his own." De la Fenne had confessed this before the Inquest. Himself, being a layman, could not know the contents of the book.

William de la Forde, Rector of Crofton, had heard from an Augustinian monk, now dead, that he had heard the confession of Patrick Rippon, of the Order, also dead; a confession of all the crimes charged against the Order. He had heard all this after the apprehension of the Templars at York.

Robert of Oteringham, a Franciscan, had heard a chaplain of the Order say to his brethren, "The devil will burn you," or some such words. He had seen a Templar with his face to the West, his hinder parts towards the altar. Twenty years before, at Wetherby, he had looked through a hole in the wall of a chapel where the Preceptor was said to be busy arranging the relics brought from the Holy Land; he saw a very bright light. Next day he asked a Templar what Saint they worshipped; the Templar turned pale, and entreated him, as he valued his life, to speak no more of the matter.

John Wederal sent in a schedule, in which he testified in writing that he had heard a Templar, one Robert Bayser, as he walked along a meadow, say, "Alas! alas! that ever I was born! I must deny Christ and hold to the devil!"

N. de Chinon, a Franciscan, had heard that a certain Templar had a son who looked through a wall and saw the knights compelling a professing knight to deny Christ; on his refusal they killed him. The boy was asked by his father whether he would be a Templar; the boy refused, saying what he had seen: on which his father killed him also.

Ferins Mareschal deposed that his grandfather entered the Order in full health and vigour, delighting in his hawks and hounds; in three days he was dead: the witness suspected that he would not consent to the wickednesses practised by the Order.

Adam de Heton deposed that when he was a boy it was a common cry among boys, "Beware of the kisses of the Templars."

William de Berney, an Augustinian, had heard that a certain Templar, he did not know his name, but believed that he was the Preceptor of Duxworthe (near Cambridge), had said that man after death had no more a living soul than a dog.

Roger, Rector of Godmersham, deposed that fifteen years before he had desired to enter the Order. Stephen Quenteril had warned him, "If you were my father, and might become Grand Master of the Order, I would not have you enter it. We have three vows, known only to God, the devil, and the brethren." What those vows were Stephen would not reveal.

William, Vicar of St. Clement in Sandwich, had heard fifteen years before, from a groom in his service, that the said groom had heard from another servant, that the said servant at Dinelee had hid himself under a seat in the great hall where the Templars held their midnight chapters. The President preached to the brethren how they might get richer. All the brethren deposited their girdles in a certain place: one of these girdles the servant found and carried to his master. The master struck him with his sword in the presence of the said groom. William was asked if the groom was living: he did not know.

Thomas Tulyet had heard from the Vicar of Sutton that he had heard a certain priest, who officiated among the Templars, had been inhibited from using the words of consecration in the mass.

John de Gertia, a Frenchman, had heard fourteen years before from a woman named Cacocaca, who lived near some elms in a street in a suburb of London, leading to St. Giles, that Exvalet, Preceptor of London, had told this woman that a servant of certain Templars had con-

cealed himself in their chapter-house at Dinelee.[q] The Knights present had retired to a house adjacent (how the witness saw them, appears not); there they opened a coffer, produced a black idol with shining eyes, performing certain disgusting ceremonies. One of them refused to do more (the conversation is given word for word), they threw him into a well, and then proceeded to commit all kinds of abominable excesses. He said that one Walter Savage, who belonged to Earl Warenne, had entered the Order, and after two years disappeared. Agnes Lovekote deposed to the same.

Brother John Wolby de Bust had heard from Brother John of Dingeston that he believed that the charges against the Templars were not without foundation; that he had heard say that the Court of Rome was not dealing in a straightforward manner, and wished to save the Grand Master. The said Brother averred that he knew the place in London where a gilded head was kept. There were two more in England, he knew not where.

Richard de Kocfield had heard from John of Barne that William Bachelor[r] had said that he had lost his soul by entering into the Order; that there was one article in their profession which might not be revealed.

Gaspar (or Godfrey) de Nafferton, chaplain of Ryde, was in the service of the Templars, at the admission of William de Pocklington. The morning after his admission William looked very sad. A certain Brother Roger had promised Godfrey for two shillings to obtain his admission to see the ceremony. Roger broke his word, and, being reproached by Godfrey, said "he would not have done it for his tabard full of money." "If I had known that," said Godfrey, "I would have seen it through a hole in the wall." "You would inevitably have been put to death, or forced to take the habit of the Order." He also deposed to having seen a Brother copying the secret statutes.

John of Donyngton, a Franciscan, had conversed with a certain veteran who had left the Order. At the Court

[q] See above.

[r] The knight whose mysterious disappearance had been noticed before.

of Rome he had confessed to the great Penitentiary why he left the Order: that there were four principal idols in England; that William de la More, now Grand Preceptor, had introduced all these into England. De la More had a great roll in which were inscribed all these wicked observances. The same John of Donyngton had heard dark sayings from others, intimating that there were profound and terrible secrets in the Order.[s]

Such was the mass of strange, loose, hearsay, antiquated evidence,[t] much of which had passed through many mouths. This was all which as yet appeared against an Order, arrested and imprisoned by the King, acting under the Pope's Bull, an Order odious from jealousy of its wealth and power, and from its arrogance to the clergy and to the monastic communities; especially to the clergy as claiming exemption from their jurisdiction, and assuming some of their powers: an Order which possessed estates in every county (the instructions of the King to the sheriffs of the counties imply that they had property everywhere), at all events vast estates, of which there are ample descriptions. Against the Order torture was, if not generally and commonly applied, authorised at least by the distinct injunctions of the King and of the Pope.[u]

[s] Wilcke asserts that Bishop Munter had discovered at Rome the report of the Confessions of the English Templars, which was transmitted to the Pope. It is more full, he says, than that in the Concilia. I cannot see that Wilcke produces much new matter from this report. His summary is very inaccurate, leaving out everything which throws suspicion on almost every testimony.

[t] Two Confessions made in France were put in, in which Robert de St. Just and Godfrey de Gonaville had deposed to their reception in England, with all the more appalling and loathsome ceremonies. These confessions do not appear in the Procès (by Michelet). Their names occur more than once. Gonaville was chosen by some as a defender of the Order. He was present at many of the receptions, sworn to by the witnesses.

[u] Was the torture employed against the Templars in England? It is asserted by Raynouard, p. 132. Haveman (p. 305) quotes these instructions, as in Dugdale (they are in the Concilia, ii. p. 314), "Et si per hujusmodi arctationes et separationes nihil aliud quam prius vellent confiteri, quod exhinc quæstionarentur, ita quod quæstiones illæ fiant absque mutilatione et debilitatione alicujus membri et sine violentâ sanguinis effusione." See also in Rymer, iii. p. 228, the royal order to those who had the Templars in custody, "Quod iidem Prælati et Inquisitores de ipsis Templariis et eorum comparibus, in QUÆSTIONIBUS et aliis ad hoc convenientibus ordinent et faciant, quotiens voluerint, id quod eis, secundum Legem Ecclesiasticam, videbitur faciendum." Orders to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, "Et corpora dictorum Templariorum in QUÆSTIONIBUS et ad hoc convenientibus ponere."—p. 232. Still there is not the heart-breaking evidence or bitter complaint of its actual application, as in France. The Pope gave

At length, towards the end of May, three witnesses were found, men, who had fled, and had been excommunicated as contumacious on account of their disobedience to the citation of the Court, men apparently of doubtful character. Stephen Staplèbridge is described as a runaway apostate.[x] He had been apprehended by the King's officers at Salisbury, committed to Newgate, and thence brought up for examination before the Bishops of London and Chichester. Stephen, being sworn, declared that there were two forms of reception, one good and lawful, one contrary to the faith: at his admission at Dinelee by Brian le Jay, late Grand Preceptor of England, he had been compelled to deny Christ, which he did with his lips not his heart; to spit on the Cross—this he escaped by spitting on his own hands. Brian le Jay had afterwards intimated to him that Christ was not very God and very Man. He also averred that those who refused to deny Christ were made away with beyond sea: that William Bachelor had died in prison and in torment, but not for that cause. He made other important admissions: after his confession he threw himself on the ground, with tears, groans, and shrieks, imploring mercy.[y] Three witnesses.

Thomas Thoroldeby (called Tocci) was said to have been present at the reception of Staplebridge.[z] On this point he somewhat prevaricated: all the rest he resolutely denied, except that there was a suspicion against the Order on account of their secret chapter. He was asked why he had fled.[a] "The Abbot of Lagny had threatened him that he would force him to confess before he was out of their hands." Thoroldeby had been present when the confessions were made before the Pope; he had seen, therefore, the treatment of his Brethren in France. Four days after Thoroldeby was brought up again; what had

positive orders to employ torture in Spain. "Ad habendam ab eis veritatis plenitudinem promptiorem tormentis et quæstionibus, si sponte confiteri noluerint experiri procuratis." — Raynald. A.D. 1311, c. 54.

[x] "Apostata fugitivus."

[y] This sounds as if he had been tortured, or feared to be.

[z] They were examined first at St. Martin's in the Vintry; Thoroldeby, the second time, in St. Mary Overy, Southwark.

[a] Walter Clifton, examined in Scotland, was asked whether any of the victims had fled, "propter scandalum," "ob timorem hujusmodi,"—he named Thomas Tocci as one who had fled.—p. 384.

taken place in the interval may be conjectured;[b] he now made the most full and ample confession. He had been received fourteen or fifteen years before by Guy Forest. Adam Champmesle and three others had stood over him with drawn swords, and compelled him to deny Christ. Guy taught him to believe only in the Great God. He had heard Brian le Jay say a hundred times that Christ was not very God and very Man. Brian le Jay had said to him that the least hair in a Saracen's beard was worth more than his whole body.[c] He told many other irreverent sayings of Le Jay: there seems to have been much ill-blood between them. He related some adventures in the Holy Land, from which he would imply treachery in the Order to the Christian cause. After his admission into the Order, John de Man had said to him, "Are you a Brother of the Order? If so, were you seated in the belfry of St. Paul's, you would not see more misery than will happen to you before you die."

John de Stoke, Chaplain of the Order, deposed to having been compelled to deny Christ.[d]

On June 27th these three witnesses, Staplebridge, Thoroldeby, and Stoke, received public absolution, on the performance of certain penances, from Robert Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, and some of his suffragans. Many other Knights were in like manner absolved on their humble confession that they had been under evil report,[e] and under suspicion of heresy. It was hoped that the Great Preceptor of England, William de la More, would make his submission, and accept absolution on the same easy terms. But the high spirit of De la More revolted at the humiliation. To their earnest exhortation that he would own at least the usurpation of the power of abso-

[b] Haveman says, "unstreitig gefölt-tert." It looks most suspicious.—p. 315.

[c] "Quod minimus pilus barbæ unius Saraceni, fuit majoris valoris quam totum corpus istius qui loquitur."—p. 386.

[d] These are the only three witnesses against the Order who belonged to it, according to the Concilia. Wilcke asserts that in the Vatican Acts, seen by Bp. Munter, there were 17 witnesses to the denial of Christ, 16 to the spitting on the Cross, 8 on disrespect to the Sacraments, 2 on the omission of the words of consecration. But he does not say whether these witnesses were of the Order, and his whole representation of the Confessions from the Concilia is that of a man who has made up his mind.—Wilcke, i. p. 328.

[e] "Diffamati."

lution, and seek pardon of the Church, he replied that he had never been guilty of the imputed heresies, and would not abjure crimes which he had never committed. He was remanded to the prison. The general sentence against the English Templars was perpetual imprisonment in monasteries.[f] They seem to have been followed by general respect.

In Scotland the Inquisition was conducted by the Bishop of St. Andrews and John de Solerco, one of the Pope's clerks. The interrogatories of only two Knights appear: but many monks and clergy were examined, who seem to have been extremely jealous of what they branded as the lawless avarice and boundless wealth of the Templars.[g] Scotland. Dec. 15, 1309.

In Ireland thirty Brothers of the Order were interrogated in the church of St. Patrick; one only, a chaplain, admitted even suspicions against the Order. Other witnesses were then examined, chiefly Franciscans, who in Ireland seem to have been actuated by a bitter hatred of the Templars. All of them swore that they suspected and believed the guilt of the Order, but no one deposed to any fact, except that in the celebration of the Mass, certain Templars would not look up, but kept their eyes fixed on the ground. Some two or three discharged servants told all sorts of rumours against the Order, "that refractory Brethren were sewed up in sacks and cast into the sea." It was often said that whenever a Chapter was held, one of the number was always missing. Everything that the Grand Master ordered was obeyed throughout the world.[h] Ireland.

In Italy, wherever the influence of France and the authority of the Pope strongly predominated, confessions were obtained. In Naples Charles of Anjou, Philip's cousin, had already arrested the whole Order, as in his dominions in Provence, Forcalquier, and Italy.

[f] "Quod singuli in singulis monasteriis possessionatis detruderentur, pro perpetuâ pœnitentiâ peragendâ, qui postea in hujusmodi monasteriis bene per omnia se gerebant."—Thos. Walsingham.

[g] A monk of Newbottle complains of their "conquestus injustos. Indifferenter sibi appropriare cupiunt per fas et nefas, bona et prædia suorum vicinorum." Compare Addison, p. 486.

[h] The report is in Wilkins, Concilia.

Piedmont.[l] The house of Anjou had to wreak their long-hoarded vengeance on the Templars for the aid they had afforded to the Arragonese, Frederick of Sicily. The servitor Frank Ranyaris described an idol kept in a coffer, and shown to him by the Preceptor of Bari. Andrew, a servitor, had been compelled to deny Christ, and to other enormities; had seen an idol with three heads, which was worshipped as their God and their Redeemer: he it was who bestowed on them their boundless wealth. The Archbishop of Brindisi heard two confessions of the denial of Christ. Six were heard in Arragonese Sicily, who made some admissions. Thirty-two in Messina resolutely denied all.[k]

In the Papal States the examinations lasted from December, 1309, to July, 1310, at Viterbo before the Bishop of Sutri. The worship of idols was acknowledged by several witnesses.[m] At Florence, and before a Provincial Council held by the Archbishop of Pisa and the Bishop of Florence, some Knights admitted the guilt of the Order. But Reginald, Archbishop of Ravenna, had a commission of inquiry over Lombardy, the March of Ancona, Tuscany, and Dalmatia. At Ravenna the Dominicans proposed to apply torture: the majority of the Council rejected the proposition. Seven Templars[n] maintained the innocence of the Order; they were absolved; and in the Council the Churchmen declared that those who retracted confessions made under torture were to be held guiltless.[o] The Archbishop of Ravenna and the Bishop of Rimini held an inquest at Cesena. Andrew of Sienna declared that he had heard that many Brothers had confessed from fear of torture. He knew nothing, had heard nothing of such

[l] The proceedings in Beaucaire, Alais, and Nismes, are, according to Wilcke, in the Vatican (see above). At Lucerne (?), a brother admitted in Spain boldly averred that the Pope himself had avowed his belief that Jesus was not God, that he suffered not for the redemption of man, but from hatred of the Jews.—Wilcke, from MS., p. 337.

[k] Wilcke, Haveman. ?

[m] The particulars in Raynouard, p. 271.

[n] The names in Raynouard, p. 277.

[o] "Communi sententiâ decretum est innocentes absolvi. . . . Intelligi innocentes debere qui, metu tormentorum, confessi fuissent, si deinde eam confessionem revocassent; aut revocare, hujusmodi tormentorum metu, ne inferrentur nova, non fuissent ausi, dum tamen id constaret."—Harduin, Concil. 7, p. 1317. All this implies the general use of torture in Italy.

things; had he known them, he would have left the Order, and denounced it to the Bishops and Inquisitors. "I had rather have been a beggar for my bread than remained with such men. I had rather died, for above all things is to be preferred the salvation of the soul." From Lombardy there are no reports.[p] In the island of Cyprus an inquest was held:[q] one hundred and ten witnesses were heard, seventy-five of the Order. They had at one time taken up arms to defend themselves, but laid them down in obedience to the law. All maintained the blamelessness of the Order with courage and dignity.[r]

In Spain the acquittal of the Order in each of the kingdoms was solemn, general, complete. In Arragon, on the first alarm of an arrest of the Order, the Knights took to their mountain-fortresses, manned them, and seemed determined to stand on their defence. They soon submitted to the King and the laws. The Grand Inquisitor, D. Juan Lotger, a Dominican, conducted the interrogatories with stern severity; the torture was used. A Council was assembled at Tarragona, on which sat the Archbishop, Guillen da Roccaberti, with his suffragans. The Templars were declared innocent; above all suspicion.[s] "No one was to dare from that time to defame them." Other interrogatories took place in Medina del Campo, Medina Celi, and in Lisbon. The Council of Salamanca, presided over by the Archbishop of Santiago, the Bishop of Lisbon, and some other prelates, having made diligent investigation of the truth, declared the Templars of Castile, Leon, and Portugal free from all the charges imputed against them,[t] reserving the final judgement for the Supreme Pontiff. Spain.

In Germany Peter Ashpalter, Archbishop of Mentz, summoned a Synod in obedience to the Pope's Bull issued to the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, Treves, and Magdeburg. The Council was seated, the A.D. 1310.

[p] There were one or two unimportant inquiries at Bologna, Fano, &c.—Raynouard.

[q] May and June, 1311.

[r] See Zurita Anales, Campomanes.

[s] "Neque enim tam culpabiles inventi fuerunt, ac fama ferebat, quamvis tormentis adacti fuissent ad confessionem criminum."—Mansi, Concil. sub ann.

[t] "Y si mandò, que nadie se atraviasse a infamarlos por quanto en la averiguacion hecha por el concilio fueron hallados libros di toda mala suspuesta." — Campomanes, Dissert. vii.

Primate and his brother prelates. Suddenly Hugh, Wild and Rheingraf, the Preceptor of the Order at Grumbach near Meissenheim, entered the hall with his Knights in full armour and in the habit of the Order. The Archbishop calmly demanded their business. In a loud clear voice Hugh replied, that he and his Brethren understood that the Council was assembled, under a commission from the Roman Pontiff, for the abolition of the Order; that enormous crimes and more than heathen wickednesses were charged against them; they had been condemned without legal hearing or conviction. "Wherefore before the Holy Fathers present he appealed to a future Pope and to his whole clergy; and entered his public protest that those who had been delivered up and burned had constantly denied those crimes, and on that denial had suffered tortures and death: that God had avouched their innocence by a wonderful miracle, their white mantles marked with the red-cross had been exposed to fire and would not burn."[u] The Archbishop, fearing lest a tumult should arise, accepted the protest, and dismissed them with courtesy. A year afterwards a Council at Mentz, having heard thirty-eight witnesses, declared the Order guiltless. A Council held by the Archbishop of Treves came to the same determination. Burchard, Archbishop of Magdeburg, a violent and unjust man, attempted to arrest the Templars of the North of Germany. He was compelled to release them. They defended the fortress of Beyer Naumbourg against the Archbishop. Public favour appears to have been on their side: no condemnation took place.

The problem.

Christian history has few problems more perplexing, yet more characteristic of the age, than the guilt or innocence of the Templars. Two powerful interests have conspired in later times against them. The great legists of monarchical France, during a period of vast learning, thought it treason against the monarchy to suppose that, even in times so remote, an ancestor of Louis XIV. could have been guilty of such atrocious iniquity as the unjust condemnation of the Templars. The whole archives were entirely in the power of

The lawyers.

[u] Serrarius, Res Moguntiacæ. – Mansi, vol. xxv. p. 297.

these legists. The documents were published with laborious erudition; but throughout, both in the affair of the Templars and in the strife with Boniface VIII. and in the prosecution of his memory, with a manifest, almost an avowed, bias towards the King of France. The honour, too, of the legal profession seemed involved in these questions. The distinguished ancestors of the great modern lawyers, the De Flottes, De Plasians, and the Nogarets, who raised the profession to be the predominant power in the state, and set it on equal terms with the hierarchy—the founders almost of the parliaments of France—must not suffer attainder, or be degraded into the servile counsellors of proceedings which violated every principle of law and of justice.

On the other hand the ecclesiastical writers, who esteem every reproach against the Pope as an insult to, or a weakening of their religion, would rescue Clement V. from the guilt of the unjust persecution, spoliation, abolition of an Order to which Christendom owed so deep a debt of honour and of gratitude. Papal infallibility, to those who hold it in its highest sense, or Papal impeccability, in which they would fondly array, as far as possible, each hallowed successor of St. Peter, is endangered by the weakness, if not worse than weakness, of the Holy Father. But the calmer survey of the whole reign of Philip the Fair, of his character and that of his counsellors—of his measures and his necessities—of his unscrupulous ambition, avarice, fraud, violence—of the other precedents of his oppression—at least throws no improbability on the most discreditable version of this affair. Clement V., inextricably fettered by the compact through which he bought the tiara, still in the realm or within the power of Philip, with no religious, no moral strength in his personal character, had, as Pope, at least one, if not more than one object—the eluding or avoiding the condemnation of Pope Boniface, to which must be sacrificed every other right or claim to justice. The Papal authority was absolutely on the hazard; the condemnation of Boniface would crumble away its very base. A great Italian Pope might have beheld in the military Orders, now almost discharged from their functions

The ecclesiastics.

in the East, a power which might immeasurably strengthen the See of Rome. They might become a feudal militia, of vast wealth and possessions, holding directly of himself, if skilfully managed, at his command, in every kingdom in Christendom. With this armed aristocracy, with the Friar Preachers to rule the middle or more intellectual classes, the Friar Minors to keep alive and govern the fanaticism of the lowest, what could limit or control his puissance? But a French Pope, a Pope in the position of Clement, had no such splendid visions of supremacy; what he held, he held almost on sufferance; he could maintain himself by dexterity and address alone, not by intrepid assertion of authority. Nor was it difficult to abuse himself into a belief or a supposed belief in the guilt of the Templars. He had but to accept without too severe examination the evidence heaped before him; to authorise as he did—and in so doing he introduced nothing new, startling, or contrary to the usage of the Church—the terrible means, of which few doubted the justice, used to extort that evidence. The iniquity, the cruelty was all the King's; his only responsible act at last was in the mildest form the abolition of an Order which had ceased to fulfil the aim for which it was founded; and by taking this upon himself, he retained the power of quietly thwarting the avarice of the King, and preventing the escheat of all the possessions of the Order to the Crown.

Evidence.

Our history has shown the full value of the evidence against the Order. Beyond the confessions of the Templars themselves there was absolutely nothing but the wildest, most vague, most incredible tales of superstition and hatred. In France alone, and where French influence prevailed, were confessions obtained. Elsewhere, in Spain, in Germany, parts of Italy, there was an absolute acquittal; in England, Scotland, and Ireland there appears no evidence which in the present day would commit a thief, or condemn him to transportation. In France these confessions were invariably, without exception, crushed out of men imprisoned, starved, disgraced, under the most relentless tortures, or under well-grounded apprehensions of torture, degradation, and

misery, with, on the other hand, promises of absolution, freedom, pardon, royal favour. Yet on the instant that they struggle again into the light of day, on the first impulse of freedom and hope; no sooner do they see themselves for a moment out of the grasp of the remorseless King; under the judgement, it might be, of the less remorseless Church, than all these confessions are for the most part retracted, retracted fully, unequivocally. This retractation was held so fatal to the cause of their enemies that all the bravest were burned and submitted to be burned rather than again admit their guilt. The only points on which there was any great extent or unanimity of confession were the ceremonies at the reception, the abnegation of Christ, the insult to the Cross, with the other profane or obscene circumstances. These were the points on which it was the manifest object of the prosecutors to extort confessions which were suggested by the hard, stern questions, the admission of which mostly satisfied the Court.

Admit to the utmost that the devout and passionate enthusiasm of the Templars had died away, that familiarity with other forms of belief in the East had deadened the fanatic zeal for Christ and his Sepulchre; that Oriental superstitions, the belief in magic, talismans, amulets, had crept into many minds; that in not a few the austere morals had yielded to the wild life, the fiery sun, the vices of the East; that the corporate spirit of the Order, its power, its wealth, its pride, had absorbed the religious spirit of the first Knights: yet there is something utterly inconceivable in the general, almost universal, requisition of a naked, ostentatious, offensive, insulting renunciation of the Christian faith, a renunciation following immediately on the most solemn vow; not after a long, slow initiation into the Order, not as the secret, esoteric doctrine of the chosen few, but on the threshold of the Order, on the very day of reception. It must be supposed, too, that this should not have transpired; that it should not have been indignantly rejected by many of noble birth and brave minds; or that all who did dare to reject it should have been secretly made away with, or overawed

by the terror of death, or the solemnity of their vow of obedience; that there should have been hardly any prudential attempts at concealment, full liberty of confession, actual confession, it should seem, to bishops, priests, and friars; and yet that it should not have got abroad, except perhaps in loose rumours, in suspicions, which may have been adroitly instilled into the popular mind: that nothing should have been known till denounced by the two or three renegades produced by William of Nogaret.

The early confession of Du Molay, his retractation of his retractation, are facts no doubt embarrassing, yet at the same time very obscure. But the genuine chivalrous tone of the language in which he asserted that the confession had been tampered with, or worse; the care manifestly taken that his confession should not be made in the presence of the Pope, the means no doubt used, the terror of torture, or actual degrading, agonising torture, to incapacitate him from appearing at Poitiers:—these and many other considerations greatly lighten or remove this difficulty. His death, hereafter to be told, which can hardly be attributed but to vengeance for his having arraigned, or fear lest he should with too great authority arraign the whole proceedings, with all the horrible circumstances of that death, confirms this view.

Du Molay was a man of brave and generous impulses, but not of firm and resolute character; he was unsuited for his post in such perilous times. That post required not only the most intrepid mind, but a mind which could calculate with sagacious discrimination the most prudent as well as the boldest course. On him rested the fame, the fate, of his Order; the freedom, the exemption from torture or from shame, of each single brother, his companions in arms, his familiar friends. And this man was environed by the subtlest of foes. When he unexpectedly breaks out into a bold and appalling disclosure, De Plasian is at hand to soften by persuasion, to perplex with argument, to bow by cruel force. His generous nature may neither have comprehended the arts of his enemies, nor the full significance, the sense, which might be drawn from his words. He may have been tempted to some admissions,

in the hope not of saving himself but his Order; he may have thought by some sacrifice to appease the King or to propitiate the Pope. The secrets of his prison-house were never known. All he said was noted down and published, and reported to the Pope; all he refused to say (except that one speech before the Papal Commissioners) suppressed. He may have had a vague trust in the tardy justice of the Pope, when out of the King's power, and lulled himself with this precarious hope. Nor can we quite assume that he was not the victim of absolute and groundless forgery.

Contemporary history.

All contemporary history, and that history which is nearest the times, except for the most part the French biographers of Pope Clement, denounce in plain unequivocal terms the avarice of Philip the Fair as the sole cause of the unrighteous condemnation of the Templars. Villani emphatically pronounces that the charges of heresy were advanced in order to seize their treasures, and from secret jealousy of the Grand Master. "The Pope abandoned the Order to the King of France, that he might avert, if possible, the condemnation of Boniface."[x] Zantfliet, Canon of Liege, describes the noble martyrdom of the Templars, that of Du Molay from the report of an eye-witness: "had not their death tended to gratify his insatiate appetite for their wealth, their noble demeanour had triumphed over the perfidy of the avaricious King."[y] The Cardinal Antonino of Florence, a Saint, though he adopts in fact almost the words of Villani, is even more plain and positive:—"The whole was forged by the avarice of the King, that he might despoil the Templars of their wealth."[z]

[x] "Mosso da avarizia si fece promettere dal Papa secretamente di disfare la detta Ordine de Templari . . . ma più si dice che fu per trarre di loro molta moneta, e per isdegno preso col maestro del tempio, e colla magione. Il Papa per levarsi da dosso il Re di Francia, per contentarlo per la richiesta di condennare Papa Bonifazio."—l. viii. c. 92.

[y] "Dicens eos tam perversâ animi fortitudine regis avari vicisse perfidiam, nisi moriendo illuc tetendissent, quo ejus appetitus inexplebilis cupiebat: quamquam non minor idcirco gloria fuerit, si recto prælegentes judicio, inter tormenta maluerint deficere, quam adversus veritatem dixisse aut famam justè quæsitam turpissimi sceleris confessione maculare." He describes Du Molay's death (see further on), "rege spectante," and adds, "qui hæc vidit scriptori testimonium præbuit."—Zantfliet. Chronic. apud Marfene. Zantfliet's Chronicle was continued to 1460.—Collect. Nov. v. 5.

[z] "Totum tamen falsè conficturi ex

Yet the avarice of Philip was baffled, at least as to the full harvest it hoped to reap. The absolute confiscation of all the estates of a religious Order bordered too nearly on invasion of the property of the Church; the lands and treasures were dedicated inalienably to pious uses, specially to the conquest of the Holy Land. The King had early been forced to consent to make over the custody of the lands to the Bishops of the diocese; careful inventories too were to be made of all their goods, for which the King's officers were responsible. But of the moveables of which the King had taken possession, it may be doubted if much, or any part, was allowed to escape his iron grasp, or whether any account was ever given of the vast treasures accumulated in the vaults, in the chapels, in the armouries, in the storehouses of the Temple castles. The lands indeed, both in England and in France, were at length made over to the Hospitallers; yet, according to Villani,[a] they were so burthened by the demands, dilapidations, and exactions of the King's officers, they had to purchase the surrender from the King and other princes at such vast cost of money, raised at such exorbitant interest, that the Order of St. John was poorer rather than richer from what seemed so splendid a grant. The Crown claimed enormous sums as due on the sequestration. Some years later Pope John XXII. complains that the King's officers seized the estates of the Hospitallers as an indemnity for claims which had arisen during the confiscation.[b]

The dissolution of the Order was finally determined. "If," said the Pope, "it cannot be destroyed by the way of justice, let it be destroyed by the way of expediency, lest we offend our dear son the King of France."[c] The

avaritiâ, ut illi religiosi Templarii exspoliarentur bonis suis."—S. Antonin. Archiep. Florent. Hist. He wrote about A.D. 1450.

[a] "Ma convenneli loro ricogliere e ricomperare dal Re di Francia e dalli altri principi è Signori con tanta quantità di moneta, che con gli interessi corsi poi, la magione dello Spedale fu e è in più povertà, che prima avendo solo il suo proprio." Villani is good authority in money matters.

[b] Dupuy, Condemnation.

[c] "Et sicut audivi ab uno, qui fuit *examinator causæ et testium*, destructus fuit contra justitiam, et mihi dixit, quod ipse Clemens protulit hoc, 'Et si non per viam justitiæ potest destrui, destruatur tamen per viam expedientiæ, ne scandalizetur charus filius noster Rex Franciæ."—Alberici de Rosate Bergomensis, Dictionarium Juris: Venetiis, 1579, folio; sub voce Templarii, quoted by Haveman, p. 381.

Council of Vienne was to pronounce the solemn act of dissolution. Of the Templars the few who had been absolved, and had not retracted their confession, were permitted to enter into other orders, or to retire into monasteries. Many had thrown off the habit of the Order, and in remote parts fell back to secular employments; many remained in prison. Du Molay and the three other heads of the Order were reserved in close custody for a terrible fate, hereafter to be told.[d] [e]

[d] Wilcke asserts (p. 342) that Moldenhauer's publication of the Proceedings against the Templars (now more accurately and fully edited by M. Michelet) was bought up by the Freemasons as injurious to the fame of the Templars. If this was so, the Freemasons committed an error: my doubts of their guilt are strongly confirmed by the Proces. Wilcke makes three regular gradations of initiation: I. The denial of Christ; II. The kisses; III. The worship of the Idol. This is contrary to all the evidence; the two first are always described as simultaneous. Wilcke has supposed that so long as the Order consisted only of knights, it was orthodox. The clerks introduced into the Order, chiefly Friar Minorites, brought in learning and the wild speculative opinions. But for this he alleges not the least proof.

[e] A modern school of history, somewhat too prone to make or to imagine discoveries, has condemned the Templars upon other grounds. These fierce unlettered warriors have risen into Oriental mystics. Not merely has their intercourse with the East softened off their abhorrence of Mohammedanism, induced a more liberal tone of thought, or overlaid their Western superstitions with a layer of Oriental imagery—they have become Gnostic Theists, have adopted many of the old Gnostic charms, amulets, and allegorical idols. Under these influences they had framed a secret body of statutes, communicated only to the initiate, who were slowly and after long probation admitted into the abstruser and more awful mysteries. Not only this, the very branch of the Gnostics has been indicated, that of the Ophitæ, of whom they are declared to be the legitimate Western descendants. If they have thus had precursors, neither have they wanted successors. The Templars are the ancestors (as Wilcke thought, the acknowledged ancestors) of the secret societies, which have subsisted by regular tradition down to modern times—the Freemasons, Illuminati, and many others. It is surprising on what loose, vague evidence rests the whole of this theory: on amulets, rings, images, of which there is no proof whatever that they belonged to the Templars, or if they did, that they were not accidentally picked up by individuals in the East; on casual expressions of worthless witnesses, *e. g.*, Staplebridge the English renegade; on certain vessels, or bowls converted into vessels, used in an imaginary Fire-Baptism, deduced, without any regard to gaps of centuries in the tradition, from ancient heretics, and strangely mingled up with the Sangreal of mediæval romance. M. von Hammer has brought great Oriental erudition, but, I must say, not much Western logic, to bear on the question; he has been thoroughly refuted, as I think, by M. Raynouard and others. Another cognate ground is the discovery of certain symbols, and those symbols interpreted into obscene significations, on the churches of the Templars. But the same authorities show that these symbols were by no means peculiar to the Temple churches. No doubt among the monks there were foul imaginations, and in a coarse age architects—many of them monks—gratified those foul imaginations by these unseemly ornaments. But the argument assumes the connection or identification of the architects with the secret guild of Freemasonry (in which guild I do not believe), and also of the Freemasons with the Templars, which is totally destitute of proof. It appears to me absolutely monstrous to conclude that when all the edifices, the churches, the mansions, the castles, the farms, the granaries of the Templars in France and

England, in every country of Europe, came into the possession of their sworn enemies; when these symbols, in a state far more perfect, must have stared them in the face; when the lawyers were on the track for evidence; when vague rumours had set all their persecutors on the scent; when Philip and the Pope would have paid any price for a single idol, and not one could be produced: because in our own days, among the thousand misshapen and grotesque sculptures, gurgoyles, and corbels, here and there may be discerned or made out something like a black cat, or some other shape, said to have been those of Templar idols,—therefore the guilt of the Order, and their lineal descent from ancient heretics, should be assumed as history. Yet on such grounds the Orientalisation of the whole Order, not here and there of a single renegade, has been drawn with complacent satisfaction. The great stress of all, however, is laid on the worship of Baphomet. The talismans, bowls, symbols, are even called Baphometic. Now, with M. Raynouard, I have not the least doubt that Baphomet is no more than a transformation of the name of Mahomet. Here is only one passage from the Provençal poetry. It is from a Poem by the Chevalier du Temple, quoted Hist. Littér. de la France, xix. p. 345:

"Quar Dieux dorm, qui veillar solea,
E *Bafomet* obra do son poder,
E fai obra di Melicadeser."

"God, who used to watch (during the Crusades), now slumbers, and Bafomet (Mahomet) works as he wills to complete the triumph of the Sultan." I am not surprised to find fanciful writers like M. Michelet, who write for effect, and whose positiveness seems to me not seldom in the inverse ratio to the strength of his authorities, adopting such wild notions; but even the clear intellect of Mr. Hallam appears to me to attribute more weight than I should have expected to this theory.—Note to Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 50. It appears to me, I confess, that so much learning was never wasted on a fantastic hypothesis as by M. von Hammer in his Mysterium Baphometis Revelatum. The statutes of the Order were published in 1840 by M. Maillard de Chambure. They contain nothing but what is pious and austere. This, as Mr. Hallam observes, is of course, and proves nothing. M. de Chambure says that it is acknowledged in Germany that M. von Hammer's theory is an idle chimera.

CHAPTER III.

ARRAIGNMENT OF BONIFACE. COUNCIL OF VIENNE.

IF, however, Pope Clement hoped to appease or to divert the immitigable hatred of Philip and his ministers from the persecution of the memory of Pope Boniface by the sacrifice of the Templars, or at least to gain precious time which might be pregnant with new events, he was doomed to disappointment. The hounds were not thrown off their track, not even arrested in their course, by that alluring quarry. That dispute was still going on simultaneously with the affair of the Templars. Philip, at every fresh hesitation of the Pope, broke out into more threatening indignation. Nogaret and the lawyers presented memorial on memorial, specifying with still greater distinctness and particularity the offences which they declared themselves ready to prove. They complained, not without justice, that the most material witnesses might be cut off by death; that every year of delay weakened their power of producing attestations to the validity of their charges.[a]

Prosecution of the memory of Pope Boniface.

The hopes indeed held out to the King's avarice and revenge by the abandonment of the Templars; hopes, if not baffled, eluded, were more than counterbalanced by his failure in obtaining the Empire for Charles of Valois. An act of enmity sank deeper into the proud heart of Philip than an act of favour: the favour had been granted grudgingly, reluctantly, with difficulty, with reservation; the enmity had been subtle, perfidious, under the guise of friendship.

Pope Clement had now secured, as he might fondly suppose, his retreat in Avignon, in some degree beyond

[a] All the documents are in Dupuy, Preuves, p. 367 *et seqq.*, with Baillet's smaller volume.

the King's power. In France he dared not stay; to Italy he could not and would not go. The King's messengers were in Avignon to remind him that he had pledged himself to hear and examine the witnesses against the memory of Boniface. Not the King's messengers alone, Reginald di Supino had been most deeply implicated in the affair of Anagni. He had assembled a great body of witnesses, as he averred, to undergo the expected examination before the Pope. Either the Pope himself, or the friends of Boniface, who had still greater power, and seemed determined, from attachment to their kinsman or from reverence for the Popedom, to hazard all in his defence, dreaded this formidable levy of witnesses, whom Reginald di Supino would hardly have headed unless in arms. Supino had arrived within three leagues of Avignon when he received intelligence from the King's emissaries of an ambuscade of the partisans of Boniface, stronger than his own troop: he would not risk the attack, but retired to Nismes, and there, in the presence of the municipal authorities, entered a public protest against those who prevented him and his witnesses, by the fear of death, from approaching the presence of the Pope. The Pope himself was not distinctly charged with, but not acquitted of complicity in this deliberate plot to arrest the course of justice.[b]

Reginald di Supino.

Clement was in a strait: he was not in the dominions, but yet not absolutely safe from the power of Philip. Charles, King of Naples, Philip's kinsman, as Count of Provence, held the adjacent country. The King of France had demanded a Council to decide this grave question. The Council had been summoned and adjourned by Clement. But a Pope, though a dead Pope, arraigned before a Council, all the witnesses examined publicly, in open Court, to proclaim to Christendom the crimes imputed to Boniface! Where, if the Council should assume the power of condemning a dead Pope, would be the security of a living one? Clement wrote, not

Difficulties of the Pope.

[b] "Recesserunt propterea à predicti, meritò periculum formidantes." — Preuves, p. 289.
qui cum dicto domino Raynaldo venerant, ad propria redeuntes, mortis

to Philip, but to Charles of Valois, representing the toils and anxieties which he was enduring, the laborious days and sleepless nights, in the investigation of the affair of Boniface. He entreated that the judgement might be left altogether to himself and the Church. He implored the intercession of Charles with the King, of Charles whom he had just thwarted in his aspiring views on the Empire.[c]

But the King was not to be deterred by soft words. He wrote more peremptorily, more imperiously. "Some witnesses, men of the highest weight and above all exception, had already died in the Court of Rome and elsewhere: the Pope retarded the safe conduct necessary for the appearance of other witnesses, who had been seized, tortured, put to death, by the partisans of Boniface." The Pope replied in a humble tone:—"Never was so weighty a process so far advanced in so short a time. Only one witness had died, and his deposition had been received on his deathbed. He denied the seizure, torture, death, of any witnesses. One of these very witnesses, a monk, it was confidently reported, was in France with William de Nogaret." He complained of certain letters forged in his name—a new proof of the daring extent to which at this time such forgeries were carried. In those letters the names of Cardinals, both of the King's party and on that of Boniface, had been audaciously inserted. These letters had been condemned and burned in the public consistory. The Pope turns to another affair. Philip, presuming on the servility of the Pope, had introduced a clause into the treaty with the Flemings, that if they broke the treaty they should be excommunicated, and not receive absolution without the consent of the King or his successors. The Pope replies, "that he cannot abdicate for himself or future Popes the full and sole power of granting absolution. If the King, as he asserts, can adduce any precedent for such clause, he would consent to that, or even a stronger one; but he has taken care that the Flemings are not apprised of his objection to the clause."[d]

Clement was determined, as far as a mind like his was capable of determination, to reserve the inevitable judge-

[c] Preuves, p. 290. May 23, 1309. [d] Preuves, p. 292. August 23, 1309.

ment on the memory of Boniface to himself and his own Court, and not to recognise the dangerous tribunal of a Council, fatal to living as to dead pontiffs. He issued a Bull,[e] summoning Philip King of France, his three sons, with the Counts of Evreux, St. Pol, and Dreux, and William de Plasian, according to their own petition, to prove their charges against Pope Boniface; to appear before him in Avignon on the first court-day after the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin. The Bishop of Paris was ordered to serve this citation on the three Counts and on William de Plasian.[f]

Determination of Clement.

Feb. 2, 1310.

Philip seemed to be embarrassed by this measure. He shrunk or thought it beneath his dignity for himself or his sons to stand as public prosecutors before the Papal Court. Instead of the King appeared a haughty letter. "He had been compelled reluctantly to take cognisance of the usurpation and wicked life of Pope Boniface. Public fame, the representations of men of high esteem in his realm, nobles, prelates, doctors, had arraigned Boniface as a heretic, and an intruder into the fold of the Lord. A Parliament of his whole kingdom had demanded that, as the champion and defender of the faith, he should summon a General Council, before which men of the highest character declared themselves ready to prove these most appalling charges. William de Nogaret had been sent to summon Pope Boniface to appear before that Council. The Pope's frantic resistance had led to acts of violence, not on the part of Nogaret, but of the Pope's subjects, by whom he was universally hated. These charges had been renewed after the death of Boniface, before Benedict XI. and before the present Pope. The Pope, in other affairs, especially that of the Templars, had shown his regard for justice. All these things were to be finally determined at the approaching Council. But if the Pope, solicitous to avoid before the Council the odious intricacies of charges, examinations, investigations, in the affair of Boniface, desired to determine it by the plenitude of the Apostolic authority, he left it entirely to the judgement of the Pope, whether in the Council or else-

The King will not appear as prosecutor.

[e] Sept. 1309. Raynaldus sub ann. c. 4. [f] Raynaldus ut supra. Oct. 18.

where. He was prepared to submit the whole to the disposition and ordinance of the Holy See. The King's sons, summoned in like manner to undertake the office of prosecutors, declined to appear in that somewhat humiliating character.[8] Feb. 14.

William de Nogaret and William de Plasian remained the sole prosecutors in this great cause, and they entered upon it with a profound and accumulated hatred to Boniface and to his memory: De Plasian with the desperate resolution of a man so far committed in the strife that either Boniface must be condemned, or himself held an impious, false accuser; Nogaret with the conviction that Boniface must be pronounced a monster of iniquity, or himself hardly less than a sacrilegious assassin. With both the dignity and honour of their profession were engaged in a bold collision with the hierarchical power which had ruled the human mind for centuries; both had high, it might be conscientious, notions of the monarchical authority, its independence, its superiority to the sacerdotal; both were bound by an avowed and resolute servility, which almost rose to noble attachment, to their King and to France. The King of France, if any Sovereign, was to be exempt from Papal tyranny, and hatred to France is one of the worst crimes of Boniface. Both, unless Boniface was really the infidel, heretic, abandoned profligate, which they represented him, were guilty of using unscrupulously, of forging, suborning, a mass of evidence and a host of witnesses, of which they could not but know the larger part to be audaciously and absolutely false. De Plasian and De Nogaret.

On the other side appeared the two nephews of Boniface and from six to ten Italian doctors of law, chosen no doubt for their consummate science and ability; as canon lawyers confronting civil lawyers with professional rivalry, and prepared to maintain the most extravagant pretensions of the Decretals as the Statute Law of the Church. They could not but be fully aware how much the awe, the reverence, and the power of the Papacy depended on the decision; they were men, it may be, full of devout admiration even of the over- *Italians.*

[8] Preuves, p. 201.

weening haughtiness of Boniface; churchmen,[h] in whom the intrepid maintenance of what were held to be Church principles more than compensated for all the lowlier and gentler virtues of the Gospel. It was a strange trial, the arraignment of a dead Pope, a Rhadamanthine judgement on him who was now before a higher tribunal.

The Consistory opened.

On the 16th of March the Pope solemnly opened the Consistory at Avignon, in the palace belonging to the Dominicans, surrounded by his Cardinals and a great multitude of the clergy and laity. The Pope's Bull was read, in which, after great commendation of the faith and zeal of the King of France, and high testimony to the fame of Boniface, he declared that heresy was so execrable, so horrible an offence, that he could not permit such a charge to rest unexamined. The French lawyers were admitted as prosecutors.[i] The Italians protested against their admission.[k] On Friday (March 20th) the Court opened the session. The prosecutors put in a protest of immeasurable length, declaring that they did not appear in consequence of the Pope's citation of the King of France and his sons. That citation was informal, illegal, based on false grounds. They demanded that the witnesses who were old and sick should be first heard. They challenged certain Cardinals, the greater number (they would not name them publicly), as having a direct interest in the judgement, as attached by kindred or favour to Boniface, as notoriously hostile, as having entered into plots against William de Nogaret, as having prejudiced the mind of Benedict XI. against him. Nogaret, who always reverted to the affair of Anagni, asserted that act to have been the act of a true Catholic, one of devout, filial love, not of hatred, the charity of one who would bind a maniac or rouse a man in a lethargy.[m] He had

[h] "Gotius de Arimino utriusque juris, Baldredus Beyeth *Decretorum* Doctores." Baldred, who took the lead in the defence, is described as Glascuensis.

[i] Adam de Lombal, Clerk, and Peter de Galahaud, and Peter de Bleonasio, the King's nuncios (nuntii), appeared with De Plasian and De Nogaret.

[k] James of Modena offered himself to prove "quod prædicti opponentes ad opponendum contra dictum dominum Bonifacium admitti non debebant."

[m] "Non fuit igitur odium sed caritas, non fuit injuria sed pietas, non proditio sed fidelitas, non sacrilegium sed sacri defensio, non parricidium sed filialis devotio ut (et?) fraterna, cum qui furiosum ligat vel lethargicum excitat."—p. 386.

made common cause with the nobles of Anagni, all but those who plundered the Papal treasures.

On the 27th De Nogaret appeared again, and entered a protest against Baldred and the rest, as defenders of Pope Boniface, against eight Cardinals, by name, as promoted by Boniface: these men might not bear any part in the cause. Protest was met by protest: a long, wearisome, and subtle altercation ensued. Each tried to repel the other party from the Court. Nothing could be more captious than the arguments of the prosecutors, who took exception against any defence of Boniface. The Italians answered that no one could be brought into Court but by a lawful prosecutor, which Nogaret and De Plasian were not, being notorious enemies, assassins, defamers of the Pope. There was absolutely no cause before the Court. The crimination and recrimination dragged on their weary length. It was the object of De Nogaret to obtain absolution, at least under certain restrictions.[n] This personal affair began to occupy almost as prominent a part as the guilt of Boniface. Months passed in the gladiatorial strife of the lawyers.[o] Every question was reopened — the legality of Cœlestine's abdication, the election of Boniface, the absolute power of the King of France. Vast erudition was displayed on both sides. Meantime the examination of the witnesses had gone on in secret before the Pope or his Commissioners. Of these examinations appear only the reports of twenty-three persons examined in April, of eleven examined before the two Cardinals, Berengario, Bishop of Tusculum, and Nicolas, of St. Eusebio, with Bernard Guido, the Grand Inquisitor of Toulouse. Some of the eleven were re-examinations of those who had made their depositions in April. In the latter case the witnesses were submitted to what was intended to be severe, but does not seem very

Witnesses.

[n] In the midst of these disputes arose a curious question, whether William de Nogaret was still under excommunication. It was argued that an excommunicated person, if merely saluted by the Pope, or if the Pope knowingly entered into conversation with him, was thereby absolved. The Pope disclaimed this doctrine, and declared that he had never by such salutation or intercourse with De Nogaret intended to confer that precious privilege. This was to be the rule during his pontificate. He would not, however, issue a Decretal on the subject.—p. 409.

[o] There is a leap from May 13 to Aug. 3.

skilful, cross-examination. On these attestations, if these were all, posterity is reduced to this perplexing alternative of belief:—Either there was a vast systematic subornation of perjury, which brought together before the Pope and the Cardinals, monks, abbots, canons, men of dignified station, from various parts of Italy: and all these were possessed with a depth of hatred, ingrained into the hearts of men by the acts and demeanour of Boniface, and perhaps a religious horror of his treatment of Pope Cœlestine, which seems to be rankling in the hearts of some; or with a furiousness of Ghibelline hostility, which would recoil from no mendacity, which would not only accept every rumour, but invent words, acts, circumstances, with the most minute particularity and with perpetual appeal to other witnesses present at the same transaction. Nor were these depositions wrung out, like those of the Templars, by torture; they were spontaneous, or, if not absolutely spontaneous, only summoned forth by secret suggestion, by undetected bribery, by untraceable influence: they had all the outward semblance of honest and conscientious zeal for justice.

On the other hand, not only must the Pope's guilt be assumed, but the Pope's utter, absolute, ostentatious defiance of all prudence, caution, dissimulation, decency. Not only was he a secret, hypocritical unbeliever, and that not in the mysteries of the faith, but in the first principles of all religion; he was a contemptuous, boastful scoffer, and this on the most public occasions, and on occasions where some respectful concealment would not only have been expedient, but of paramount necessity to his interest or his ambition. The aspirant to the Papacy, the most Papal Pope who ever lived, laughed openly to scorn the groundwork of that Christianity on which rested his title to honour, obedience, power, worship.

The most remarkable of all these depositions is that of seven witnesses in succession, an abbot, three canons, two monks, and others, to a discussion concerning the law of Mahomet. This was in the year of the pontificate of Cœlestine, when, if his enemies are to be believed, Benedetto Gaetani was deeply involved in intrigues to procure

the abdication of Cœlestine, and his own elevation to the Papacy. At this time, even if these intrigues were untrue, a man so sagacious and ambitious could not but be looking forward to his own advancement. Yet at this very instant, it is asseverated, in the presence of at least ten or twelve persons, abbots, canons, monks, Gaetani declared as his doctrine,[p] that no law was divine, that all were the inventions of men, merely to keep the vulgar in awe by the terrors of eternal punishment. Every law, Christianity among the rest, contained truth and falsehood; falsehood, because it asserted that God was one and three, which it was fatuous to believe; falsehood, for it said that a virgin had brought forth, which was impossible; falsehood, because it avouched that the Son of God had taken the nature of man, which was ridiculous; falsehood, because it averred that bread was transubstantiated into the body of Christ, which was untrue. "It is false, because it asserts a future life." "Let God do his worst with me in another life, from which no one has returned but to fantastic people, who say that they have seen and heard all kinds of strange things, even have heard angels singing. So I believe and so I hold, as doth every educated man. The vulgar hold otherwise. We must speak as the vulgar do; think and believe with the few." Another added to all this, that when the bell rang for the passing of the Host, the future Pope smiled and said, "You had better go and see after your own business, than after such folly."[q] Three of these witnesses were reheard at the second examination, minutely questioned as to the place of this discussion, the dress, attitude, words of Gaetani: they adhered, with but slight deviation from each other, to their deposition; whatever its worth, it was unshaken.[r] These blasphemies, if we are to credit another witness, had been his notorious habit from his youth. The Prior of St. Giles at San Gemino, near Narni, had been at school with him at Todi: he was a dissolute youth, indulged in all carnal vices, in drink and play, blaspheming God and the Virgin. He had heard Boniface, when a Cardinal, disputing with certain masters from Paris about the Resurrection. Cardinal Gaetani

[p] "Quasi per modum doctrinæ." [q] Truffas. [r] Witnesses vii. xiii.

maintained that neither soul nor body rose again.[s] To this dispute a notary, Oddarelli of Acqua Sparta, gave the same testimony. The two witnesses declared that they had not come to Avignon for the purpose of giving this evidence; they had been required to appear before the Court by Bertrand de Roccanegata: they bore testimony neither from persuasion, nor for reward, neither from favour, fear, or hatred.

Two monks of St. Gregory at Rome had complained to the Pope of their Abbot, that he held the same loose and infidel doctrines, neither believed in the Resurrection, nor in the Sacraments of the Church; and denied that carnal sins were sins. They were dismissed contemptuously from the presence of Boniface. "Look at this froward race, that will not believe as their Abbot believes."[t] A monk of St. Paul fared no better with similar denunciations of his Abbot.[u]

Nicolo Pagano of Sermona, Primicerio of S. John Maggiore at Naples, deposed that Cœlestine, proposing to go from Sermona to Naples, sent Pagano's father Berard (the witness went with him) to invite the Cardinal Gaetani to accompany him. Gaetani contemptuously refused. "Go ye with your Saint, I will be fooled no more." "If any man," said Berard, "ought to be canonised after death, it is Cœlestine." Gaetani replied, "Let God give me the good things of this life: for that which is to come I care not a bean; men have no more souls than beasts." Berard looked aghast. "How many have you ever seen rise again?" Gaetani seemed to delight in mocking (such, at least, was the testimony, intended, no doubt, to revolt to the utmost the public feeling against him) the Blessed Virgin. She is no more a virgin than my mother. I believe not in your "Mariola," "Mariola." He denied the presence of Christ in the Host. "It is mere paste."[x]

Yet even this most appalling improbability was surpassed by the report of another conversation attested by three witnesses, sons of knights of Lucca. The scene took

[s] Witnesses xvii. xviii.
[t] Witnesses i. ii.
[u] Witness xv.
[x] Witnesses xvi. xx. xxii.

place at the Jubilee, when millions of persons, in devout faith in the religion of Christ, in fear of Hell, or in hope of Paradise, were crowding from all parts of Europe, and offering incense to the majesty, the riches of the world to the avarice, of the Pope. Even then, without provocation, in mere wantonness of unbelief, he had derided all the truths of the Gospel. The ambassadors of two of the great cities of Italy—Lucca and Bologna—were standing before him. The death of a Campanian knight was announced. "He was a bad man," said the pious chaplain, "yet may Jesus Christ receive his soul!" "Fool! to commend him to Christ; he could not help himself, how can he help others? he was no Son of God, but a wise man and a great hypocrite. The knight has had in this life all he will have. Paradise is a joyous life in this world; Hell a sad one." "Have we, then, nothing to do but to enjoy ourselves in this world? Is it no sin to lie with women?"—"No greater sin than to wash one's hands." "And this was said that all present might hear; not in jocoseness, but in serious mood." To this monstrous scene, in these words, three witnesses deposed on oath, and gave the names of the ambassadors—men, no doubt, of rank, and well known, to whom they might thus seem to appeal.[y]

The account of a conversation with the famous Roger de Loria was hardly less extraordinary. Of the two witnesses, one was a knight of Palermo, William, son of Peter de Calatagerona. Roger de Loria, having revolted from the house of Arragon, came to Rome to be reconciled to the Pope. Yet at that very time the Pope wantonly mocked and insulted the devout seaman, by laughing to scorn that faith which bowed him at his own feet. De Loria had sent the Pope an offering of rich Sicilian fruits and honey. "See," he said, "what a beautiful land I must have left, abounding in such fruits, and have exposed myself to so great dangers to visit you. Had I died on this holy journey, surely I had been saved." "It might be so, or it might not." "Father, I trust that, if at such a moment I had died, Christ would have had mercy on me." The Pope said, "Christ! he was not the Son of God: he

[y] Witnesses xii.

was a man eating and drinking like ourselves: by his preaching he drew many towards him, and died, but rose not again; neither will men rise again." "I," pursued the Pope, "am far mightier than Christ. I can raise up and enrich the lowly and poor; I can bestow kingdoms, and humble and beggar rich and powerful kings." In all the material parts of this conversation the two witnesses agreed: they were rigidly cross-examined as to the place, time, circumstances, persons present, the dress, attitude, gestures of the Pope; they were asked whether the Pope spoke in jest or earnest.[z]

The same or other witnesses deposed to as unblushing shamelessness regarding the foulest vices as regarding these awful blasphemies—"What harm is there in simony? what harm in adultery, more than in rubbing one's hands together?" This was his favourite phrase. Then were brought forward men formerly belonging to his household, to swear that they had brought women—one, first his wife, then his daughter—to his bed. Another bore witness that from his youth Boniface had been addicted to worse, to nameless vices—that he was notoriously so; one or two loathsome facts were avouched.

Charges of magic.

Besides all this, there were what in those days would perhaps be heard with still deeper horror—magical rites and dealings with the powers of darkness. Many witnesses had heard that Benedetto Gaetani, that Pope Boniface, had a ring, in which he kept an evil spirit. Brother Berard of Soriano had seen from a window the Cardinal Gaetani, in a garden below, draw a magic circle, and immolate a cock over a fire in an earthen pot. The blood and the flame mingled; a thick smoke arose. The Cardinal sat reading spells from a book, and conjuring up the devils. He then heard a terrible noise and wild voices, "Give us our share." Gaetani took up the cock, and threw it over the wall—"Take your share." The Cardinal then left the garden, and shut himself up alone in his most secret chamber, where throughout the night he was heard in deep and earnest conversation, and a voice, the same voice, was heard to answer. This witness

[z] Witnesses x.

deposed likewise to having seen Gaetani worshipping an idol, in which dwelt an evil spirit. This idol was given to him by the famous magician, Theodore of Bologna, and was worshipped as his God.[a]

Such was the evidence, the whole evidence which appears (there may have been more) so revolting to the faith, so polluting to the morals, so repulsive to decency, that it cannot be plainly repeated, yet adduced against the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ. What crimes, even for defamation to charge against a Pope! To all this the Pope and the Consistory were compelled to listen in sullen patience. If true—if with a shadow of truth—how monstrous the state of religion and morals! If absolutely and utterly untrue—if foul, false libels, bought by the gold of the King of France, suborned by the unrelenting hatred, and got up by the legal subtlety of De Nogaret and the rest—what humiliation to the Court of Rome to have heard, received, recorded such wicked aspersions, and to have left them unresented, unpunished. The glaring contradiction in the evidence, that Boniface was at once an atheist and a worshipper of idols, an open scoffer in public and a superstitious dealer in magic in private, is by no means the greatest improbability. Such things have been. The direct and total repugnance of such dauntless, wanton, improvoked blasphemies, even with the vices with which Boniface is charged, his unmeasured ambition, consummate craft, indomitable pride, is still more astounding, more utterly bewildering to the belief. But whatever the secret disgust and indignation of Clement, it must be suppressed; however the Cardinals the most attached to the memory of Boniface might murmur and burn with wrath in their hearts, they must content themselves with just eluding, with narrowly averting, his condemnation.

Summary of evidence.

Situation of Clement.

Philip himself, either from weariness, dissatisfaction with his own cause, caprice, or the diversion of his mind to other objects, consented to abandon the persecution of the memory of Boniface, and to leave the judgement to the Pope. On this the gratitude of Clement

Philip abandons the prosecution.

[a] Witness.

knows no bounds; the adulation of his Bull on the occasion surpasses belief. Every act of Philip is justified; he is altogether acquitted of all hatred and injustice; his whole conduct is attributed to pious zeal. "The worthy head of that royal house, which had been ever devoted, had ever offered themselves and the realm for the maintenance of the Holy Mother Church of Rome, had been compelled, by the reiterated representations of men of character and esteem," to investigate the reports unfavourable to the legitimate election, to the orthodox doctrine, and the life of Pope Boniface. The King's full Parliament had urged him with irresistible unanimity to persist in this course. "We therefore, with our brethren the Cardinals, pronounce and decree that the aforesaid King, having acted, and still acting, at the frequent and repeated instance of these high and grave persons, has been and is exempt from all blame, has been incited by a true, sincere, and just zeal and fervour for the Catholic faith." It was thus acknowledged that there was a strong primary case against Boniface; the appeal to the Council was admitted; every act of violence justified, except the last assault at Anagni, as to which the Pope solemnly acquitted the King of all complicity. The condescension of the King, "the son of benediction and grace," [b] in at length thus tardily and ungraciously remitting the judgement to the Pope, is ascribed to divine inspiration.[c] Nor were wanting more substantial marks of the Pope's gratitude. Every Bull prejudicial to the King, to the nobles, and the realm of France (not contained in the sixth book of Decretals), is absolutely cancelled and annulled, except the two called "Unam Sanctam" and "Rem non novam," and these are to be understood in the moderated sense assigned by the present Pontiff. All proceedings for forfeiture of privileges, suspension, excommunication, interdict, all deprivations, or deposals, against the King, his brothers, subjects, or kingdom; all proceedings against the accusers, prosecutors, arraigned in the cause; against the prelates, barons, and

The Pope's Bull.

[b] "Tanquam benedictionis et gratiæ filius."

[c] "Nos itaque mansuetudinem regiam ac expertam in iis devotionis et reverentiæ filialis gratitudinem quas . . . dicto Regi *divinitùs credimus inspiratas.*"

commons, on account of any accusation, denunciation, appeal, or petition for the convocation of a General Council; or for blasphemy, insult, injury by deed or word, against the said Boniface, even for his seizure, the assault on his house and person, the plunder of the treasure, or other acts at Anagni; for anything done in behalf of the King during his contest with Boniface: all such proceedings against the living or the dead, against persons of all ranks—cardinals, archbishops, bishops, emperors, or kings, whether instituted by Pope Boniface, or by his successor Benedict, are provisionally[d] annulled, revoked, cancelled. "And if any aspersion, shame, or blame, shall have occurred to any one out of these denunciations and charges against Boniface, whether during his life or after his death, or any prosecution be hereafter instituted on that account, these we absolutely abolish and declare null and void."[e]

In order that the memory of these things be utterly extinguished, the proceedings of every kind against France are, under pain of excommunication, to be erased within four months from the capitular books and registers of the Holy See.[f] The archives of the Papacy are to retain no single procedure injurious to the King of France, or to those, whoever they may be, who are thus amply justified for all their most virulent persecution, for all their contumacious resistance, for the foulest charges, for charges of atheism, simony, whoredom, sodomy, witchcraft, heresy, against the deceased Pope.

Fifteen persons only are exempted from this sweeping amnesty, or more than amnesty; among them William de Nogaret, Reginald Supino and his son, the other insurgents of Anagni, and Sciarra Colonna. These Philip, no doubt by a secret understanding with the Pope, surrendered to the mockery of punishment, punishment which might or might not be enforced. The penance appointed to the rest does not appear; but even

Punishment of William de Nogaret, &c.

[d] "Ex cautelâ."

[e] The Bull dated May, 1311.—Dupuy, Preuves.

[f] In Raynaldus (sub ann.) is a full account of the Bulls and passages of Bulls entirely erased for the gratification of King Philip from the Papal records; of course they were preserved by the pious care of the partisans of Boniface. See also Preuves, p. 606.

William de Nogaret obtained provisional absolution.[g] The Pope, solicitous for the welfare of his soul, and in regard to the pressing supplications of the King, imposed this penance. At the next general Crusade Nogaret should in person set out with arms and horses for the Holy Land, there to serve for life, unless his term of service should be shortened by the mercy of the Pope or his successor. In the meantime, till this general Crusade (never to come to pass), he was to make a pilgrimage to certain shrines and holy places, one at Boulogne-sur-Mer, one at St. James of Compostella.[h] Such was the sentence on the assailant, almost the assassin, of a Pope; against the persecutor of his memory by the most odious accusations; if those accusations were false, the suborner of the most monstrous system of falsehood, calumny, and perjury. The Pope received one hundred thousand florins from the King's ambassador as a reward for his labours in this cause.[i] This Bull of Clement V.[k] broke for ever the spell of the Pontifical autocracy. A King might appeal to a Council against a Pope, violate his personal sanctity, constitute himself the public prosecutor by himself or by his agents for heresy, for immorality, invent or accredit the most hateful and loathsome charges, all with impunity, all even without substantial censure.

The Council of Vienne met at length; the number of prelates is variously stated from three hundred to one hundred and forty.[m] It is said that Bishops were present from Spain, Germany, Denmark, England, Scotland, Ireland, Italy. It assumed the dignity of an Œcumenic Council. The Pope proposed three questions: I. The dissolution of the Order of the Temple; II. The recovery of the Holy Land (the formal object of every later Council, but which had sunk into a form); III. The reformation of manners and of ecclesiastical discipline. The affair of the Templars was the first. It

Oct. 15 to Nov. 1, 1311. Council of Vienne.

[g] "Absolvimus ad cautelam."

[h] Ptolemy of Lucca calls this "penitentia dura."

[i] Ptolem. Luc. apud Baluzium, p. 40. "Tunc ambasiatores Regis offerunt cameræ Domini Papæ centum millia florinorum quasi pro quadam recompensatione laborum circa dictam causam."

[k] Dated May, 1311.

[m] Villani gives the larger number, the continuator of Nangis the smaller. Has the French writer given only the French prelates?

might seem that this whole inquiry had been sifted to the bottom. Yet had the Pope made further preparation for the strong measure determined upon. The orders to the King of Spain to apply tortures for the extortion of confession had been renewed.[n] The Templars were to be secure in no part of Christendom. The same terrible instructions had been sent to the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, to the Bishops of Negropont, Famagosta, and Nicosia.[o] Two thousand depositions had been accumulated, perhaps now slumber in the Vatican. But unexpected difficulties arose. On a sudden nine Templars, who had lurked in safe concealment, perhaps in the valleys of the Jura or the Alps, appeared before the Council, and demanded to be heard in defence of the Order. The Pope was not present. No sooner had he heard of this daring act than he commanded the nine intrepid defenders of their Order to be seized and cast into prison. He wrote in all haste to the King to acquaint him with this untoward interruption.[p] But embarrassments increased: the acts were read before the Fathers of the Council; all the foreign prelates except one Italian, all the French prelates except three, concurred in the justice of admitting the Order to a hearing and defence before the Council. These three were Peter of Courtenay, Archbishop of Rheims, who had burned the Templars at Senlis; Philip de Marigny of Sens, who had committed the fifty-four Knights to the flames in Paris; the Archbishop of Rouen, the successor of Bertrand de Troyes, who had presided at Pont de l'Arche.[q] The Pope was obliged to prorogue the Council for a time. The winter wore away in private discussions.[r] The awe of the King's presence was necessary

[n] "Ad eliciendam veritatem religioso fore tortori tradendos."—Letter of Clement to King of Spain, quoted by Raynouard, p. 166.

[o] "Ad habendam ab eis veritatis plenitudinem promptiorem tormentis et quæstionibus, si sponte confiteri noluerint, experiri procuretis."—Apud Raynald. 1311, c. liii.

[p] The letter in Raynouard, p. 177. Raynouard is unfortunately seized with a fit of eloquence, and inserts a long speech which one of the Fathers of the Council *ought* to have spoken. The letter is dated Dec. 11.

[q] "In hâc sententiâ concordant omnes prælati Italiæ præter unum, Hispaniæ, Theutoniæ, Daniæ, Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ. Item Gallici, præter tres Metropolitanos, videlicet Remensem, Senonensem et Rothomagensem."—Ptolem. Luc. Vit. II. p. 43. Compare Walsingham. This was in the beginning of December.

[r] Bernard Guido. Vit. III. Clement. Compare IV. et VI.

to strengthen the Pope, and to intimidate the Council. The King had summoned an assembly of the realm at Lyons, now annexed to his kingdom. The avowed object was to secure the triumph of Jesus Christ in the Council.[s] The Pope took courage; he summoned the prelates on whom he could depend to a secret consistory with the Cardinals. He announced that he had determined, by way of prudent provision,[t] not of condemnation, to abolish the Order of Templars: he reserved to himself and to the Church the disposal of their persons and of their estates.

A.D. 1312. On April 3 this act of dissolution was published in the full Council on the absolute and sole authority of the Pope. This famous Order was declared to be extinct; the proclamation was made in the presence of the King[u] and his brother. We have already described the award of the estates to the Knights of St. John, the impoverishment of that Order[x] by this splendid boon, or traffic,[y] as it was called, to the enemies of Clement.

Clement, perhaps, had rejoiced in secret at the opposition of the Council to the condemnation of the Templars. It aided him in extorting the price of the important concession from King Philip, the reservation to his own judgement of the sacred and perilous treasure of his predecessor's memory.

Defenders of Boniface before the Council.

The Council, which had now resumed its sittings, was, not in this point alone, manifestly disinclined to submit to the absolute control of French influence. It asserted its independent dignity in the addresses to which it had listened on the reform of ecclesiastical abuses: it had shown a strong hierarchical spirit. No doubt beyond the sphere of Philip's power, beyond the pale of Ghibelline animosity, beyond that of the lower Franciscans, whose fanatical admiration of Cœlestine had become implacable hatred to Boniface, the prosecution of the Pope's memory was odious. If it rested on any just grounds, it was an irreverent exposure of the nakedness

[s] Hist. de Languedoc, xxix. c. 33, p. 152.

[t] "Per provisiones ."

[u] "Cui negotium erat cordi."

[x] "Unde depauperata est mansio hospitalis, quæ se existimabat inde opulenta fieri."—S. Antoninus; see above, p. 360.

[y] "Papa vero statim bona Templi infinito thesauro Fratribus *rendidit* hospitalis S. Joannis."—Hocsemius, Gest. Pontific. Leoden.

of their common father; if groundless, a wanton and wicked sacrilege. When, therefore, three Cardinals, Richard of Sienna, master of the civil law, John of Namur, as eminent in theology, and Gentili, the most consummate decretalist, appeared in the Council to defend the orthodoxy and holy life of Pope Boniface; when two Catalan Knights threw down their gauntlets, and declared themselves ready to maintain his innocence by wager of battle: Clement interposed not, as in the case of the Templars, any adjournment. He regarded not the confusion of the King and his partisans. The King was therefore obliged to submit to this absolute acquittal, either by positive decree; or, in default of the appearance of any accuser, of any opponent against the theologians or the knights, to accept an edict that no harm or prejudice should accrue to himself or his successors for the part which they had been compelled by duty and by zeal to take against Pope Boniface.[z]

The Council of Vienne had thus acquiesced in the determination of the first object for which it had been summoned, the suppression of the Templars. The assembly listened with decent outward sympathy to the old wearisome account of the captivity of the Holy Land, and the progress of the Mohammedan arms in the East. But the crusading fire was burnt out; there was hardly a flash or gleam of enthusiasm. But it seemed disposed to enter with greater earnestness on the reformation of manners and discipline, and the suppression of certain dangerous dissidents from that discipline. On the former subject the Fathers heard with respectful favour

Acts of the Council of Vienne.

[z] The vindication of the fame of Boniface by the Council of Vienne is disputed, F. Pagi, arguing from the fact that the affair was not included in the summons, or among the three subjects proposed for the consideration of the Council, that it was not brought before them. Raynaldus relies on the passage of Villani, on which he accumulates much irrelevant matter, without strengthening his cause. The statement in the text appears to me to reconcile all difficulties. It was, throughout, the policy of the Pope to keep this dangerous business entirely in his own hands; this he had extorted with great dexterity and at great sacrifice from the King. Till he knew that he could trust the Council, he had no thought of permitting the Council to interfere (it was an unsafe precedent); but when sure of its temper, he was glad to take the Prelates' judgement in confirmation of his own: he thus at the same time maintained his own sole and superior right of judgement, and backed it, against the King, with the authority of the Council.

two remarkable addresses. The first was from the Bishop of Mende, one of the assessors at the examination of the Templars; and this address raises the character of that prelate so highly, that his testimony on their condemnation is perhaps the most unfavourable evidence on record against them. The other came from a prelate of great gravity, learning, and piety, whose name has not survived. These addresses, however, which led to no immediate result, may come before us in a general view of the Christianity of this great epoch, the culmination of the Papal power under Boniface VIII., its rapid decline under the Popes at Avignon. So, too, the condemnation of that singular sect or offset of the Franciscans, the Fraticelli, will form part of the history of that body, which perhaps did more than any other sects in preparation of the Lollards, of Wycliffe, perhaps of the great Reformation, in the minds of the people throughout Christendom, as the disseminators of doctrines essentially, vitally, anti-Papal.

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY OF LUXEMBURG. ITALY.

POPE CLEMENT—at the cost of much of the Papal dignity; at the cost of Christian mercy, even if the Templars, tortured and burned at the stake, were guilty; at the cost of truth and justice if they were innocent—had baffled the King of France, and had averted the fatal blow, the condemnation of Pope Boniface. Even of the spoils of the Templars he had rescued a large part, the whole landed property, out of the hands of the rapacious King; he had enriched himself, his death will hereafter show to what enormous amount. But the subtle Gascon had done greater service to Christendom by thwarting the views of the French monarch upon a predominance in the Western world dangerous to her liberties and welfare. Never was Europe in greater peril of falling, if not under one sovereignty, under the dominion, and that the most tyrannical dominion, of one house. Philip was king indeed in France: in many of his worst acts of oppression the nation, the commonalty itself, had backed the King. Even the Church, so long as he plundered and trampled on others, was on his side. The greater Metropolitan Sees were filled with his creatures. Princes of the house of France sat on the thrones of Naples and Hungary. The feeble Edward II. of England was his son-in-law. The Empire, if obtained by Charles of Valois, had involved not merely the supreme rule in Germany, but the mastery in Italy. Clement would not have dared to refuse the imperial crown, and under such an Emperor where was the independence of the Italian cities? The Papal territory would have been held at his mercy.

The election of Henry of Luxemburg had redeemed Christendom from this danger. This election had been

managed with unrivalled skill by Peter Ashpalter, Archbishop of Mentz.[a] This remarkable man (an unusual case) was not of noble birth; he had been bred a physician; it was said that he had rendered the Pope great service by advice concerning his health, and had thus acquired a strong influence over his mind. Archbishop Peter first contrived the elevation of Henry's brother to the Electoral See of Treves. Two of the lay electors, out of jealousy towards the other competitors for the crown, were won over. Henry of Luxemburg was proclaimed at Frankfort. The new King of the Romans was at once a just, a religious, and a popular sovereign.[b] He had put down the robbers, and exercised rigid but impartial justice in his own small territory. At the same time he was the most distinguished in arms. At the tournament no knight in Europe could unhorse Henry of Luxemburg. Soon after his elevation his indigent house was enriched and strengthened by the marriage of his son with the heiress of Bohemia.

Henry of Luxemburg.

Nov. 27, 1308.

The Pope had taken no ostensible part in the election. When Henry of Luxemburg sent an embassage of nobles and great prelates to demand the imperial crown, Clement had no pretext, he had indeed no disposition, to refuse that which was in the common order of things. Philip might brood in secret over this politic attempt of the Pope after emancipation, yet had no right to take umbrage.

In a solemn diet at Spires Henry, King of the Romans, declared, amid universal acclamation, his resolution to descend into Italy to assert the imperial rights, and to receive the Cæsarean crown at Rome. Clement had never lost sight of the affairs of Italy: he was still Lord of Romagna, and drew his revenues from the Papal territory. But he had no Italian prepossessions. The Bishop of Rome had probably determined never to set his foot in that unruly city. His court was a court of French Cardinals, increased at each successive promotion. He had indeed interfered to save Pistoia from the cruel

Diet at Spires. Aug. 21, 1309.

[a] This is well told by Schmidt—Geschichte der Deutschen, vii. c. 4.

[b] Justus et religiosus et in armis strenuus fuit. Hocsemius, apud Chapeauville, Hist. Pontif. Leodeu. See the description of his person in Albert. Mussat. i. 13.

hands of Guelfic Florence; but Florence had treated his threatened anathema with scorn. Bologna, struck with interdict by the angry Legate for aiding Florence, had made indeed submission, but not till she had forced the Legate to an ignominious flight to save his life. Clement had maintained a violent contest with Venice for Ferrara. Venice had struck a vigorous blow by the seizure of Ferrara, and the contemptuous refusal to acknowledge the asserted rights of the Pope in that city. The Venetians scorned the interdict thundered against their whole territory by the Pope. Clement found a foe against whom he dared put forth all the terrors of his spiritual power. He prohibited all religious rites in Venice, declared the Doge and magistrates infamous, commanded all ecclesiastics to quit the territory except a few to baptize infants, and to administer extreme unction to the dying. If they persisted in their contumacy, he declared the Doge Gradenigo degraded from his high office, and all estates of Venetians confiscate; kings were summoned to take up arms against them till they should restore the rights of the Church. The Venetians condescended to send an ambassador; but as to the restoration of Ferrara, they made no sign of concession. But Venice was vulnerable through her wealth; the Pope struck a blow at her vital part. She had factories, vast stores of rich merchandise in every great haven, in every distant land. The Pope issued a brief, summoning all kings, all rulers, all cities to plunder the forfeited merchandise of Venice, and to reduce the Venetians to slavery. The Pope's admonitions to peace, his warnings to kings and nations to abstain from unchristian injury to each other, had long lost their power. But a Papal licence or rather exhortation to plunder, to plunder peaceful and defenceless factories, was too tempting an act of obedience. Everywhere their merchandise was seized, their factories pillaged, their traders outraged.[c] Venice quailed; yet it needed the utmost activity in the warlike Legate, the Cardinal Pelagru, at the head of troops from all quarters, to reconquer Ferrara. He slew six thousand men.

The Pope's policy.

[c] "Quâ de re data pluribus provinciis ac Regibus imperia."—Raynaldus sub ann., with authorities.

On a sudden Clement totally changed the immemorial policy of the Popes. He did not throw off, but he quietly let fall, the French alliance: he was in close league with the Emperor:[d] the Pope became a Ghibelline. If the Papal and Imperial banners were not unfolded together, the Papal Legate was by the side of the Emperor. The refractory cities were menaced with the concurrent ban of the Empire and the excommunication of the Church.

Henry, rather more than a year after the Diet at Spires, descended upon Italy, but with no considerable German force,[e] to achieve that in which had been discomfited the Othos, Henrys, and Fredericks. Guelfs and Ghibellines watched his movements with unquiet jealousy. He assumed a lofty superiority to all factious views.[f] The cities Turin, Asti, Vercelli, Novara, opened their gates.[g] Henry reinstated the exiled Guelfs in Ghibelline, the Ghibellines in Guelfic, cities. He approached Milan. Guido della Torre, the head of the ruling Guelfic faction, had sent a message to the King at Spires, "he would lead him with a falcon on his wrist, as on a pleasure-party, through all Lombardy." Guido was now irresolute. The Archbishop of Milan, the nephew of Guido, but his mortal enemy, entreated the King's good offices for the release of three of his kindred, imprisoned by Della Torre. King Henry issued his orders; Guido refused to obey. Yet Milan did not close her gates on the King. Guido occupied the palace of the commonalty; he would not dismiss his armed guard of one thousand men. Besides this, he had at his command in one street ten thousand men, not, he averred, against the King, but against his enemy, the Archbishop. Henry lodged in the Archbishop's palace, and there kept his Christmas. On the day after, peace was sworn between

Henry in Italy. Oct. 23, 1310.

Milan. Dec. 23, 1310.

[d] See Clement's letter to Henry of Luxemburg, July 26, 1309. Also the Treaty dated at Lausanne September 11, 1310.—Monumenta Germaniæ, iv. 501.

[e] Ferretus Vicentinus gives 5000 Germans.

[f] "Cujusquam cum subjectis pactionis impatiens, Gibolenge Guelfeve partium mentionem abhorrens, cuncta absoluto amplectens imperio."—Alb. Mussat. i. 13.

[g] See Iter Italicum by Henry's favourite counsellor. The Bishop of Buthronto gives a lively account of all his march, especially of the Bishop's own personal adventures. It has been reprinted (after Reuber and Muratori) by Boehmer.—Fontes Rer. German. i. 69.

Guido della Torre, his nephew the Archbishop, and Matteo Visconti: they exchanged the kiss of peace.[h] On the Epiphany Henry was crowned with the Iron Crown of Italy, not at Monza, but in the Ambrosian Church at Milan; the people wept tears of joy. Guido gave up the palace of the commonalty to the King. All the cities of Lombardy were present by their Syndics; all took the oath of allegiance, except Genoa and Venice, who nevertheless acknowledged the supremacy of the King.[i] Henry calmly pursued his work of pacification. He placed Vicars in the cities from the Alps to Bologna, and forced them to admit the exiles. Como received the Guelfs, the Ghibellines entered Brescia. Mantua admitted the Ghibellines, Piacenza the Guelfs. Verona alone obstinately refused to receive Count Boniface and the Guelfs: her strong walls defied the Emperor. In Milan the leaders of the factions vied in their offerings to Henry. William di Posterla proposed a vote of fifty thousand florins, but added a donative to the Empress. Guido della Torre outbid his rival: "We are a great and wealthy city; one hundred thousand is not too much for so noble a sovereign." The Germans were alienated from the parsimonious Viscontis; Guido, they averred, was the Emperor's friend; but it was shrewdly suspected that the crafty leader foresaw that Milan, when the tax came to be levied, would rise to shake off the burthen. The Emperor, to secure the city in his absence, demanded that fifty of the great nobles and leaders, chosen half from the Guelfs, half from the Ghibellines, should accompany him to Rome to do honour to his coronation. The Guelfs were to name twenty-five Ghibellines, the Ghibellines twenty-five Guelfs. But this mode of election failed; neither Guido nor Visconti would quit the city. Guido alleged ill health; the King's physician declared the excuse false. But the assessment of this vast sum, though the Germans were astonished at the ease with which much

Jan. 6, 1312.

Feb. 12.

[h] "Amicabiliter, utinam fideliter osculati."—Iter Ital.

[i] "They said many things to excuse themselves from swearing (writes the Bishop of Buthronto), which I do not recollect, excepting that they (the Venetians) are a quintessence, and will belong neither to the Church nor to the Emperor, nor to the sea nor to the land."—Iter Italicum, p. 893.

had been paid, inflamed the people. Frays broke out between the Germans and the Milanese; proclamations were issued, forbidding the Italians to bear arms. On a sudden a cry was heard, "Death to the Germans! Peace between the Lord Guido and the Lord Matteo!" Visconti was seized, carried before the King, and dismissed unharmed. The Germans rushed to arms; they were joined by Visconti's faction; much slaughter, much plunder ensued.[d] Guido della Torre fled; his palace fortress was surprised and ransacked: great stores of military weapons were found, arrows tipped with Greek fire, and balists.

Insurrection in Milan.

No sooner was Milan heard to be in insurrection, than Crema, Cremona, Lodi, Brescia, rose. The first were speedily subdued; Cremona severely punished. Brescia alone stood an obstinate siege. The Emperor's brother Waleram fell in the trenches: many Germans were hanged upon the walls. The new alliance between the Emperor and the Pope was here ostentatiously proclaimed. Two of the cardinals appointed to crown the Emperor, the Bishops of St. Sabina and of Ostia, appeared under the walls of Brescia. The gates flew open: they passed the streets amid acclamations—"Long live our Mother the Church; long live the Pope and the Holy Cardinals." The Cardinal of Ostia addressed the commonalty in a lofty harangue. He sternly reproved them for not having received that blessed son of the Church, Henry King of the Romans, who came in the name of the Lord: "They were in insurrection against the ordinance of Almighty God, against the monitions of the Pope: they must look for no better fate than befel Sodom and Gomorrah." The Captain of the people answered in their name—"They were ready to obey the Pope and a lawful emperor. Henry was no emperor, but a spoiler, who expelled the Guelfs from the cities, and gave them up to the tyranny of the Ghibellines; he was reviving the schism of the Emperor Frederick. The Cardinals withdrew for a time in ignominious silence. Brescia still

May 19, 1311.

Siege of Brescia.

[d] "Multi mortui et vulnerati, si justè Deus scit." So writes the pious Bishop, who had apprehended and, as he says, saved the life of, Visconti.

held out: Henry urged the Cardinals to issue a sentence of excommunication. "For excommunication," was the reply, "the Italians care nothing. How have the Florentines treated that of the Cardinal of Ostia, the Bolognese that of Cardinal Napoleon, those of Milan that of the Lord Pelagius?"[m] Famine at length reduced the obstinate town. They consented to the mediation of the Cardinals, and Henry entered Brescia. The want of money led him to compound for the treason by a mulct of 70,000 florins. Henry's poverty compelled him to other acts, ignominious, even treacherous, as it seemed to his most loyal counsellors.[n]

Henry advanced to Genoa: the city submitted in the amplest manner. But no sooner had the Emperor left Lombardy, than a new Guelfic league sprung up behind him. Throughout Italy, the Guelfs, more Papalist than the Pope, disclaimed the Emperor, though under the escort of cardinal legates. At Genoa died his Queen, Margarita. To Genoa came ambassadors from the head of the Guelfs, Robert King of Naples. Negotiations were commenced for a marriage between the houses of Luxemburg and Naples; but Robert demanded the office of Senator of Rome, and before terms could be concluded, news arrived that John, brother of King Robert, was in Rome with an armed force. Henry moved to Ghibelline Pisa; he was welcomed with joy. In the mean time, Guelfic Florence not merely would not admit Pandulph Savelli, the Pope's Notary, and the Bishop of Buthronto, Henry's ambassadors; they threatened to seize them, as loaded with gold to bribe the Ghibellines to insurrection. The ambassadors had many wild adventures in the Apennines, were plundered, in peril

Sept. 18-21.

March 6, 1312.

[m] Albert Mussato apud Muratori, R. I. S. I have endeavoured to reconcile this account with the Iter Italicum. I understand the same fact to be alluded to, page 900: "Domini Cardinales de pace laboraverunt."

[n] "I protested, but protested in vain" (writes the Bishop of Buthronto), "against five acts of my master. To the doubtful Philip of Savoy he granted, for a loan of 25,000 florins, the lordship over Pavia, Vercelli, Novara: to Matteo Visconti, for 50,000, that of Milan: to Guilberto di Corregio, the Guelfic tyrant of Parma, for an unknown sum, that of Reggio: to Can di Verona, who obstinately refused to admit a single Guelf, that of Verona: to Passerino, that of Mantua."—Iter Italicum, p. 93.

of captivity. Some Tuscan cities, more Tuscan lords, swore allegiance to the Emperor, whether from loyalty or hatred of Florence. The ambassadors arrived before Rome.° The city was occupied by John of Naples. He was strong enough to maintain himself in the city, not strong enough to keep down the Imperialists. There was parley, delay, exchange of demands. John insisted on fortifying the Ponte Molle. To the demand, among others, of co-operation in reconciling the rival houses of Orsini and Colonna, he sternly answered, "The Colonnas are my enemies; with them I will have neither truce nor treaty." He at length hurled defiance against the Emperor.

Henry himself set out from Pisa, and advanced towards Rome at the head of two thousand horse. With King Robert of Naples it was neither peace nor war. Prince John still held the Ponte Molle. On the appearance of King Henry he was summoned to withdraw his troops. He withdrew, he said, "for his own ends—not at the Emperor's command." The Germans charged over the bridge: a tower still manned by Neapolitans hurled down missiles; it was with difficulty stormed. The Pope's Emperor, with the Cardinals commissioned by the Pope to crown him, entered Rome: he occupied, with the Ghibellines, the city on one side of the Tiber; the Capitol was forced to submit. Beyond the Tiber were John of Naples and the Guelfic Orsini. Neither had strength to dispossess the other. But St. Peter's was in the power of the enemy. The magnificent ceremonial, which Pope Clement had drawn out at great length for the coronation of Henry, could not take place. He must submit to receive the crown with humbler pomp in the Church of St. John Lateran. The inglorious coronation took place on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Henry advances on Rome.

June 29, 1312.

The heats of Rome compelled the Emperor to retire to Tivoli. A year of war ensued: Florence placed herself at the head of the Anti-Imperialist League. Henry, having made a vain attempt to surprise Florence, retired to Pisa. There he pronounced the ban

July 20.

° This is the most curious part of the Iter Italicum.

of the Empire against Florence and the contumacious cities; and against Robert of Naples, whom he declared, as a rebellious vassal, deposed from his throne. The ban of the Empire had no more terror than the excommunication of the Pope. Henry awaited forces from Germany to open again the campaign: his magnanimous character struck even his adversaries. "He was a man," writes the Guelf Villani, "never depressed by adversity, never in prosperity elated with pride, or intoxicated with joy." Feb. 12, 1313.

But the end of his career drew on. He had now advanced at the head of an army which his enemies dared not meet in the field, towards Sienna. He rode still, seemingly in full vigour and activity. But the fatal air of Rome had smitten his strength. A carbuncle had formed under his knee; injudicious remedies inflamed his vitiated blood. He died at Buonconvento in the midst of his awe-struck army, on the Festival of St. Bartholomew. Rumours of foul practice, of course, spread abroad: a Dominican monk was said to have administered poison in the Sacrament, which he received with profound devotion. His body was carried in sad state, and splendidly interred at Pisa. Aug. 24, 1313.

So closed that empire, in which, if the more factious and vulgar Ghibellines beheld their restoration to their native city, their triumph, their revenge, their sole administration of public affairs, the nobler Ghibellinism of Dante[p] foresaw the establishment of a great universal monarchy necessary to the peace and civilisation of mankind. The ideal sovereign of Dante's famous treatise on Monarchy was Henry of Luxemburg. Neither Dante nor his time can be understood but through this treatise. The attempt of the Pope to raise himself to a great Pontifical monarchy had manifestly, ignominiously failed: the Ghibelline is neither amazed nor distressed at Dante de Monarchia.

[p] Read first Dante's rapturous letter (in Italian) to the princes and people of Italy before the descent of Henry of Luxemburg (the Latin original is lost), Fraticelli's edition, Oper. Man. iii. p. 2, 23. "Non riluca in maravigliose effette Iddio avere predestinato il Romano principe?" The Pope is now on the Imperial side, and Dante is conciliatory even to an Avignonese Pope. Nor omit, secondly, the furious letter to Henry himself, almost reproaching him with leaving wicked Florence unchastised.—Ibid. p. 230.

this event. It is now the turn of the Imperialist to unfold his noble vision. "An universal monarchy is absolutely necessary for the welfare of the world;" and this is part of his singular reasoning—"Peace," (says the weary exile, the man worn out in cruel strife, the wanderer from city to city, each of those cities more fiercely torn by faction than the last), "universal Peace is the first blessing of mankind. The angels sang not riches or pleasures, but peace on earth: peace the Lord bequeathed to his disciples. For peace One must rule. Mankind is most like God when at unity, for God is One; therefore under a monarchy. Where there is parity there must be strife; where strife, judgement; the judge must be a third party intervening with supreme authority." Without monarchy can be no justice, nor even liberty; for Dante's [q] monarch is no arbitrary despot, but a constitutional sovereign; he is the Roman law impersonated in the Emperor; a monarch who should leave all the nations, all the free Italian cities, in possession of their rights and old municipal institutions.

But to this monarchy of the world, the Roman people has an inherent, indefeasible right. The Saviour was born when the world was at peace under the Roman sway.[r] Dante seizes and applies the texts, which foreshow the peaceful dominion of Christianity, to the Empire of old Rome. Rome assumed that empire of right, not of usurpation. The Romans were the noblest of people by their descent from Æneas, the noblest of men. The rise of the Republic was one continual miracle: the Ancile, the repulse of the Gauls, Clelia, all were miracles in the highest sense.[s] That holy, pious, and glorious people sacrificed its own advantage to the common good. It ruled the world by its beneficence. All that the most ardent Christian could assert of the best of the Saints, Dante attributes to the older Romans. The great examples of human virtue are Cincinnatus, Fabricius, Camillus, Decius, Cato. The Roman people are by nature predestined to rule: he cites the irre-

[q] "Et humanum genus, potissimum liberum, optime se habet."

[r] "Quare fremuerunt gentes, reges adversantur Domino suo et uncto sub Romano Principe."

[s] "Quod etiam pro Romano Imperio perficiendo, miranda Deus pertenderet, illustrium authorum testimonio comprobatur." The authors are Livy and Lucan.

fragable authority of Virgil.[t] There are two arguments which strangely mingle with these. Rome had won the empire of the world by wager of battle. God, in the great ordeal, had adjudged the triumph to Rome: he had awarded to her the prize, universal, indefeasible monarchy.[u] Still further, "Our Lord condescended to be put to death under Pilate, the vicegerent of Tiberius Cæsar; by that he acknowledged the lawfulness of the jurisdiction, therefore the jurisdiction is of God."[x] But while all this argument of Dante shows the irresistible magic power still possessed over the imagination by the mere name of Rome, how strongly does it illustrate not only the coming days of Rienzi, but the strength, too, which the Papal power had derived from this indelible awe, this unquestioning admission that the world owed allegiance to Rome! Dante proceeds to prove that the monarchy, the Roman monarchy, is held directly of God, not of any Vicar or minister of God. He sweeps away with contemptuous hand all the later Decretals. He admits the Holy Scripture, the first Councils, the early Doctors, and S. Augustine. He spurns the favourite texts of the sun and moon as typifying the Papacy and the Empire, the worship of the Magi, the two swords, the donation of Constantine. He asserts Christ to be the only Rock of the Church. The examples of authority assumed by Popes over Emperors, he confronts with precedents of authority used by Emperors over Popes. Dante denies not, he believes with the fervour of a devout Catholic, the co-ordinate supremacy of the Church and the Empire, of the Pope and the temporal monarch; but like all the Ghibellines, like the Fraticelli among the lower orders, like many other true believers, almost worshippers of the successor of St. Peter, he would absolutely, rigidly, entirely confine him to his spiritual functions; with this life the Pontiff had no concern, eternal life was in his power and arbitration alone.[y]

[t] Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento."

[u] "Nullum dubium est quin prævalentia in athletis pro imperio mundi certantibus, Dei judicium est sequuta. Romanus populus cunctis athletigantibus pro imperio mundi prævaluit."—p. 100. "Quod per duellum acquiritur jure acquiritur."

[x] We find even the startling sentence, "Si Romanum Imperium de jure non fuit, peccatum adeo in Christo non fuit punitum."

[y] This is the key to Dante's Impe-

Italy, at the death of Henry of Luxemburg, fell back into her old anarchy. Clement, it is true, laid claim to the Empire during the vacancy, but it was an idle and despised boast.[z] The Transalpine Clement was succeeded by other Transalpine Popes; but the confederacy between the Pope and the Emperor broke up for ever at the death of Henry.

rialism and Papalism. Hence in the lowest pit of hell, the two traitors to Cæsar are on either side of the traitor to Christ. "Bruto, Iscariote, e Cassio." Hence both his fierce Ghibelline denunciations of the avarice and pride of Boniface, and his indignation at the violation of the sanctity of Christ's Vicar at Anagni. Throughout, the imperial authority is the first necessity of Italy—

"Ahi gentè, chè dovresti esser devota,
E lasciar seder Cæsar nella sella,
Se bene intendi ciò chè Dio ti nota."

This is followed by the magnificent apostrophe to Albert of Austria, whose guilt in neglecting Italy is not only avenged on his own posterity, but on his successor, Henry of Luxemburg,—

"Vienf a veder *la tua* Romá, che piagni
Vedova è sola, e di è notte chiama,
Cesare mio, perchè non m' accompagni."

—Compare Foscolo, Discorso, p. 223.

[z] "Nos tam ex superioritate quam ad Imperium non est dubium nos habere, quam ex potestate, in quâ, vacante Imperio, Imperatori succedimus."—Clement. Pastoral. Muratori, Ann. sub ann. 1314.

CHAPTER V.

THE END OF DU MOLAY, OF POPE CLEMENT, OF KING PHILIP.

THE end of Clement himself and of Clement's master, the King of France, drew near. The Pope had been compelled to make still larger concessions to the King. Philip's annexation of the Imperial city, Lyons, and the extinction of the rights or claims of the Archbishop to an independent jurisdiction, was vainly encountered by remonstrance. From this time Lyons became a city of the kingdom of France.

But the Pope and the King must be preceded into the realm of darkness and to the judgement-seat of heaven by other victims. The tragedy of the Templars had not yet drawn to its close. The four great dignitaries of the Order, the Grand Master Du Molay, Guy the Commander of Normandy, son of the Dauphin of Auvergne, the Commander of Aquitaine Godfrey de Gonaville, the great Visitor of France Hugues de Peraud, were still pining in the royal dungeons. It was necessary to determine on their fate. The King and the Pope were now equally interested in burying the affair for ever in silence and oblivion. So long as these men lived, uncondemned, undoomed, the Order was not extinct. A commission was named; the Cardinal Archbishop of Albi, with two other Cardinals, two monks, the Cistercian Arnold Novelli, and Arnold de Fargis, nephew of Pope Clement, the Dominican Nicolas de Freveauville, akin to the house of Marigny, formerly the King's confessor. With these the Archbishop of Sens sat in judgement, on the Knights' own former confessions. The Grand Master and the rest were found guilty, and were to be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.[a]

A scaffold was erected before the porch of Notre Dame.

[a] "Muro et carceri perpetuo retrudendi."—Continuat. Nangis.

On one side appeared the two Cardinals; on the other the four noble prisoners, in chains, under the custody of the Provost of Paris. Six years of dreary imprisonment had passed over their heads; of their valiant Brethren the most valiant had been burned alive; the recreants had purchased their lives by confession: the Pope in a full Council had condemned and dissolved the Order. If a human mind, a mind not the most stubborn, like that of Du Molay, could be broken by suffering and humiliation, it must have yielded to this long and crushing imprisonment. The Cardinal-Archbishop of Albi ascended a raised platform: he read the confessions of the Knights, the proceedings of the Court; he enlarged on the criminality of the Order, on the holy justice of the Pope, and the devout, self-sacrificing zeal of the King; he was proceeding to the final, the fatal sentence. At that instant the Grand Master advanced; his gesture implored silence: judges and people gazed in awe-struck apprehension. In a calm, clear voice Du Molay spake: "Before heaven and earth, on the verge of death, where the least falsehood bears like an intolerable weight upon the soul, I protest that we have richly deserved death, not on account of any heresy or sin of which ourselves or our Order have been guilty, but because we have yielded, to save our lives, to the seductive words of the Pope and of the King: and so by our confessions brought shame and ruin on our blameless, holy, and orthodox Brotherhood."

Prisoners brought up for sentence.

Speech of Du Molay.

The Cardinals stood confounded; the people could not suppress their profound sympathy. The assembly was hastily broken up; the Provost was commanded to conduct the prisoners back to their dungeons. "To-morrow we will hold further counsel."

But on the moment that the King heard these things, without a day's delay, without the least consultation with the ecclesiastical authorities, he ordered them to death as relapsed heretics. In the island on the Seine where now stands the statue of Henry IV., between the King's garden on one side and the convent of the Augustinian monks on the other, the two pyres were raised (two out of the four had shrunk back into

Death of Du Molay.

their ignoble confession). It was the hour of vespers when these two aged and noble men were led out to be burned: they were tied each to the stake. The flames kindled dully and heavily; the wood, hastily piled up, was green or wet; or, in cruel mercy, the tardiness was designed that the victims might have time, while the fire was still curling round their extremities, to recant their bold recantation. But there was no sign, no word of weakness. Du Molay implored that the image of the Mother of God might be held up before him,[b] and his hands unchained, that he might clasp them in prayer. Both, as the smoke rose to their lips, as the fire crept up to the vital parts, continued solemnly to aver the innocence, the Catholic faith of the Order. The King himself sat and beheld,[c] it might seem without remorse, this hideous spectacle; the words of Du Molay might have reached his ears. But the people looked on with far other feelings. Stupor kindled into admiration; the execution was a martyrdom; friars gathered up their ashes and bones, and carried them away, hardly by stealth, to consecrated ground; they became holy relics.[d] The two who wanted courage to die pined away their miserable life in prison.

Du Molay a prophet.

The wonder and the pity of the times which immediately followed, arrayed Du Molay not only in the robes of the martyr, but gave him the terrible language of a prophet. "Clement, iniquitous and cruel judge, I summon thee within forty days to meet me before the throne of the Most High."[e] According to some accounts this fearful sentence included the King, by whom, if uttered, it might have been heard. The earliest allusion to this awful speech does not contain that striking particularity, which, if part of it, would be fatal to its

[b] "Et je vous prie
Que de vers la visage Marie,
Dont notre Seignor Christ fust nez,
Mon visage vous me tornez."
Godfrey de Paris.

[c] "Ambo rege spectante," Zantfliet. He adds that he had this from an eye-witness—"qui hæc vidit scriptori testimonium præbuit." The Canon of Liege is said to have been born towards the end of the fourteenth century. Could he have conversed with an eye-witness of this scene on March 11, 1313? But many of these chronicles are those of the convent rather than of the individual monks. This was continued to 1462. See above.

[d] "Villani (S. Antoninus as usual copies Villani), E nota che la notte appresso chel' detto maestro e 'l compagnon furono marterizzati, per frati religiosi le loro corpora ed ossa come reliquie sante furono recolte e portate via in sacri luogi."

[e] Ferretus Vicentinus.

credibility—the precise date of Clement's death. It was not till the year after that Clement and King Philip passed to their account. The poetic relation of Godfrey of Paris[f] simply states that Du Molay declared that God would revenge their death on their unrighteous judges. The rapid fate of these two men during the next year might naturally so appal the popular imagination, as to approximate more closely the prophecy and its accomplishment. At all events it betrayed the deep and general feeling of the cruel wrong inflicted on the Order: while the unlamented death of the Pope, the disastrous close of Philip's reign, and the disgraceful crimes which attainted the honour of his family seemed as declarations of Heaven as to the innocence of their noble victims.[g]

Death of Clement. April 20, 1314.

The health of Clement V. had been failing for some time. From his Court, which he held at Carpentras, he set out in hopes to gain strength from his native air at Bourdeaux. He had hardly crossed the Rhone when he was seized with mortal sickness at Roquemaure. The Papal treasure was seized by his followers, especially his nephew; his remains were treated with such utter neglect that the torches set fire to the catafalque under which he lay, not in state. His body, covered only with a single sheet, all that his rapacious retinue had left to shroud their forgotten master, was half burned (not, like those of the Templars, his living body) before alarm was raised. His ashes were borne back to Carpentras and solemnly interred.[h]

Character.

Clement left behind him evil fame. He died shamefully rich. To his nephew (nepotism had begun to prevail in its baneful influence) he bequeathed not less than 300,000 golden florins, under the pretext of succour to the Holy Land. He had died still more wealthy, but that his wealth was drained by more dis-

[f] "S'en vendra en brief temps meschie,
Sur celz qui nous dampnent a tort
Dieu en vengera nostre mort,
Seignors, dit il, sachiez sans tère,
Que tous celz qui nous sont contrère
Por nous en uront a soupir."
Godfrey de Paris.

[g] Besides other evidence, a singular document but recently brought to light establishes the date of the execution of Du Molay, March 11, 1313. The Abbot and Convent of St. Germain aux Près claimed jurisdiction over the island where the execution took place. They complained of the execution as an infringement on their rights. The Parliament of Paris decided in their favour. —Les Olim, published by M. Bengnot, Documents Inédits, t. ii. p. 599.

[h] Franciscus Pepinus in Chronico.

graceful prodigality. It was generally believed that the beautiful Brunisand de Foix, Countess of Talleyrand Perigord, was the Pope's mistress: to her he was boundlessly lavish, and her influence was irresistible even in ecclesiastical matters. Rumour ran that her petitions to the lustful Pontiff were placed upon her otherwise unveiled bosom. Italian hatred of a Transalpine Pope, Guelfic hatred of a Ghibelline Pope, may have lent too greedy ear to these disreputable reports: but the large mass of authorities is against the Pope; in his favour hardly more than suspicious silence.[1]

Yet was it the ambition of Clement to be one of the ecclesiastical legislators of Christendom. He had hoped that his new book of Decretals would have been enrolled during his life with those of his predecessors. It was published on the 12th of March, but the death of Clement took place before it had assumed its authority.

From Boniface VIII. to Clement V. was indeed a precipitous fall. After this time subtle policy rather than conscious power became the ruling influence of the Popedom. The Popes had ceased absolutely to command, but they had not ceased to a great extent to govern. Nor in these new arts of government was Clement without considerable skill and address. Notwithstanding his abandonment of Rome, his dangerous neighbourhood to the King of France, his general subserviency to his hard master, his doubtful, at least, if not utterly disreputable personal character, his looseness and his rapacity, he had succeeded in saving the fame of his predecessor, in averting the fatal blow to the Popedom of which it had been impossible to conceive the consequences—he had prevented the condemnation of a Pope as a notorious heretic and a man of criminal life,—his disinterment, on which Philip at one time insisted, and the public burning of his body. Clement succeeded by calm, stubborn determination, by watching his time, and wisely calculating the amount of sacrifice which would content the resentful and vengeful King. His other great service to Christendom was the preserva-

[1] Villani, ix. 58. The Guelfic Villani. "Contra cujus pudicitiam fama laboravit."—Albert. Mussat. p. 606. Hist. Languedoc, xxix. 35, 138.

tion of Europe from the absolute domination of France. If indeed Henry of Luxemburg had established the imperial dominion in Italy in the absence of the Pope, it is difficult to speculate on the results. Clement himself took alarm: he yielded promptly to the demands of the King of France, and inhibited the war waged against Philip's kinsman, King Robert of Naples, as against a vassal of the Church. He looked with distrust on Henry's league with the anti-papal House of Arragon, with Frederick of Sicily. The Pope might have been constrained ere long to become again a Guelf.

Philip the Fair survived Pope Clement only a few months.[k] Philip, at forty-six, was an old and worn-out man. Though he had raised the royal power to such unprecedented height; though he had laid the foundation of free institutions, not to be developed to maturity; though successful in most of his wars; though he had curbed at least the rebellious Flemings, added provinces to his realm, above all the great city of Lyons; though in close alliance, by marriage, with England; though he had crushed the Templars, and obtained much wealth from his share of the spoil; though the Church of France was filled in its highest sees by his creatures; though the Pope was under his tutelage, most of the Cardinals his subjects: yet the last years of his reign were years of difficulty, disaster, and ignominy. His financial embarrassments, notwithstanding his financial iniquities, grew worse and worse. The spoils of the Templars were soon dissipated. His tampering with the coin of the kingdom became more reckless, more directly opposed to all true economy, more burthensome and hateful to his subjects, less lucrative to the Crown.[m] The Lombards, the Jews, had been again admitted into the realm, again to be plundered, again expelled. The magnificent festival at Paris, where he received the King of England with unexampled splendour, consummated his bankruptcy.

Poverty of Philip.

But upon his house there had fallen what wounded the haughty, chivalrous, and feudal feelings of the times more than did the violation of high Christian

Disgrace of Philip's family.

[k] Clement died April 20, Philip Nov. 29, 1314. [m] Compare Sismondi.

morals. The wives of his three sons, the handsomest men of their day, were at the same time accused of adultery, and with men of low birth. The paramours of Marguerite and of Blanche, daughters of Otho IV. and the wives of Louis and Charles, the elder and younger sons of Philip, were two Norman gentlemen, Philip and Walter de Launoi. Confession, true or false, was wrung from these men by torture; but confession only made their doom more dreadful. They were mutilated, flayed alive, hung up by the most sensitive parts to die a lingering death.[n] Many persons, men and women, of high and low rank, were tortured to admit criminal connivance in the crimes of the princesses: some were sewed up in sacks and cast into the river, some burned alive, some hanged. The atrocity of the punishments shows how deeply the disgrace sank into the heart of the King, himself too cold and severe to indulge such weaknesses. Marguerite and Blanche were shaven, and shut up in Château-Gaillard. Marguerite was afterwards strangled, that her husband might marry again: Blanche divorced on the plea of parentage. Her splendid dowry alone saved the life, if not the honour, of Jane of Burgundy, the wife of the second son, Philip of Poictiers. She had brought him the sovereignty of Franche Comté, which he would forfeit by her death or divorce. Jane was shut up; no paramour was produced: the Parliament of Paris declared her guiltless, and Philip received her again to all the dignity of her station.

In this attainder to the honour of the royal house of France some beheld the vengeance of Heaven for the sacrilegious outrage at Anagni; others for the iniquitous persecution of the Templars.[o]

Philip had fallen into great languor, yet was able to amuse himself with hunting. A wild boar ran under the legs of his horse, and overthrew him. He was carried to Fontainebleau, and died with all out- Death of Philip.

[n] Contin. Nangis, p. 68. Chroniq. de St. Denys, p. 146.

[o] "Forse per lo peccato commesso per loro padre, nella presura di Papa Bonifazio, come il Vescovo d'Ansiona profettizò, e forse per quello, che adoperò ne' Templari, come e detto addietro." —G. Villani, ix. 65.

ward demonstrations of piety. The persecutor of Popes, the persecutor of the great religious Order of Knighthood, had always shown the most submissive reverence for the offices of the Church; he had been most rigid in the proscription of heresy or of suspected heresy. The fires had received one more victim, Marguérite de la Porette, who had written a book of too ardent piety on the Love of God.[p] Philip died, giving the sagest advice to his sons of moderation, mercy, devotion to the Church; lessons which he seemed to lull himself to a quiet security that he had ever fulfilled to the utmost.[q]

It is singular, even in these dark times, to see Christianity still strong at her extremities, still making conquests upon Heathenism. The Order of the Knights Templars had come to a disastrous and ignominious end. The Knights of St. John or of the Hospital, now that the Holy Land was irrecoverably lost, had planted themselves in Rhodes, as a strong outpost and bulwark of Christendom, which they held for some centuries against the Turco-Mohammedan power; and, when it fell, almost buried themselves in its ruins. At the same time, less observed, less envied, less famous, the Teutonic Order was winning to itself from heathendom (more after the example of Charlemagne than of Christ's Apostles) a kingdom, of which the Order was for a time to be the Sovereign, and which hereafter, conjoined with one of the great German Principalities, was to become an important state, the kingdom of Prussia.

Teutonic Order.

The Orders of the Temple and of St. John owed, the former their foundation, the latter their power and wealth, to noble Knights. They were military and aristocratic brotherhoods, which hardly deigned to receive, at least in their higher places, any but those of gentle birth. The

[p] Continuat. Nangis. Sismondi, Hist. des Français, ix. p. 286.

[q] After the death of Philip's Queen, unless belied one of the most lustful of women, Guichard Bishop of Troyes was arrested on suspicion of having poisoned her. He was tried before the Archbishop of Sens and the Bishops of Orleans and Auxerre. The proofs failed, but the Bishop was kept in prison. Nor, though another man accused himself of the crime, was the Bishop reinstated in his see.—Contin. Nangis, p 61. Compare Michelet, Hist. des Français, vol. iv. c. 5.

first-founders of the Teutonic Order were honest, decent, and charitable burghers of Lubeck and Bremen. After the disasters which followed the death of Frederick Barbarossa, when the army was wasting away with disease and famine before Acre, these merchants from the remote shores of the Baltic ran up the sails of their ships into tents to receive the sick and starving. They were joined by the brethren of a German Hospital, which had been before founded in Jerusalem, and had been permitted by the contemptuous compassion of Saladin to remain for some time in the city. Duke Frederick of Swabia saw the advantage of a German Order, both to maintain the German interests and to relieve the necessities of German pilgrims. Their first house was in Acre.[r]

But it was not till the Mastership of Herman of Salza that the Teutonic Order emerged into distinction. That remarkable man has been seen adhering in unshaken fidelity to the fortunes of the Emperor Frederick II.;[s] and Frederick no doubt more highly honoured the Teutonic Order because it was commanded by Herman of Salza, and more highly esteemed Herman of Salza as Master of an Order which alone in Palestine did not thwart, oppose, insult the German Emperor. It is the noblest testimony to the wisdom, unimpeached virtue, honour, and religion of Herman of Salza, that the successive Popes, Honorius III., Gregory IX., Innocent IV., who agreed with Frederick in nothing else, with whom attachment to Frederick was enmity and treason to the Church or absolute impiety, nevertheless vied with the Emperor in the honour and respect paid to the Master Herman, and in grants and privileges to his Teutonic Knights.

The Order, now entirely withdrawn, as become useless, from the Holy Land, had found a new sphere for their crusading valour: the subjugation and conversion of the heathen nations to the south-east and the east of the Baltic.[t] Theirs was a complete Mohammedan invasion,

[r] Compare Voigt, Geschichte Preussens, and authorities.

[s] See vol. iv. p. 453.

[t] Pomerania had been converted in a more Christian manner in the twelfth century, chiefly by the exertions of Bishop Otho of Bamberg, whose romantic life, with that of his convert, Prince Mitzlav, has been well wrought by my nephew, the Rev. R. Milman, into a

the Gospel or the sword. The avowed object was the subjugation, the extermination if they would not be, subjugated, of the Prussian, Lithuanian, Esthonian, and other kindred or conterminous tribes, because they were infidels. They had refused to listen to the pacific preachers of the Gospel, and pacific preachers had not been wanting. Martyrs to the faith had fallen on the dreary sands of Prussia, in the forests and morasses of Livonia and Esthonia.

The Pope and the Emperor concurred in this alone—in their right to grant away all lands, it might be kingdoms, won from unbelievers. The Charter of Frederick II. runs in a tone of as haughty supremacy as those of Honorius, Gregory, or Innocent IV.[u]

These tribes had each their religion, the dearer to them as the charter of their liberty. It was wild, no doubt superstitious and sanguinary.[x] They are said to have immolated human victims.[y] They burned slaves, like other valuables, on the graves of their departed great men.

For very many years the remorseless war went on. The Prussians rose and rose again in revolt; but the inexhaustible Order pursued its stern course. It became the perpetual German Crusade. Wherever there was a martial and restless noble, who found no adventure, or no enemy, in his immediate neighbourhood; wherever the indulgences and rewards of this religious act, the fighting for the Cross, were wanted, without the toil, peril, and cost of a journey to the Holy Land, the old but now decried, now

Romance (I wish it had been History, or even Legend). I trust this note is pardonable nepotism. See also Mone, Nordische Heidenthum, or Schroeck, xxv. p. 221, &c., for a more historical view.

[u] "Auctoritatem eidem magistro concedimus, terram Prussiæ cum viribus domûs, et totis conatibus invadendi, concedentes et confirmantes eidem magistro, successoribus ejus, et domui suæ in perpetuum, tam prædictam terram quam a præscripto duce recipiat ut promisit, et quamcunque aliam dabit. Necnon terram, quam in partibus Prussiæ, Deo favente, conquirat, velut *vetus et debitum jus Imperii*, in montibus, planicie, fluminibus, nemoribus et in mari, ut eam liberam sine omni servitia et exactione teneant et immunem. Et nulli respondere proinde teneantur."—Grant of Frederick II., Voigt, Geschichte Preussens, iii. p. 440.

[x] Compare Mone, i. 79.

[y] A burgher of Magdeburg was burned as a sacrifice to their gods by the Natangian Prussians. The lot had fallen on him. A Natangian chief begged him off, as having enjoyed his hospitality. Twice again he threw, still the lot was against him. He was immolated.—Voigt, iii. 206.

unpopular Crusade; whoever desired more promptly and easily to wash off his sins in the blood of the unbeliever, rushed into the Order, and either enrolled himself as a Knight, or served for a time under the banner. There is hardly a princely or a noble house in Germany which did not furnish some of its illustrious names to the roll of Teutonic Knights.

So at length, by their own good swords, and what they no doubt deemed a more irrefragable title, the grants of Popes and Emperors, the Order became Sovereigns; a singular sovereignty, which descended, not by hereditary succession, but by the incorporation of new Knights into the Order. The whole land became the absolute property of the Order, to be granted out but to Christians only: apostasy forfeited all title to land. Sovereignty of the Order.

Their subjects were of two classes:—I. The old Prussian, converted to Christianity after the conquest. Baptism was the only way to become a freeman, a man. The conquered unbeliever who remained an unbeliever was the slave, the property of his master, as much as his horse or hound. The three ranks which subsisted among the Prussians, as in most of the Teutonic and kindred tribes, remained under Christianity and the sovereignty of the Order. The great landowners, the owners of castles held immediately of the Order: their estates had descended from heathen times. These were, 1, the Withings. 2. The lower vassals; and 3, those which answered to the Leudes and Lita of the Germans, retained their rank and place in the social scale. All were bound to obey the call to war, to watch and ward; to aid in building and fortifying the castles and strongholds of the Order.

II. The German immigrants or colonists. These were all equally under the feudal sovereignty of the Order. The cities and towns were all German. The Prussian seems to have disdained or to have had no inclination to the burgher life. There were also German villages, each under its Schultheiss, and with its own proper government.

Thus was Christendom pushing forward its borders. These new provinces were still added to the dominion of

Latin Christianity. The Pope grants, the Teutonic Order hold their realm on the conjoint authority of the successor of Cæsar* and of St. Peter. As a religious Order, they are the unreluctant vassals of the Pope; as Teutons, owe some undefined subordination to the Emperor.[z]

[z] Voigt is a sufficient and trustworthy authority for this rapid sketch. The Order has its own historians, but neither is their style nor their subject attractive.

CHAPTER VI.

POPE JOHN XXII.

CLEMENT V. had expired near Carpentras, a city about fifteen miles from Avignon, near the foot of Mont Ventoux. At Carpentras the Conclave assembled, according to later usage, in the city near the place where the Pope had died, to elect a successor to the Gascon Pontiff. Of twenty-three Cardinals six only were Italians. With them the primary object was the restoration of the Papacy to Rome. The most sober might tremble lest the Papal authority should hardly endure the continued if not perpetual avulsion of the Popedom from its proper seat. Would Christendom stand in awe of a Pope only holding the Bishopric of Rome as a remote appanage to the Pontificate, only nominally seated on the actual throne of St. Peter, in a cathedral unennobled, unhallowed by any of the ancient or sacred traditions of the Cæsarean, the Pontifical city? Would it endure a Pope setting a flagrant example of non-residence to the whole ecclesiastical order; no longer an independent sovereign in the capital of the Christian world, amid the patrimony claimed as the gift of Constantine and Charlemagne, but lurking in an obscure city, in a narrow territory, and that territory not his own. Avignon was in Provence, which Charles of Anjou had obtained in right of his wife. The land had descended to his son Charles II. of Naples; on the death of Charles, to the ruling sovereign, Robert of Naples.[a] The Neapolitan Angevine house had still maintained the community of interests with the parent monarchy; and this territory of Provence, Avignon itself, was environed nearly on all sides by the realm of France,

Conclave at Carpentras.

[a] See, further on, the purchase of Avignon from Queen Joanna of Naples by Clement VI.

that realm whose king, not yet dead, had persecuted a Pope to death, persecuted him after death.

The Italian Cardinals.

The Italian, but more especially the Roman, Cardinals contemplated with passionate distress Rome deserted by her spiritual sovereign, and deprived of the pomp, wealth, business of the Papal Court. The head and representative of this party was the Cardinal Napoleon, of the great Roman house of the Orsini. A letter addressed by him to the King of France shows this Italian feeling, the hatred and contempt towards the memory of Clement V. He bitterly deplores, and expresses his deep contrition at his own weakness, and that of the other Cardinals at Perugia, in yielding to the election of Clement. The Church under his rule had gone headlong to ruin. Rome was a desert; the throne of St. Peter, even that of Christ himself, broken up; the patrimony of St. Peter held rather than governed, by robbers; Italy neglected and abandoned to strife and insurrection; not only cathedral churches, the meanest prebends, had run to waste.[b] Of twenty-four Cardinals created by Pope Clement not one was sufficient for the high office.[c] The Italian Cardinals had been treated by him with contemptuous disrespect, never summoned but to hear some humiliating or heart-breaking communication. The Pope had more than meditated, he had determined, the utter ruin of the Church, the removal of the Papacy to some obscure corner of Gascony: "When I," said the Orsini, "and the Italian Cardinals voted for the elevation of Pope Clement, it was not to remove the Holy See from Rome, and to leave desolate the sanctuary of the Apostles."

The Gascons.

The Italians, conscious of their weakness, were disposed to an honourable compromise. They put forward William Cardinal of Palestrina, a Frenchman by birth, and of high character. But in the French faction there was still an inner faction, that of the Gascons.

[b] "Quasi nulla remansit Cathedralis Ecclesia, vel alicujus ponderis præbendula, quæ non sit potius perditioni quam provisioni exposita."—Baluz. Collect. Act. No. XLIII. p. 289.

[c] Such seems the sense of the (corrupt?) passage. "De XXIV. Cardinalibus quos in Ecclesiâ posuit nullus in Ecclesiâ est repertus, quæ cum aliquando credita fuit, sufficiens (tes?) habere personas, sed per eum fuit hoc." The twenty-four, I presume, include all Clement's promotions, some dead.

Clement had crowded his own kindred and countrymen into the Conclave.[d] Against them the French acted with the Italians. The contest within the Conclave was fierce, and seemed interminable. Provisions began to fail in Carpentras. The strife spread from the Cardinals within to their partisans without. The Gascons rose, attacked the houses of the Italian Cardinals, and plundered the traders and merchants from the South. A fierce troop of knights and a host of rabble approached and thundered at the gates of the Conclave "Death to the Italian Cardinals!". A fire broke out during the attack and pillage of the houses, which threatened the hall of Conclave. The Cardinals burst through the back wall, crept ignobly through the hole, fled and dispersed on all sides.[e] Conclave flies.

For two years and above three months the Papal See was vacant.[f] Impatient Christendom began to murmur. The King of France, Louis le Hutin, was called upon to interpose both by the general voice and by his own interests. The office devolved on his brother Philip, Count of Ponthieu. By him the reluctant Cardinals were brought partly by force, partly enveigled, to Lyons. The pious fraud of Philip was highly admired. He solemnly promised that they should not be imprisoned in the Conclave, but have free leave to depart wherever they would. Philip was suddenly summoned to Paris by the death of the King of France, but he left the Conclave under strict and severe guard. Conclave at Lyons.

At length they came to a determination. James, Cardinal of Porto, was proclaimed Pope, and assumed the name of John XXII. John was of small, as some describe him, of deformed stature. He was born in Cahors, of the humblest parentage, his father a cobbler. This, if true, was anything but dishonourable to the Pope, still less to the Church. During an age when all John XXII.

[d] "Guasconi ch' erano gran parte del collegio voleano l'elezione in loro, e li Cardinali Italiani è Franceschi è Provenzali non acconsentivano: si erano stati gastigato del Papa Guascone."—Villani, ix. 79.

[e] Bernard Guido apud Baluzium. Epist. Encyc. Cardinal. Italorum de incendio urbis Carpenteratensis apud Baluz. No. XLII. Raynald. sub ann. 1314. The Continuator of Nangis attributes the fire to a nephew of Clement V. See also the Constitution of John XXII. against the robbers and incendiaries.

[f] 2 years, 3 months, 17 days.—Bernard Guido.

without was stern and inflexible aristocracy, all functions and dignities held by feudal inheritance, in the Church alone a man of extraordinary talents could rise to eminence; and this was the second cobbler's son who had sat on the throne of St. Peter.[g] The cobbler's son asserted and was believed by most to have a right to decide conflicting claims to the Imperial Crown, and aspired to make an Emperor of his own.[h]

James of Cahors had followed in his youth the fortunes of an uncle, who had a small trading capital, to Naples. He settled in that brilliant and pleasant city. He was encouraged in the earnest desire of study by a Franciscan friar, but refused to enter the Order. The poor scholar was recommended to the instructor of the King's children. Though in a menial office, he manifested such surprising aptitude both for civil and canon law, that he was permitted to attend the lectures of the teachers. The royal favour shone upon him. He was employed in the kingdom of Naples, in Rome, and in other parts of the world; took orders, received preferment, was appointed by Boniface VIII. Bishop of Frejus, in the Provençal dominions of the King of Naples. But he preferred to dwell on the sunny shores of Naples; perhaps under the immediate sight of the King. While he was on a mission to Clement V. the great see of Avignon fell vacant. To the astonishment of the King of Naples it was conferred on the obscure Bishop of Frejus. The Pope explained that the promotion was made on account of strong recommendatory letters from the King himself. The letters had been written, and the royal seal affixed, without the King's knowledge. But the consummate science of the Bishop of Avignon in both branches of the law won the confidence and favour of the Pope. He was created Cardinal for his invaluable services, especially at the Council of Vienne in the two great causes—the condemnation of the Templars, and the prosecution of the memory of Boniface. All Europe watched the Conclave of Lyons. Robert of Naples

[g] See Life of Urban IV., vol. v. p. 53.

[h] Baluzius produces a passage from Albertinus to make out John XXII. of knightly or noble birth. The controversy may be seen in Baluzius and in a note to Raynaldus sub ann.

thought of his former subject, the companion of his studies. A Pope attached to Naples would aid him in the reconquest of Sicily, and in his strife as head of the Guelfs in Italy against Pisa and the Lombard tyrants. The influence, the gold of Naples overcame the scruples of the stubborn Italians; Napoleon Orsini yielded; the cobbler's son of Cahors was supreme Pontiff.[l] It is said that he made a promise never to mount horse or mule till he should set out on his return to Italy.[k] He kept his vow; after his coronation at Lyons, he dropped down the Rhone in a boat to Avignon, and there fixed the seat of his Pontificate. Oct. 2, 1316.

This establishment in Avignon declared that John XXII. was to be a French not an Italian Pontiff, the successor of Clement V., not of the long line of his Roman ancestors. His first promotion of Cardinals, followed by two others, at different periods of his Pontificate, spoke plainly to Christendom the same resolute purpose. His choice might seem even more narrow than that of his predecessor, not merely confined to French, or even to Gascon prelates, but to men connected by birth or office with his native town of Cahors. The College would be almost a Cahorsin Conclave. Of the first eight, one was his own nephew, three from the diocese of Cahors, one French bishop the Chancellor of the King of France, one Gascon, only one Roman an Orsini. Of the next seven, one was from the city, three from the diocese of Cahors (of these one was Archbishop of Salerno, one Archbishop of Aix); the three others were French or Provençals. At a third promotion of ten Cardinals, six were French prelates; three Romans, one Archbishop of Naples, one an Orsini, one a Colonna; one Spaniard, Bishop of Carthagena.[m] The Bishop alone of his native city of

John at Avignon.

Promotion of Cardinals.

[l] This circumstantial account of the life of John XXII. in Ferretus Vicentinus (Muratori, R. I. S. ix. 1166) bears strong marks of veracity. By another account, the Election was by compromise. The Cardinals agreed to elect the Pope named by the Cardinal of Porto: he named himself.—See note of Mansi on Raynaldus. Villani in loc. cit. Compare also the close of encyclic letter addressed to Robert of Naples.

[k] Ptolem. Luc. apud Baluz. p. 198, note, p. 793.

[m] The promotions, Dec. 17, 1316, Dec. 20, 1320, Dec 16, 1328.—Bernard Guido, pp. 134, 138, 140.

Cahors, as will soon appear, met with a different fate from the terrible justice or vengeance of the Pope.

Fall of the royal house of France.

The relation of John XXII. to the throne of France was greatly changed from that of his predecessor. There was no Philip the Fair to extort from the reluctant Pope, as the price of his advancement, the lavish gratification of his pride, avarice, or revenge: no powerful King, backed by a fierce nobility, and a people proud of their dawning freedom. A rapid succession of feeble sovereigns held in turn the sceptre of France, and then sank into obscurity. The house of Philip was paying condign retribution in its speedy and mysterious extinction. Divine Providence might have looked with indifference (so Christendom was taught, and Christendom was prone enough to think) on all his extortions, cruelties, and iniquities to his subjects, on even his barbarities, but nothing less than the shame of his sons, each the husband of an adulteress, and the utter failure of his line, could atone for his impious hostility to the fame, person, and memory of Boniface. Louis le Hutin (the disorderly) had died during the Conclave at Lyons, after a reign of less than two years.[n] He had caused his first wife, accused of violating his bed, to be strangled or smothered; and had married Clementine of Hungary, niece of the King of Naples. He died leaving her pregnant. The death of her son soon after his birth,[o] left the throne to the second son of Philip the Fair, Philip the Long. The accession of Philip (though his brother left a daughter) asserted the authority and established for ever the precedent of what was called the Salic Law, which excluded females from the succession to the throne of France.[p]

The Pope's briefs.

The Pope in all the briefs addressed with great frequency to the King, divulged his knowledge of the weakness of the crown. His language is that of protecting and condescending interest, but of a superior in age and learning, as in dignity. He first rebukes the King's habit of talking in church on subjects of business or amuse-

[n] From Nov. 24, 1314, to June 5, 1316.

[o] Born Nov. 15, 1316, died five days after.

[p] Sismondi, Hist. des Français, ix. p. 352.

ment. He reproves the national disrespect for Sunday; on that day the courts of law were open, and it was irreverently chosen as a special day for shaving the head and trimming the beard. He assumed full authority on all subjects which might be brought under ecclesiastical discipline. Of his sole authority he separated eight new suffragan bishoprics, Montauban, Lombes, St. Papoul, Rieux, Lavaur, Mirepoix, Saint Pons, and Alais, from the great Archbishopric of Toulouse. He did the same with the Archbishopric of Narbonne. His power and his reputation for learning caused his mandates for the reformation of the universities of Paris, Orleans, and Toulouse to be received with respectful submission. His chief censure is directed against the scholastic theology, which had in some of its distinguished and subtile writers begun to show dangerous signs of insubordination to the Church of Rome. William of Ockham was deeply concerned in the rebellious movement of part, it might at one time seem of the whole, of the Franciscan body: he had published the powerful treatise in defence of the Imperial against the Papal power.

But the profound learning of John XXII., though reputed to embrace not only theology, but both branches of the law, the canon and civil, was but the melancholy ignorance of his age. He gave the sanction of the Papal authority and of his own name to the belief, to the vulgar belief, in sorcery and magic. He sadly showed the sincerity of his own credulity, as well as his relentless disposition, by the terrible penalties exacted upon wild accusations of such crimes. The old poetic magic of the Greeks and Romans, the making an image of wax which melted away before a slow fire, and with it the strength and life of the sorcerer's victim, was now most in vogue. Louis le Hutin was supposed to have perished through this damnable art: half-melted images of the King and of Charles of Valois had been discovered or produced; a magician and a witch were executed for the crime.[q] Even the Pope's life was not secure either in its

Trials for magic.

[q] Sismondi, ix. 358.

own sanctity, or by the virtue of a serpentine ring lent to John by Margaret Countess of Foix. The Pope had pledged all his goods, moveable and immoveable, for the safe restoration of this invaluable talisman; he had pronounced an anathema against all who should withhold it from its rightful owner. A dark conspiracy was formed, or supposed to be formed, in which many of the Cardinals were involved, against the life of the Pope.[r] Whether they were jealous of his elevation, or resented his establishment of the See at Avignon, appears not; but the Cardinals made their peace. The full vengeance of the Pope fell on a victim of the next rank, not only guilty, it was averred, of meditating this impious deed, but of compassing it by diabolic arts. Gerold, Bishop of the Pope's native city, Cahors, had been highly honoured and trusted by Clement V. On this charge of capital treason, he was now degraded, stripped of his episcopal attire, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. But the wrath of the Pope was not satiated. He was actually flayed alive and torn asunder by four horses.[s] There is a judicial proceeding against another Bishop (of Aix) for professing and practising magical arts at Bologna. A fierce and merciless Inquisition was set up; tortures, executions multiplied; many suffered for the manufacture of the fatal waxen images, a physician and several clerks. The Pope issued an edict of terrible condemnation, thereby asserting the reality of countless forms of sorcery, diabolic arts, dealing with evil spirits, shutting familiar devils in looking-glasses, circlets, and rings. How much human blood has been shed by human folly!

The Franciscans.

But if the unrelenting Pope thus commanded the sacrifice of so many pretenders, if indeed they were really pretenders, to secret dealing with supernatural agencies, it was no imaginary danger to the Papal power which threatened it from another quarter. During the papacy of John XXII., that fanatic movement towards religious freedom which arose in the Mendicant Orders

[r] Raynaldus sub ann. 1317, c. lii.

[s] Bernard Guido, 488, 680. Raynaldus, 1317, liv. Gallia Christiana, i. p. 138.

[t] Raynaldus, ibid.

broke out, not only into secret murmurs against the wealth and tyranny of the Church, but proclaimed doctrines absolutely subversive of the whole sacerdotal system, and entered into perilous alliance with every attempt to restore the Ghibelline and Imperial interest in Italy. The Church itself—the most zealous, obedient, Papal part of the Church—gave birth to these new sectaries, who professed never to have left it, and to be themselves the Church within the Church.

The great schism of the Franciscan Order has already been traced in its commencement: and in the rise and consequences of that inevitable question, the possession of property. We have seen the worldly successor of the unworldly St. Francis, Elias, ruling, and repelled from the Order; the succession of alternately mild and severe generals till the time of John of Parma. We have seen the vacillating policy of the Popes, unwilling to estrange, unable to reconcile the irreconcileable tenets of these antagonists, who had sworn to the same rule, honoured the same Founder, called themselves by the same name, professed to live the same life. The mitigation of the rule by Gregory IX., and what seemed the happy evasion of Innocent IV., were equally repudiated by the more severe. Innocent would relieve them from the treason to the principles of their Master, and at the same time attach them more closely to the Papal See, by declaring all their property, houses, domains, church furniture, to be vested in the Pope. The usufruct only was granted by him to the brethren. The Spirituals disclaimed the worldly equivocation. The famous constitution of Nicolas III. reawakened, encouraged, seemed at least to invest with the Papal sanction, their austerest zeal. However indulgent some of its provisions, its assertion of their tenets was almost beyond their hopes. The total abdication of property was true meritorious holiness.[u] Christ, as an example of perfection, was absolutely, entirely a Franciscan

Schism.

[u] "Abdicatio proprietatis hujusmodi omnium rerum non tam in speciali quam etiam in communi propter Deum meritoria est, et sancta, quam et Christus viam perfectionis ostendens, verbo docuit, et exemplo firmavit. Nec his quisquam potest obsistere."—Nicolas III. Bulla. Excit. &c.

Mendicant. The use of a scrip or purse was only a tender condescension to human infirmity.[x]

The Fraticelli, the Spiritualists.

So grew this silent but widening schism. The Spiritualists did not secede from the community, but from intercourse with their weak brethren. The more rich, luxurious, learned, became the higher Franciscans; the more rigid, sullen, and disdainful became the lowest. While the Church in Assisi was rising over the ashes of St. Francis in unprecedented splendour, adorned with all the gorgeousness of young art, the Spiritualists denounced all this magnificence as of this world; the more imposing the services, the more sternly they retreated among the peaks and forests of the Apennines, to enjoy undisturbed the pride and luxury of beggary. The lofty and spacious convents were their abomination;[y] they housed themselves in huts and caves;[z] there was not a single change in dress, in provision for food, in worship, in study, which they did not denounce as a sin—as an act of apostasy.[a] Wherever the Franciscans were, and they were everywhere, the Spiritualists were keeping up the strife, protesting, and putting to shame these recreant sons of the common father.

[x] "Egit namque Christus et docuit opera perfectionis; egit etiam infirma, sicut interdum in fugâ patet et loculis." —Ibid. The adversaries of the spiritualists objected that our Lord and his apostles had a purse. "Yes," they rejoined, "but it was entrusted to Judas: if it had been for our example, it would have been given to St. Peter."

[y] The Devils held a Chapter (it was revealed to a Brother) against the Order. Their object was to nullify the three vows. "La Pauvreté, en enduisant à faire des somptueux monastères et magnifiques couvents; la chastité, allechant les religieux à la familiarité et frequentation des femmes; l'obédience, en pourchassant l'appuy et la faveur des princes seculiers, et par dissentions domestiques."—Chroniques, ii. xxxv.

[z] The tenets of the spirituals are summed up in a citation from an ancient Carta d'Appella in the possession of the author of a "Vita de S. Francesco: Foligno, 1824." He calls it a Philippic or Verrine Oration. "Peccato la tonaca perchè ampliata e non vile nel prezzo è nel colore. Peccato l'interior vesta, perchè non accordata se non nel caso di necessità. Peccato la cerca del grano, del vino e d'altri generi, ad il farne la provisione nelle cantine, e nelle granai infino a tutto l'anno. Peccato più d'averne in avanzo, è venderlo a cambiate per comprar robe per le tonace; cosi qualunquē altra vendita di cera, di pennoni, di mortori, &c, sebbene remanesse il denaro presso el Sindaco. Peccato il recever per mezza di questo il danaro per le Messe ē Funerali, o spontaneamente offerta in limosine, o questuanto da devoti per far festa nelle chiese dell' ordine: e peccato il servirsene lo stesso de' legati, specialmente fissi col fondo, qualunque fosse il titolo ed ancorchè fossino pagabili in roba, e non in moneta. *Peccato le fabriche de' Conventi, perchè grandi e spaziosi,* e paramenti sacri, perchè de seta con oro è argento, e per lo stesso motivo le altri utensili della chiesa. E peccato finalmente la assoluzione che si danno nel Sacramento della Penitenza, a i Benefattori e amorevoli, perchè data per interesse e contra il merito."

But the Spiritualists might have kept up this civil war within the Order; they might have denounced as sin the tunic, if too ample, or not coarse or dull enough in colour; the provision of corn in granaries; the possession of money for the purpose of exchange; the receiving money for masses or funerals; the accepting bequests, though not in money; the building splendid convents, wearing the costly priestly dresses, and having gold and silver vessels for the altar; the partial bestowal of absolution on benefactors and partisans, from interest, not from merit; they might have stood aloof in perpetual bitter remonstrance against the pride, wealth, luxury, and the ambition to rule in courts, prevalent among their more famous brethren: all this was without peril to the Church or to the Pope. It was their revolutionary doctrine, superadded to and superseding that of the Church, which made them objects of terror and persecution.

Like all religious enthusiasts, the Spiritual Franciscans were lovers of prophecy. In their desert hermitages, in their barefoot wanderings over the face of the earth, amid the ravines of the Apennines, or the volcanic cliffs of Apulia, in their exile in foreign climes, in their pilgrimages, and no less in their triumphant elation when Popes seemed to acknowledge the severest rule of St. Francis to be Christian perfection, they brooded over strange revelations of the future, which were current under various names, either interpretations of the Apocalypse, or prophecies of a bolder tone. The Abbot Joachim, of Flora in the kingdom of Naples, lives as a Saint in the Calendar of Rome; but the Eternal Gospel ascribed to the Abbot Joachim was to Christianity, especially the Christianity of the Latin Church, what Christianity had been to Judaism, at once its completion and abolition. The Abbot Joachim, indeed, was not only reverenced as a Saint, the whole Church invested him in the mantle of a prophet; the Churchmen themselves accepted as of divine revelation all his wild ravings or terrible denunciations which could be directed against her enemies. Frederick II. had been doomed to ruin in the vaticinations of the Abbot of Flora; but the Church discovered not, or refused to discover, what

The Abbot Joachim.

elsewhere, among the more daring enthusiasts, passed for the true, if concealed, doctrines of Joachim; the Eternal Gospel. This either lurked undetected in his acknowledged writings, in the Concordance of the Old and New Testaments, and his Comment on Jeremiah; or at least for half a century it awoke neither the blind zeal of its believers, nor the indignant horror of the higher ranks of the Church. So long the Abbot Joachim was an orthodox, or unsuspected prophet.[a] But the holy horror broke out at once on the publication, at the close of this period, of the Introduction to the Eternal Gospel. The Introduction placed what was called the "doctrine of Joachim" in a distinct and glaring light, perhaps first wrought it into a system.[b] The Church stood aghast. The monks of the older Orders, the Dominicans, the more lax and the more learned Franciscans, the Clergy, the Universities, the Pope himself, joined in the alarm. We have heard, in Paris, the popular cry, the popular satire; we have heard the powerful voice of William of St. Amour seizing this all-dreaded writing, to crush both Orders of Mendicants, and expel them from the University.[c] It was denounced at Rome: the Pope Alexander IV. commanded the instant and total destruction of the book. Excommunication was pronounced against all who should possess the book, unless it was brought in and burned within a stated time. No one would own the perilous authorship. It was ascribed by the more orthodox Franciscans to a Dominican, by the Dominicans more justly to a Franciscan. There is little doubt that it came either from John of Parma, or his school.

Introduction to Eternal Gospel.

The proscription of the book but endeared it to its fol-

[a] The Abbot Joachim was born A.D. 1145, died A.D. 1202. Pope Honorius III. avouched his orthodoxy. The Acta Sanctorum (vol. vii.) and the Annals of the Cistercian Order contain the Life of Joachim, his austerities, his preaching, his wonders. The heterodoxy on the Trinity imputed to him by the fourth Lateran Council was probably founded on misapprehension, at all events was fully recanted. The best and most full modern account of this remarkable man is in Hahn, Geschichte der Ketzer im Mittelalter, t. iii. p. 72 *et seqq.* Stuttgard, 1850. See on his writings authentic and unauthentic, p. 82.

[b] According to Hahn, there was a gradual approximation to the Book, through unauthentic writings attributed to Abbot Joachim, on which he is made more and more furiously to denounce the abuses in the Church. This is the new Babylon.—p. 101.

[c] Compare back, page 46, and extracts from Roman de la Rose and Rutebœuf.

lowers. The visions were only the more authentic, the greater the terror they excited. With the Spiritual- The Eternal Gospel.
ists the heresy of John of Parma, and his concern with the prophecies, was among his chief titles to sanctity; on the other hand, skilfully detached from these opinions, he became, like Joachim himself, a canonised saint.[d] The doctrine of the Introduction blended with and stimulated all the democracy of religion, which would bring down the pomp, pride, wealth of the hierarchy, and bow it before the not less proud poverty of the Franciscans. The enemies of the Order proclaimed it as the universal doctrine of the Friar Minors: they would hear no disclaimer. The Spirituals, the Fraticelli, chiefly the Tertiaries of the Order, disdained to disclaim, they rather openly avowed their belief, and scoffed at their more prudent or less faithful brethren. But the Eternal Gospel, as announced in the Introduction, was the absolute abrogation of the Christian faith. There were to be three estates of man, three revelations of God. Judaism was that of the Father, Christianity that of the Son; that of the Holy Ghost was to come, was coming, was harbingered by irrefragable signs. At the commencement, and in the middle of the thirteenth century, its dawn was more and more anxiously awaited. All ecclesiastical, all political events were watched and interpreted as its preparation. Passages were probably interpolated in Joachim's real writings, announcing the two great new Orders, more especially St. Francis and his followers, as the Baptists of this new Gospel.[e] The new Gospel was to throw into the shade the four antiquated Evangelists. The Old Testament shone with the brightness of the stars, the New with that of the moon, the Eternal Gospel with that of the sun.[f] The Old Testament was the outer Holy court, the New the Holy place, the Eternal Gospel the Holy of Holies. No omens of the coming of the new kingdom of the Holy Ghost were so awful or so undeniable as

[d] Acta Sanctorum, March xix.

[e] The Life of Christ by S. Bonaventura, by its close assimilation of S. Francis to the Saviour (singularly contrasted as it is with the genuine Gospels, which it might seem intended to supersede among the Franciscans), appears almost designed to break this hostile collision.

[f] "Autant che per sa grant valeur
Soit de clarté, soit de chaleur,
Surmonte le Soleil la Lune,
Qui trop est plus trouble et trop brune."
Roman de la Rose, 12436.

the corruptions of the Church: and those corruptions were measured not by a lofty moral standard, but by their departure from the perfection, the poverty of St. Francis. The Pope, the hierarchy, fell of course. But who was to work the wonderful change? Whether the temporal sovereign, Frederick II., returned to earth, or a prince of the house of Arragon, Frederick of Sicily, varied with the circumstances of the times, and the greater activity and success of Ghibellinism. The more religious looked for an unworldly head, St. Francis himself, or some one in the spirit of St. Francis.

On minds in this state of expectant elation, came, at the close of the century, the sudden election to the Popedom of Cœlestine V., one of themselves in lowliness and poverty, a new St. Francis, to the Spiritualists a true Spiritual. His followers were by no means all believers in the Eternal Gospel, but doubtless many believers in the Eternal Gospel were among his followers; and in him they looked for the dawn of the kingdom of the Holy Ghost. Many probably of both classes crowded into the Order sanctioned by the Pope; the Cœlestines, who, though suppressed by Boniface VIII., still maintained their profound reverence for the one genuine Pope, were bound together in common brotherhood by their sympathy with Cœlestine and their hatred of Boniface: they became a wide if not strictly organised sect.

Cœlestine V.

During the Papacy of Boniface, perhaps at the height of his feud with King Philip, arose another prophet, or, what was even more authoritative, an interpreter of Scriptural prophecy. John Peter Oliva sent forth, among the severe and fiery Franciscans of Provence, his Comment on the Apocalypse, consentient with, or at least sounding to most ears like, the Eternal Gospel.[s] John Peter Oliva beheld, in the seven seals of that mysterious vision, seven states of the Church:—I. That of her foundation under the Apostles. II. The age of the Martyrs. III. The age of the exposition of the faith, and the confutation of insurgent heresies. IV. That of the Anchorites,

John Peter Oliva. A.D. 1297.

[s] The opinions of John Peter Oliva are known by the report of an inquisitorial commission, on sixty articles, but the articles are cited in the words of Oliva's commentary.—Baluzii Miscell. i.

who fled into the desert to subdue the flesh, enlightening the Church like the sun and the stars. V. That of the monastic communities, both secular and regular, some severe, some condescending to human infirmity, but holding temporal possessions. VI. The renovation of the true evangelic life, the overthrow of Antichrist, the final conversion of the Jews and Gentiles, the re-edification of the primitive Church. The VIIth was to come: it was to be on earth a wonderful and quiet pre-enjoyment of future glory, as though the heavenly Jerusalem had descended upon the earth; in the other life, the resurrection of the dead, the glorification of the saints, the consummation of all things.[h] The sixth period had dawned, the antiquated Church was to be done away; Christ's law was to be re-enacted; his life and crucifixion to be repeated. St. Francis took the place of Christ; he was the Angel of the opening of the sixth seal; he was one with Christ —he was Christ again scourged, Christ again crucified— the image and the form of Christ.[i] He had the same ineffable sanctity; his glorious stigmata were the wounds of Christ.[k] The rule of St. Francis was the true, proper, evangelic rule, observed by Christ himself and by his Apostles.[m] As Christ rose again, so should the perfect state of Franciscanism rise again. John Peter Oliva asserted the truth of the visions of Abbot Joachim, as interpreted in the famous Introduction; Oliva's exposition of the Apocalypse was but in another form the Everlasting Gospel. The Father in the Law had revealed himself in awe and terror; Christ as the Wisdom of God in the Gospel. In the third age the Holy Ghost was to be as a flame and furnace of divine love; there was to be a kind of revel of delights and spiritual joys, in which there was not only to be a simple intelligence, but a savour and palpable experience of the truth of the Son—of the power

[h] Article I.

[i] "In sexto statu rejectâ carnali Ecclesiâ et vetustate prioris sæculi renovabitur Christi lex et vita et crux. Propter quod in ejus initio Franciscus apparuit Christi plagis characterizatus, et Christo totus concrucifixus et configuratus."—IX.

[k] In its spirit and much of its language, Oliva anticipated the profane Liber Conformitatum.

[m] "Regulam Minorum per Beatum Franciscum editam esse verè et propriè illam Evangelicam quam Christus seipso servavit et Apostolis imposuit." S. Francis, like the Redeemer, had his twelve apostles.—A. XXII. XXXI.

of the Father.[n] Both systems affixed the name of Babylon, the great harlot, the adulteress, to the dominant Church—to that which asserted itself to be the one true Church.[o] Oliva swept away as corrupt, superfluous, obsolete, the whole sacerdotal polity—Pope, prelates, hierarchy. Their work was done, their doom sealed: these were old things passed away; new things, the one universal rule of St. Francis, was to be the faith of man. As Herod and Pilate had conspired against Christ, so the worldly, luxurious, simoniacal Church arrayed herself against St. Francis. In her drunkenness of wrath, the Church flamed out against spiritual men, but her days were counted, her destiny at hand.

These wild doctrines and wild prophecies mingled in other quarters with other obnoxious opinions, all equally hostile to the great sacerdotal monarchy of Rome, and to the ruling hierarchy. Of all these kindred heresiarchs the strangest in her doctrine and in her fate was Wilhelmina, a Bohemian. She appeared in Milan, and announced her Gospel, a profane and fantastic parody; centering upon herself the great tenet of the Fraticelli, the reign of the Holy Ghost. In her, the daughter, she averred, of Constance Queen of Bohemia, the Holy Ghost was incarnate. Her birth had its annunciation, but the angel Raphael took the place of the angel Gabriel. She was very God and very woman. She came to save Jews, Saracens, false Christians, as the Saviour the true Christians. Her human nature was to die as that of Christ had died. She was to rise again, and ascend into heaven. As Christ had left his vicar upon earth, so Wilhelmina left the holy nun, Mayfreda. Mayfreda was to celebrate the mass at her sepulchre, to preach her gospel in the great church at Milan, afterwards at St. Peter's at Rome. She was to be a female

[n] "Ergo in tertio tempore (there were three *Times*, as in the Everlasting Gospel, though seven Periods) Spiritus Sanctus exhibebit se ut flammam et fornacem divini amoris . . . et ut tripudium spiritualium jubilationum et jucunditatum, per quam non solum simplici intelligentiâ, sed etiam gustativâ et palpativâ experientiâ videbitur omnis veritas Sapientiæ Verbi Dei Incarnati et potentiæ Dei Patris."

[o] The Inquisitors drew this inference and justified it by these quotations:—"In toto isto Tractatu per Babylonem ipse intelligit Ecclesiam Romanam . . . quæ non est meretrix sed virgo."—civ. Conf. vii. xix.

Pope, with full papal power to baptize Jews, Saracens, unbelievers. The four Gospels were replaced by four Wilhelminian evangelists. She was to be seen by her disciples, as Christ after his resurrection. Plenary indulgence was to be granted to all who visited the convent of Chiaravalle, as to those who visited the tomb of our Lord: it was to become the great centre of pilgrimage. Her apostles were to have their Judas, to be delivered by him to the Inquisition. But the most strange of all was that Wilhelmina, whether her doctrines were kept secret to the initiate,[p] lived unpersecuted, and died in peace and in the odour of sanctity. She was buried first in the church of St. Peter in Orto; her body was afterwards carried to the convent of Chiaravalle. Monks preached her funeral sermon; the Saint wrought miracles; lamps and wax candles burned in profuse splendour at her altar; she had three annual festivals; her Pope, Mayfreda, celebrated mass. It was not till twenty years after that the orthodoxy of the Milanese clergy awoke in dismay and horror; the wonder-working bones of S. Wilhelmina were dug up and burned; Mayfreda and one Andrea Saramita expiated at the stake the long unregarded blasphemies of their mistress.[q] A.D. 1281 to 1301.

Nor was this wild woman the only heretic who cheated the unsuspecting wonder of the age into saint worship, there were others whose piety and virtues won that homage which was rudely stripped away from the heterodox. Pongilupo of Ferrara had embraced Waldensian, or possibly Albigensian opinions: he was of the sect known in Bagnola, a Provençal town. He died at Ferrara; he was splendidly buried in the cathedral, and left such fame for holiness that the people crowded round his tomb; his intercessory prayers restored health to the sick; his miracles seemed so authentic that the Canons, Pongilupo of Ferrara.

[p] Had the assimilation of S. Francis to the Saviour taken off the startling profaneness of this?

[q] Muratori, Ant. Ital. 70, from the original records. The author of the Annals of Colmar calls her an Englishwoman of extraordinary beauty.—Apud Boehmer, Fontes, i. p. 89. In the process there is no charge of unchastity. Corio, Storia de Milano, p. 159, gives the popular view in which the sect is accused of all the promiscuous license which is the ordinary charge against all secret religions. In the same document, which embraces the process of Wilhelmina, is that of Stephen of Corcorezo, who was accused of favouring heretics, and as concerned in the murder of the Inquistor, Peter Martyr.

the Bishop himself, Albert, a man esteemed almost a saint at Ferrara, solemnly heard the cause, and received the deposition of the witnesses. But the stern Dominical Inquisitors of Ferrara had a keener vision; the sainted Pongilupo was condemned as an irreclaimable, a relapsed heretic; the Canons were reduced to an humiliating acknowledgment of their infatuation.[r]

Of far higher, and therefore more odious name, was Dolcino of Novara, who became the fierce apostle of a new sect, of kindred tenets with the Fraticelli or Spiritual Franciscans, with some leaven of the old doctrines of the Patarines (the Puritans) of Lombardy. His was not a community of meek and dreaming enthusiasts, or at the worst of stubborn and patient fanatics: they became a tribe, goaded by persecution to take up arms in their own defence, and only to be suppressed by arms. The patriarch and protomartyr of this sect was Gerard Sagarelli of Parma, then a stronghold of the Spiritualists.

Gerard Sagarelli seemed to aspire to found a new Order more beggarly than the most beggarly of the Franciscans: he had much of the Fraticelli, but either of himself determined or was driven to form a separate community. Pope Innocent had at first rejected St. Francis as a simple half-crazy enthusiast, so the Franciscans drove Sagarelli from their doors as a lunatic idiot. As Francis aspired to the perfect imitation of the Saviour, so Sagarelli to that of the Apostles. He still haunted the inhospitable cloister and church of the Franciscans, which would not receive him as their inmate. A lamp burned day and night within the precincts, which cast its mysterious light on a picture and representation of the Apostles. Sagarelli sat gazing on the holy forms, and thought that the apostle rose within his soul. He determined to put on the dress in which the painter, according to his fancy or according to convention, had arrayed the holy twelve. His wild long hair flowed down his shoulders; his thick beard fell over his breast; he put rude sandals on his bare feet; he wore a tunic and a cloak clasped before, of the dullest white

Gerard Sagarelli.

[r] Muratori adduces other instances of these fraudulent yet successful attempts at obtaining the honours of Saintship.—Ibid.

and of the coarsest sackcloth; he had a cord, like the Franciscans, round his waist. He had some small property, a house in Parma; he sold it, went out into the market-place with his money in a leathern purse, and taking the seat on which the Podestà was accustomed to sit, flung it among the scrambling boys, to show his contempt and utter abandonment of the sordid dross. He was not content to be an apostle: he would surpass St. Francis himself in imitation of their Master, not of his death but of his infancy. He underwent circumcision; he laid himself in a cradle, was wrapped in swaddling-clothes, and, it is said, even received the breast from some wild female believer.[s] In Parma, Sagarelli, though for several years he prayed and preached repentance and beggary in the streets, had a very few followers: in the neighbourhood his loud shrill preaching had more success. At length at Faenza, he who had been beheld with contempt or compassion at Parma, became the head of an undisciplined yet organised sect. He found his way back, if not into the city, into the diocese of Parma.

The utmost aim of Sagarelli was the foundation of a new Mendicant brotherhood: for those who had taken the vow of poverty would not endure one poorer than themselves: his followers called themselves the Apostles, or the Apostolic Brethren, or the Perfect. They were but Spiritual Franciscans under a new name.

Obizzo Sanvitale, the Bishop of Parma, was of the Genoese house of Fieschi, nephew of Innocent IV.[t] This haughty and turbulent Prelate permitted not the Inquisitors to lord it in his city; the Inquisitors were the victims of popular insurrection. When in the act of burning some

[s] Read Mosheim's account of Sagarelli, Geschichte des Apostel-Ordens, in his two volumes of German Essays. This Essay is a model of the kind of Dissertation to which later inquirers have added little or nothing. Mosheim doubts, I hardly see why, this last extravagance.

[t] Obizzo Sanvitale was promoted by Alexander IV., the great patron of Franciscanism, A.D. 1257. In the Baptistery, which he began to build at Parma—"mirabilis architecturæ, picturis non spernendis exornatus"—appeared in high honour the genuine likeness of S. Francis. Obizzo was a strong defender of ecclesiastical rights: he laid an interdict on the Prætor (the Podesta?) of Parma. He bore persecutions with a masculine spirit; and defended himself so well against his calumniators, that he was presented by Boniface VIII. (A.D. 1293) to the archiepiscopate of Ravenna. There he died, and was buried in the *Franciscan* convent.—Ughelli, Italia Sacra, ii. p. 227.

hapless heretics, they were attacked, dispersed, driven from the city. Parma defied an interdict, and for a time refused to readmit the Inquisitors.

Sagarelli himself had now been preaching above twenty years, either despised as a fanatic or dissembling his more obnoxious opinions. He was summoned before the Bishop, who, in compassion or disdain, not only spared his life, but allowed the beggar of beggars the crumbs from his lordly table. The sect of Sagarelli was no doubt among those unauthorised Orders against which Honorius IV. issued his Bull. Sagarelli was banished from Parma; he returned again, and was thrown into prison; some of his followers were burned. At length, under the Pontificate of Boniface VIII., in the year of jubilee, when Christendom was under its access of passionate devotion, the Inquisition, the Dominican Inquisition, resumed its full power in Parma. Sagarelli was seized; once he abjured, or seemed to abjure, but the remorseless Manfred, the Great Inquisitor, would not lose his prey. That abjuration surrendered him as a relapsed heretic to his irrevocable doom: he was condemned to the flames. By one wild account of this terrible scene, in the midst of the fire the voice of the heretic was heard, "Help, Asmodeus." At once the fire went out. Thrice it was rekindled, thrice at that powerful spell it smouldered into harmlessness. Nothing was to be done but to appeal to a more potent name. The Host was brought, the heretic again bound on the pile, again the flames blazed. "Help, Asmodeus," again cried Sagarelli. There was a wailing in the air: "One stronger than ourselves is here." The fire did its terrible work. Such things were believed in those days. No one shuddered with horror at the body of the merciful Saviour being employed on such fearful office.[u]

A.D. 1280.

A.D. 1286.

Dolcino of Novara.

Dolcino, born at a village near Novara, either Prato or Tragantino, caught up the prophet's mantle at the fiery departure of Sagarelli. The new heresiarch was no humble follower: he had neither the prudence nor the timidity of the elder teacher to disguise or to dissemble

[u] I owe this reference to Jacob ab Aquis, in the recently published Monumenta Hist. Sabandiæ; to Sign. Mariotti, Dolcino de Novara.

his opinions. He was a man cast in an iron mould; not only with that eloquence which carries away a host of hearers with an outburst of passionate attachment and is gone, but that which sinks deep into the souls of men, and works a stern, enduring, death-defying fanaticism. He must have possessed wonderful powers of organisation, and, as appeared, by inspiration, extraordinary military skill. Obscurity and mystery perhaps even in his own day hung over the youth and early life of Dolcino. He was said to have sprung from a noble family, the Tornielli; he was not improbably the son of a married Lombard priest. Either before or immediately after the death of Sagarelli, he was in the Tyrol, and in the diocese of Trent, where lurked no doubt many heirs of the doctrines of Arnold of Brescia: it might be too of the Waldensians and other antisacerdotalists. The stern Franciscan Bishop of Trent, Buon Accolti, drove him back to the southern side of the Alps. As the acknowledged head of the Apostolic Brethren, on the death of Sagarelli he was expelled from Milan, from Como, from Brescia, from Bergamo. According to one account he took refuge beyond the Adriatic Sea, among the wild forests of Dalmatia.[x]

His tenets.

But he was everywhere present by his doctrines. His epistles became the Gospel, his prophecies the Koran of the Order. Of his three epistles, which contained the chief part of his doctrines, two still survive. Like the Franciscan Spiritualists, the Apostles of Parma had their periods and eras in the history of mankind. There were four states of man:—I. That of the Patriarchs and Prophets, when not only marriage but polygamy was lawful for the propagation of the human race.[y] II. That of Christ and his Apostles, who had taught that virginity was better than marriage, poverty than riches, to live without property better than to hold possessions. This period closed with St. Silvester. III. In the third, the evil and

[x] Mosheim seems not to doubt the residence in Dalmatia. His reasoning is plausible; but on this point alone that severe writer yields, it appears to me, to conjecture.

[y] Compare Mosheim's very ingenious reading of a passage in the epistle of Dolcino: "In quo statu laudabat bonum fuisse numerum *eum* (uxorum M.) causâ multiplicandi genus humanum."—Dissert. p. 246.

iron age, the love of the people began to wax cold towards God and their neighbour: the Church assumed wealth and temporal power. All Popes, from St. Silvester, had been prevaricators and deceivers, except Cœlestine V. The rule of St. Benedict, the life of the monks, had been the saving goodness of that age. When the love of the monks as of the clergy grew cold, virtue and holiness had perished; all were evil, haughty, avaricious, unchaste. St. Francis and St. Dominic had surpassed the rule of St. Benedict and of the monks, but this too was but for a time. The iron age was to come to a terrible end, which was to sweep away Pope, prelates, monks, friars. But, IV. Gerald of Parma began the fourth, the golden age—that of true Apostolic perfection. The Dolcinites too had their Apocalyptic interpretations. The Seven Angels were of Ephesus, St. Benedict; of Pergamus, Pope Silvester; of Sardis, St. Francis; of Laodicea, St. Dominic; of Smyrna, Gerald of Parma; of Thyatira, Dolcino of Novara; of Philadelphia, the future great and holy Pope.

Anti-Papal tenets.

Against the ruling Popes they were more fearless and denunciatory. The Popedom was the great harlot of the Revelations. In the latter days there were to be four Popes, the first and last good, the second and third bad. The first good Pope was Cœlestine V., whose memory they reverenced with the zeal of all the idolaters of poverty. The first of the bad was Boniface VIII. The third they did not name: no one could be at a loss for their meaning.[z] As to the fourth, John XXII. had not ascended the throne before Dolcino and most of his partisans had perished; but it would have been impossible to have conceived (nor could the apostles, the successors of Dolcino, conceive) a Pontiff, except from his lowly birth, so opposite to the unworldly, humble, poverty-loving ideal of a Pontiff. According to them, no Pope could give absolution who was not holy as St. Peter; in poverty absolutely without property; in lowliness not exciting wars, persecuting no one, allowing every one to live in freedom of conscience.[a] They were amenable to no

[z] Benedict seems to have been passed over.

[a] "Non fovendo guerras, nec aliquem persequendo, sed permittendo vivere quemlibet in suâ libertate."—Additament., Hist. Dolcin. apud Muratori.

Papal censure (from some lingering awe they left to the Pope the power of issuing decrees and appointing to dignities); but no Pope had authority to command them, by excommunication, to abandon the way of perfection, nor could they be summoned before the Inquisition for following after that same perfection.[b]

The Dolcinites had their strong but peculiar Ghibellinism. Their prophetic hopes rested on the Sicilian House of Arragon. Frederick of Arragon was to enter Rome on the Nativity, in the year 1335 (so positive and particular were they in their vaticinations), to become Emperor, to create nine Kings (or rather, according to the Apocalypse, ten), to put to death the Pope, his prelates, and the monks. The Church was to be reduced to her primitive Apostolic poverty. Dolcino was to be Pope, if then alive, for three years; and then came the Perfect Pope, by special outpouring of the Holy Ghost. It might be Dolcino himself holy as St. Peter, or Gerard of Parma, restored to life. Then Antichrist was to come; the Perfect Pope was to be wrapt for a time to Paradise with Enoch and Elias; after the fall of Antichrist he was to return, and convert the whole world to the faith of Christ. Ghibellinism.

Dolcino and his followers first appear as an organised community in Gattinara and the Val Sesia in Piedmont. That beautiful region at the foot of the lower Alps, with green upland meadows, shaded by fine chestnut groves, and watered by the clear Sesia and the streams which fall into it, had been but recently possessed by the great Ghibelline family, the Blandrate. To this land believers in these popular tenets flocked from all quarters, from the Alpine valleys, from beyond the Alps. They proclaimed that all duties were to yield to the way of perfection: the bishop might quit his see, the priest his parish, the monk his cloister, the husband his wife, the wife her husband, to join the one true Church. Dolcino in one respect discarded, or (it is doubtful which) boasted himself superior in asceticism to the severity of most of the former sects. Each, like the apostle, had "a sister:" with A.D. 1304. In the Val de Sesia.

[b] Hist. Dolcin. p. 435.

that sister every one aspired to live in the most unblemished chastity. It is even said, but by their enemies, that they delighted to put that chastity to the most perilous trial. Dolcino had a sister like the rest, the beautiful Margarita, a Tyrolese maiden of a wealthy family, of whom he had become enamoured, with profane or holy love, when beyond the Alps. By him she was asserted to be a model and miracle of perfect purity: his enemies of course gave out that she was his mistress.[d] At the close of their dark destiny she was taunted as though she were pregnant. "If so," replied the confident followers of Dolcino, and Dolcino himself, "it must be by the Holy Ghost." All this, however, is belied by other and not less unfriendly authorities.[e] But these peaceful sectaries (peaceful at least as far as overt acts, if hardly so in their all-levelling doctrines) could not be long left in peace. In all respects but in their denunciation against the hierarchy they were severely orthodox: they accepted the full creed of the Church, and only superadded that tenet. Already, soon after his accession, Clement V., at the solicitation of the clergy and the Guelfs of the neighbourhood, issued his Bull for their total extirpation. Already there were menaces, signs, beginnings of persecution: the Inquisition was in movement. Almost at once the sect became an army. On a mountain called Balnera, or Valnera, in the upper part of the valley of the Sesia, they pitched their camp and built their town. Dolcino himself found hospitable reception with a faithful disciple, a rich landowner, Milano Sola. They gave out that God might be worshipped as well in the deep forest, on the snowy crag, as in the church.

The first attempt at hostility against them ended in

[d] "Secum ducebat Amasiam, nomine Margaretam, quam dicebat se tenere more sororis in Christo, providè et honestè; et quia deprehensa fuit esse gravida, ipse et sui asseverant esse gravidam de Spiritu Sancto."—Additament., p. 459.

[e] Mosheim justly observes that in the authentic documents there is no charge of licentiousness against the earlier or later apostles; neither in the bulls of Honorius IV. or Nicolas IV., nor in any reports of the trials, more especially the very curious examination at a much later period of Peter of Lugo at Toulouse, in Limborch, Hist. Inquisitionis. "Allein die Gerichts-register, so wohl zu Tholouse, als zu Vercelli sprechen sie von dieser Anklage los, weil sie ihnen keine Unreinigkeit, keine Uebertretung der Gesetze von der Zucht und Keuscheit vorwerfen."—P. 305.

shameful discomfiture. The Podestà of Varallo headed an attack: he was ignominiously defeated, taken, redeemed at a large ransom. Dolcino and his followers (they were now counted by thousands) were masters of the whole rich Val Sesia. But the thunderclouds were gathering. No sooner was the Papal Bull proclaimed than the Guelfic nobles met in arms: they took a solemn oath in the church of Scopa to exterminate these proscribed and excommunicated heretics. This formidable league wanted not a formidable captain. The Bishop Rainieri, of the noble and Guelfic family of the Avogadri, now ruled in Vercelli. He set himself at the head of the crusade. Dolcino's followers had become soldiers, Dolcino a general of more than common sagacity and promptitude. He made a bold march along the sharp mountain ridge, and seized a strong position, the bare rock, still called Monte Calvo. The despair of fanaticism is terrible. The conflicts became murderous on both sides. Thrice at least the forces of the Bishop suffered disgraceful defeat. The Bishop saw his whole diocese a desolate waste: even the churches were sacrilegiously despoiled, the images of the Madonnas were mutilated, the holy vessels carried off. They broke the bells and threw down the belfries.[f] But the stronger the position of Dolcino, the greater his weakness. How were thousands to find food on those bleak inhospitable crags? The aggression of their persecutors had made them warriors: it now made them robbers. Society had declared war against them: they declared war against society. Famine knows no laws: it makes laws of its own. They proclaimed their full right of plunder, for without plunder they could not live: all was to them just, except the desertion of their faith.[g] Frightful tales are told of their cruelty in their last wild place of refuge; for they left in the mountain hold, on the bare rock, the weak and defenceless of their body; set off again with the same promptitude and intelligence, over mountain ridges and deep snows, and

June 1.

[f] S. Mariotti well observes that their hostility to the bells and belfries is intelligible enough. They were rung as a tocsin to rouse the country in case of an attack by the Dolcinites.

[g] "Item derobare, carcerare et quæcunque mala inferre *Christianis*, potius quam mori et destruere eorum fidem." —Additamenta.

seized a still stronger height, Mount Zerbal, called after them Monte Gazzaro, above Triverio. Here for some months they defied all attack. The Bishop, grown wiser by perpetual discomfiture, was content to blockade all the passes. Starvation grew more intense; the women and the weakly, who had been left on Monte Calvo, found slowly their way to Mount Zerbal, and aggravated the distress. The women, if they did not join in the war, urged on the fierce irresistible sallies from their unapproachable mountain hold. They burst at one time on the town of Triverio, and thoroughly sacked it. It was on the prisoners in these expeditions that they wreaked their most merciless vengeance, or rather determined to turn them most relentlessly to their advantage. Gibbets were erected upon the brow of the sheer precipice, on which the inhabitants from below might behold their husbands, brothers, and kindred suspended, and slowly yielding up their lives. It was made known that they might be ransomed for food, or what would purchase food.[h] Redemption at such a price could not be permitted by the inflexible Bishop. Men hunted like wild beasts, became wild beasts; they were reduced to the scantiest, most loathsome food; they ate everything indiscriminately; it is said as an aggravation during Lent.[i] They had passed the wild dreary winter on these steep, dismal, hungry peaks. They ate rats, hares, dogs, chopped grass, even more horrible food. Numancia or Jerusalem beheld not more frightful banquets than the mountain camp of Dolcino, yet would they not surrender their lives or their faith. Nor was their noble resistance obscure or without its fame. It is difficult not to discern some Ghibelline admiration, perhaps sympathy, in Dante's famous lines,[k] though Dante, placing the message to Dolcino, "that he provision well his mountain fortress," in the mouth of

[h] "Clam multos alios viros suspenderunt, videntibus uxoribus et parentibus, quia non volebant se redimere ex arbitrio prædictorum canum."—Hist. Dolcin. p. 437. The ransom of the Podesta of Varallo had been exacted in kind, that is, in means of subsistence.

[i] The preceding Lent they had fasted like good churchmen. They had lived on chopped hay, moistened with some kind of fat liquid.

[k] "Or di a frà Dolcin', dunque che s'armi,
Tu chè forse vedrai il Sole in breve,
S'egli non vuol qui tosto seguitarmi.
Le di vivande, chè stretta di neve
Non rechi la vittoria al Noarese,
Ch' altrimente acquistar non sarà lieve."
Inferno, xxviii. 55, 60.

Mahomet, may seem as it were to disclaim all compassion for the heresiarch. "Unless Dolcino did this he might come before his time to his awful doom." Famine at length did its slow work. The Novarese, or rather the Vercellese, won at length his dear-bought victory. The besieged were worn to thin, feeble, and ghostly shadows. Mount Zerbal was stormed. A thousand were massacred, drowned in their flight in the rivers, or burned. Of the prisoners not one would recant: all perished rather in the flames.[m]

Capture of Gazzaro.

Maundy Thursday.

Three—Dolcino, Longino, and Margarita—were reserved for a more awful public execution. The Pope was consulted as to their doom. The answer was cold, decisive. "Let them be delivered to the secular arm." Vercelli was to behold the triumph of her Bishop, and the vengeance wreaked on the rebels to the Church. A tall stake was raised on a high and conspicuous mound. Margarita was led forth. Notwithstanding, it is strangely said, her sufferings, exposure, famine, agony, incarceration, such was her beauty that men of rank offered her marriage if she would renounce her errors.[n] She was yet heiress, too, of her great estate in the Tyrol. But whether it was earthly or heavenly love, whether the passionate attachment of the fond consort, or the holy and passionless resolution of the saint, the noble woman had nothing of woman's weakness: she endured unfaltering to the end; she endured the being consumed by a slow fire in the sight of Dolcino himself; his calm voice was heard beseeching, admonishing her, as she shivered in the flames, to be faithful to the close. Dolcino was as courageous under his own even more protracted and agonising trial. He repelled all those who were sent to disturb his last hours with their polemic arguments. He and Longino were placed on a lofty waggon, in which were blazing pans of fire; men with hot pincers tore away

Death of Margarita.

Of Longino and Dolcino.

[m] "Atque ipsâ die plures quam mille ex ipsis, tum flammæ, tum flumini submersi, ut præfatur, tum gladiis et morti crudelissimæ dati sunt."—Hist. Dulcini.

[n] "Illa vero imbuta doctrinâ ipsius nunquam deseruit mandata illius. Ideo pertinacius in eo fuit firma, in hoc errore, consideratâ sexûs infirmitate. Nam cum mille nobiles quærerent eam in uxorem, tum propter pulchritudinem illius, tum propter ejus pecuniam magnam, nunquam potuit flecti."—Benvenut. Imola, Muratori, S. R. I. x. 1122.

their flesh by morsels, and cast them into the fire; then wrenched off their limbs. Once, and once only, as the most sensitive part of man was rent away, he betrayed his anguish by the convulsion of his face. At length, having been thus paraded through the land, both, Longino in Biella, Dolcino in Vercelli, were released from their long death.°

These terrible scenes took place under the rule and by the authority of Clement V. Had John been on the Papal throne he would have even more rudely clashed with the Spiritual notion of an unworldly and a poor Pope. Clement V. had been accused of avarice. John XXII. was even more heavily charged with the same vice; and no Pope plunged more deeply into the political affairs of his time than John XXII. His acts were at once a bitter satire and reproach on his predecessor, and an audacious proclamation of his own rapacity. In the fourth year of his Pontificate, John commenced a process which rent off the last veil from the enormous wealth of Clement, and showed at the same time that the new Pope was as keenly set on the accumulation of Papal treasures. Clement, before his death, had deposited a vast amount in money, in gold and silver vessels, robes, books, precious stones and other ornaments, with important instruments and muniments, in the Castle of Mouteil, in the Venaisin. The lord of the castle, the Viscount de Lomenie and Altaville, on Clement's death, seized, and, as it was said, appropriated all this treasure. Besides this he had received sums of money due to the deceased

Process about the wealth of Clement V.

° The principal authority for this account is the Hist. Dulcini, in the ninth volume of Muratori, S. R. I., with the Additamenta, the author of which professes to have seen and to cite two of Dolcino's epistles. "But," he says, "they kept their doctrines secret, and held the right to deny them before the Inquisition." Dolcino, he avers, had abjured three times. Some circumstances are from Benvenuto da Imola's commentary on Dante.—Muratori, Ant. Ital. v. 6. This passage of my history was written before the publication of Sig. Mariotti's (?) "Dulcino and his Times." Sig. Mariotti (it is not his real name) has the great advantage of perfect local knowledge of the whole scene of Dolcino's career (I had myself, before I thought much of Dolcino, travelled rapidly through part of the district). The work is one of great industry and accuracy, marred somewhat, to my judgement, by Italian prolixity, and some Italian passion. I am indebted to it for some corrections and additions. Sig. Mariotti has demolished, it seems to me, the religious romance of Professor Biagiolini, translated as history by Dr. Krone, "Dulcino und seine Zeit." Leipsic, 1844.

Pontiff. The Viscount was summoned to render an account. He and all persons in possession of any part of this property were to pay it into the hands of the Pope's treasurer, under pain of excommunication, and, as to the Viscount, of interdict on his territory. Those in the Court of Rome were to pay in twenty days, those in France in two months, those beyond the Alps in three. The demand against the Viscount was more specific. It amounted, in the whole, to 1,774,800 florins of gold. Of this 300,000 had been destined by Pope Clement to the recovery of the Holy Land; 320,000 to pious uses; 100,000 was a debt of the King of France; 160,000 due from the King of England. The Viscount was a dangerous man. No one ventured to serve the citation: it was fixed on the doors of the church at Avignon. The Viscount at length deigned or thought it prudent to appear before the Court. He acknowledged the trust of 300,000 florins: he was prepared to pay it when the crusade should begin. The baffled Pope, after much unseemly dispute, yielded to a compromise. The Viscount was to pay 150,000: the other moiety was to remain in his hands, on condition that he or his heirs should furnish one thousand men-at-arms whenever the King of France, the King of England, the King of Castile, or the King of Sicily, or the elder son of either, should take the cross. The sum said to have been devoted to pious uses had dwindled to 200,000 florins. The Viscount declared that it had been already expended, chiefly by others; he was a simple knight, ignorant of money matters. The Pope was manifestly incredulous: he mistrusted the accounts; and no doubt only acquiesced in the acquittal of the Viscount from despair of extorting restitution. He had but shown his own avarice and his weakness.[p]

If the sect of Dolcino had been nearly extirpated before the accession of Pope John, the Spiritualists and the Fraticelli, the believers in the prophecies of the Abbot Joachim and John Peter Oliva, swarmed not only in Italy, but the latter especially, in the neighbourhood of the Papal Court of Avignon. These sordid and

The Fraticelli.

[p] Vit. apud Baluz.

unseemly squabbles for money would not be lost upon them. All these men alike pertinaciously held that the sole perfection of Christianity was absolute poverty, without possession, personal or in common. They wore a peculiar dress, which offended by its strange uncouthness: they cast aside the loose long habit, appeared in short, tight, squallid garments, just sufficient to cover their nakedness.[q] Even of their dress and of their food—as they immediately put it into their mouths—they had only the use: they declared the birds of the air and the beasts of the field to be their examples. Granaries and cellars were a wicked mistrust of God's providence.

The age was too stern and serious to laugh to scorn, or to treat these crazy tenets with compassion; and they struck too rudely against the power and the interests of the hierarchy, against the Pope himself, for contemptuous indifference. With all this was moulded up a blind idolatry of St. Francis and of his rule—his rule, which was superior in its purity to the Four Gospels—and an absolute denial of the Papal authority to tamper with or relax that rule. "There were two Churches:[r] one carnal, overburdened with possessions, overflowing with wealth, polluted with wickedness, over which ruled the Roman Pontiff and the inferior Bishops: one spiritual, frugal, without uncleanness, admirable for its virtue, with poverty for its raiment; it contained only the Spirituals and their associates, and was ruled by men of spiritual life alone." They had firm confidence in the near approach of the times foreshown by John Peter Oliva, when the Pope, the Cardinals, all Abbots and Prelates, should be abolished, perhaps put to the sword. Such doctrines were too sure of popularity, possibly among some of the higher orders, assuredly among the wretched serfs, the humbler and oppressed vassals, the peasantry, the artisans of the towns, the mass of the lower classes. Multitudes no doubt took refuge from want, degradation, tyranny, in

General dissemination.

[q] "Perfectionem evangelicorum Christi in quâdem monstruosâ deformitate, et nihil in futurum reservando a viris evangelicæ professionis vitam ducentibus, esse confingunt."—Baluz. Miscell. ii. 247.

[r] These are the words of the Bull of Pope John.—Raynald. sub ann. 1318.

free and self-righteous mendicancy.[s] They were spreading everywhere (the followers of Dolcino appeared in Poland), and everywhere they spread they disseminated their doctrines in new forms, each more and more formidable, if not fatal to the hierarchy, Fraticellism, Beguinism, Lollardism. They first familiarised the common mind with the notion that Rome was the Babylon, the great harlot of the Apocalypse.

John XXII. was too sagacious not to foresee the peril; too arrogantly convinced, and too jealous, of his supreme spiritual authority not to resent; too merciless not to extirpate by the most cruel means, these slowly-working enemies. Soon after his accession Bull followed Bull equally damnatory. The Franciscan convents in Narbonne and in Beziers were in open revolt from their Order: on them the wrath of the Pope first burst. The Inquisition was committed to Michael di Cesena, still the faithful subject of the Pope, and to seven others.[t] Twenty-five monks were convicted, and sentenced first to degradation, then to perpetual imprisonment. Some at least still defied the persecutor: they committed their defiance to writing. "They had not abandoned the holy Order of St. Francis, but the whited walls, its false brethren; not its habit, but its robes; not the faith, but the bark and husk of faith; not the Church, but the blind synagogue (this was their constant and most galling obloquy: the corrupt Church was to the perfect one as the Jewish Synagogue to that of Christ); they had not disclaimed their pastor, but a ravening wolf." For this apostasy, as it was declared, they were brought to the stake and burned at Marseilles.[u] They were condemned for the heresy of denying the Papal authority. As yet there was no Papal censure of the strict spiritual interpretation of the Franciscan rule: it was the rather established by the Bull of Nicolas IV.

Alarm of Pope John.

The Inquisition had begun its work: it continued under

[s] See, too, the trial at Toulouse of De Lupo, referred to above.

[t] See the letter of John XXII., delegating the inquisitorial power to Michael di Cesena.—Baluzii Miscellanea. Another document contains the sentence of the Inquisition, and to this is appended his signature.

[u] See, for the frightful details, Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, tom. iv.

the ordinary Dominican administration, under which Franciscan heretics were not likely to find indulgence. In Narbonne, in Beziers, in Capestang, in Lodeve, in Lunel, in Pezenas, those deniers of the Papal authority, and so of the tenets of the Church (this was their declared crime), suffered, as one party thought, the just doom of their obstinate heresy; as they themselves declared, glorious martyrdom.[x] They were mingled perhaps (persecution is not nice in its discrimination) with men of more odious views, the secret survivors of the old Albigensian or Waldensian tenets. Many of them were believed to be, some may have been really, infected with such opinions. But those that perished at the stake were but few out of the appalling numbers. The prisons of Narbonne and of Carcassonne were crowded with those who were spared the last penalty. Among these was the Friar Deliciosus of Montpellier, a Franciscan, who had boldly withstood the Inquisition, and was immured for life in a dungeon. He it was who declared that if St. Peter and St. Paul should return to earth, the Inquisition would lay hands on them as damnable heretics. At Toulouse the public sermons of the Inquisition took place at intervals, and these sermons were rarely unaccompanied by proofs of their inefficacy. Men who would not be argued into belief must be burned. The corollary of a Christian sermon was a holocaust at the stake.

As yet the great question, the poverty of Christ and his Apostles, had not been awakened from its repose. The Bull of Nicolas IV. was still the law; but John XXII. was proud and confident in his theological learning, and not unwilling to plunge into the perilous controversy. The occasion was forced upon him, but he disdained to elude it: he seized on it without reluctance, perhaps with avidity. He was eager to crush at once a doctrine, the root and groundwork of these revolutionary prophecies of John Peter Oliva, which had recently been asserted, with intrepid courage, by an eloquent friar, Ubertino di Casale. Ubertino had not only been persecuted in Provence, he had been excommuni-

Absolute poverty.

Ubertino di Casale.

[x] Mosheim had in his possession a martyrology of 113 Spiritual martyrs, from 1318 to the Papacy of Innocent VI.

cated, and driven out of Tuscany and Parma, where the Spirituals had set up a new General, Henry de Ceva, organised a new Order under provincials, custodes, and guardians, no doubt with the hope that from Sicily was even now to come forth the great king, the deliverer, the destroyer of the carnal and wealthy Church—he under whom was to open the fourth age, and to arise the poor, immaculate, Spiritual Pope.[y]

The Archbishop of Narbonne and the Grand Inquisitor, John de Beaune, were sitting in judgment on a Beghard. They summoned to their council all the clergy distinguished for their learning. One of the articles objected against the Beghard was his assertion of the absolute poverty of Christ and his Apostles. The Court were about to condemn the tenet, when Berenger de Talon, only a reader, but a man of character, stood up and declared it sound, catholic, and orthodox. He would not be put down by clamour; he refused to retract; he cited the Bull of Pope Nicolas; he appealed to the Pope in Avignon. Berenger appeared before John XXII. and his Consistory of Cardinals, maintained his doctrine, was seized and put under arrest. But as yet the cautious Court proceeded no further than to suspend the anathema attached to the Bull of Pope Nicolas — the anathema against all who should reopen the discussion.[z]

Berenger de Talon.

The Bull of Pope Nicolas was the great charter of Franciscanism. The whole Order was in commotion. A general Chapter was held at Perugia. The Chapter declared unanimously that they adhered to the determination of the Roman Church, and the Bull of Pope

Chapter of Perugia.

[y] See the Bull Gloriosam Ecclesiam. "Tam detestabili turbæ præficientes magis idolum quam prælatum." This remarkable Bull recounts the five errors of the Spiritual Franciscans:—I. The assertion of the two churches, "unam carnalem, divitiis pressam, affluentem divitiis, sceleribus maculatam, cui Romanum Præsulem, cæterosque inferiores Prælatos dominari asserunt; aliam spiritualem, frugalitate mundam, vestitu decoram, paupertate succinctam." II. The assertion that the acts and Sacraments of the clergy of the carnal church were invalid. III. The unlawfulness of oaths. IV. That the wickedness of the individual priest invalidated the Sacrament. V. That they alone fulfilled the Gospel of Christ. There is a useful collection of all the Bulls relating to this Inquisition at the end of N. Eymeric, Directorium Inquisitorum. See for this Bull (dated Avignon, 23rd Jan. 1316), p. 58.

[z] See the Bull De Verborum Significatione. Walsingham says of the Statutes of Nicolas IV., quæ faciunt non solum superbire Minores, sed etiam insanire.—P. 53.

Nicolas, that to assert the absolute poverty of Christ, the perfect way, was not heretical, but sound, catholic, consonant to the faith. They appealed not only to the Papal Bull, but to a decree of the Council of Vienne. Michael di Cesena, the General of the Order, joined in the condemnation: he had signed the warrant making over the contumacious brethren to the secular arm at Marseilles; and now Michael di Cesena defied the Papal power, arrayed Pope against Pope, and asserted the obnoxious doctrine in the strongest terms. He stood not alone: the administrators of the Order in England, Upper Germany, Aquitaine, France, Castile, and six others, affixed their seal to the protest.[a]

Bull of Pope John.

The Pope kept no measures: he pronounced the Chapter of Perugia guilty of heresy; he issued a new Bull; he exposed the legal fiction, sanctioned by his predecessors, by which the property, the lordship of all the vast possessions of the Order, was in the See of Rome; he taunted them, not without bitterness, with the enormous wealth which they had obtained and actually enjoyed under this fallacy: he withdrew from them the privilege of holding, seeking, extorting, defending, or administering goods in the name of the Roman See. The perilous conclusion followed. It was at least menacingly hinted that the property was still in the original owners: whatever usufruct the Order might have was revocable. The Brother Bonagratia, the fierce opponent of Ubertino di Casale, who had defended the visions of John Peter Oliva, appealed against the Bull: he was thrown into prison.

The controversy.

The controversy raged without restraint. The Cardinals sent in elaborate judgments, most of them adverse to the Chapter of Perugia, some few with a milder condemnation, some almost approving their doctrines. The Dominicans, in the natural course of things, were strong on the opposite party: it was a glorious opportunity for the degradation of their rivals. Under their influence the University of Paris pronounced a prolix, almost an interminable, judgment against the Franciscans.

On the other hand, the most powerful dialectician of the age, William of Ockham, who had already laid at

[a] Raynald. sub ann. 1322.

least the foundations of his great system of rationalistic philosophy, so adverse to the spirit of the age; and who was about, by severe argument, to assail and to shake the whole fabric of the Papal dominion, employed all his subtle skill in defence of the Spirituals. Michael di Cesena, by a strange syllogism, while he condescended to acknowledge the inferiority of St. Francis to the Redeemer, inferred his superiority to Christ, as Christ was understood and represented by the Church.[b] St. Francis practised absolute voluntary poverty; if Christ did not, he, the type, was inferior to the Saint his antitype. It could not be heretical to assert that St. Francis did not surpass his Example; Christ therefore must have done all or more than St. Francis, and practised still more total poverty. He appealed to the Stigmata as the unanswerable evidence to their complete similitude. All the citations from the Gospels and the Acts, which showed that Christ and his Apostles had the scrip, the purse, the bag (held by Judas[c]), the sword of Peter, Christ's raiment and undivided robe, were treated as condescensions to human infirmity.[d] This language had been authorised by the Bull of Pope Nicolas; and on that distinct irrepealable authority they rested as on a rock. It was clear that the Pope must rescind the deliberate decree of his predecessor. Nor was John the pontiff who would shrink from the strongest display of his authority. He published two more Bulls in succession. On the grounds of Sacred Scripture and of good sense his arguments were triumphant,[e] but all his subtle ingenuity could not explain away or reconcile his conclusions with the older statute. Nothing remained but to declare his power of annulling the acts of his holy ancestor. That ancestor, by his Bull, had annulled those of Gregory IX., Innocent IV., and Alexander IV.[f] All those who declared that Christ and

William of Ockham.

Michael di Cesena.

[b] Raynald. sub ann. 1323.

[c] See note above, p. 416.

[d] "Sic Jesus Christus, cujus perfecta sunt opera, in suis actibus viam perfectionis exercuit, quod interdum imperfectorum infirmitatibus condescendens, ut viam perfectionis extolleret, et imperfectorum infirmas semitas non damnaret." This passage refers to the "loculus" of Christ. So speaks the Bull "Excit." vi. Decret. lv. t. xii.

[e] Perfection ought to be content with the *use* of things necessary to life. The Pope argued that the use of things necessary, food and clothes, implied possession.

[f] "Si enim nobis non licuit contra constitutionem Nicolai IV. predecessoris

his Apostles had no property, only the use of things necessary, were pronounced guilty of damnable heresy. The Franciscans retorted the charge, and publicly arraigned of heresy the Pope himself.

Effects of the controversy.

This strange strife, which, if any strife, might seem altogether of words, had a far deeper significance, and led to the gravest political and religious consequences. Very many of the Franciscans in Italy, who swayed at their will the popular mind, became fierce Ghibellines. They took part, as will appear, with Louis of Bavaria against the Pope. In their ranks was found the Antipope. The religious consequences, if not so immediately and fully traceable, were more extensive and lasting. The controversy commenced by forcing on a severe and intrepid examination of the grounds of the Papal power. The Pope finally triumphed, but the victory shook his throne to the centre. In 1328 Michael di Cesena appeared before the Pontiff at Avignon. He withstood him to the face, in his own words, as Paul did Peter. He was placed under arrest in the full Consistory. He fled to Pisa: there he made a formal appeal to a General Council, accused the Pope of twelve articles of heresy, published a book on the errors of the Pope, and addressed a full argument on those heresies to the Princes and Prelates of Germany.[g] Among other bold assertions he laid down as incontestable, that a Pope who taught or determined anything contrary to the Catholic faith, by that act fell under a sentence of excommunication, condemnation, deprivation.[h] He called the Pope James of Cahors, as though he were deposed. Among the articles against John was his assertion that Christ, immediately on his Conception, assumed universal temporal dominion;[i] and so the high question, the temporal power of the Pope, became a leading topic of the controversy. In a dialogue between one

nostri in quâ se fundant, præcipuè aliquid statuere commune, nec sibi licuit contra statuta Gregor., Innocent. et Alexand., prædictorum, statuere aut aliquid declarare."—Extr. Joann. tit. xiv.

[g] Tractatus contra errores Papæ apud Goldastum, ii. 1235, *et seqq.*

[h] "Unde Papa contra doctrinam fidei Catholicæ docens, sive statuens, in sententiam excommunicationis, damnationis, privationis incidit ipso facto."

[i] He quotes against this the hymn of S. Ambrose—

"Non accipit mortalia,
Qui regna dat cœlestia."

of the Fraticelli and a Catholic,[k] the Catholic urges all the countless texts about the dominion of Christ, and declared that they must comprehend temporal dominion. His title of King were but a mockery, if it were not over earthly Kings and over States, only over the souls of men. If the Popes did not hold of right temporal possessions, they were damned for holding them. He recounts the most famous of the Pontiffs: "Are these pious and holy men damned?" The Fraticell urges the infinite scandal of the wars and dissensions excited by the Prelates of the Church for worldly power. "It is marvellous that ye are willing in arms, and, in defence of temporalities, to slay men for whom Christ died on the Cross." "The Prelates," rejoins the Catholic, "intend not to slay men (far be it from them!), but to defend the faith against heretics, and their temporalities against tyrants." The Catholic quotes one of the late Papal edicts. "He (the Pope) alone promulgates law; he alone is absolved from all law. He sits alone in the chair of the blessed St. Peter, not as mere man, but as man and God. . . . . His will is law; what he pleases has the force of law."[m]

Such avowed principles are those rather of desperate defence than of calmly conscious power; yet to outward show John XXII. retained all his unshaken authority. He issued a Bull, commencing with, "Since that reprobate man, Michael di Cesena." Though the strength of the General of the Order was in Italy, yet even there the Prelates of the Order, who were by family, city connections, or opinions, Guelf, adhered to the Pope. The Imperialists in Germany were with the rebellious General, but in France he was held as a heretic. The more sober and moderate of the Order assembled, deposed him, and chose Bertrand di Torre as the General of the Franciscans.

This spiritual democracy had more profound and enduring workings on the mind and heart of man than the fierce outbreak of social democracy

The Pastoureaux.

[k] Apud Baluzium, Miscellanea, t. 2.

[m] Extravagant. de Instit. "Ipse solus edit legem, ipse solus a legibus absolutus. Ipse est solus sedens in beati Petri cathedrâ, non tanquam purus homo sed tanquam Deus et homo."—P. 601.

which now, during the reign of Philip the Long, again desolated France. As in the days of St. Louis, an insurrection of the peasantry spread from the British Channel to the shores of the Mediterranean. The long unrelenting exactions of Philip the Fair, which had weighed so heavily on the higher orders—where there were middle classes, on them too—increasing in weight as they descended, crushed to the earth the cultivators of the soil. The peasantry were goaded to madness; their madness of course in that age took a religious turn. Again, at the persuasion of a degraded priest and a renegade monk, they declared that it was for them, and them only, to recover the sepulchre of Christ. So utterly hopeless was it that they should conquer a state of freedom, peace, plenty, happiness at home, that they were driven by force to this remote object. By a simultaneous movement they left everywhere their unploughed fields, their untended flocks and herds. At first they were unarmed, barefooted, with wallet and pilgrim's staff. They went two by two, preceded by a banner, and begged for food at the gates of abbeys and castles. As they went on and grew in numbers, they seized or forged wild weapons. They were joined by all the wandering ribalds, the outcasts of the law (no small force). Ere they reached Paris they were an army. They had begun to plunder for food. Everywhere, if the authorities had apprehended any of their followers, they broke the prisons. Some had been seized and committed to the gaols of Paris. They swarmed into the city, burst open the gaol of the Abbey of St. Martin des Champs, forced the stronger Châtelet, hurled the Provost headlong down the stairs, set free the prisoners, encamped and offered battle in the Prè aux Clercs and the Prè St. Germain to the King's troops. Few soldiers were ready to encounter them. They set off towards Aquitaine. Of their march to the south nothing is known; but in Languedoc they appeared on a sudden to the number of forty thousand.[n] In Languedoc they found victims whom the government, the nobles, and the clergy would willingly have yielded to their pillage, if they

A.D. 1320.

[n] Sismondi says that they were at Albi June 25, at Carcassonne June 29.

could thus have glutted their fury. The Jews of the South of France, notwithstanding persecution, expulsion, were again in numbers and in perilous prosperity. On them burst the zeal of this wild crusade. Five hundred took refuge in the royal Castle of Verdun on the Garonne. The royal officers refused to defend them. The shepherds set fire to the lower stories of a lofty tower; the Jews slew each other, having thrown their children to the mercy of their assailants; the infants which escaped were baptized. Everywhere, even in the great cities, Auch, Toulouse, Castel Sarrasin, the Jews were left to be remorselessly massacred, their property pillaged. The Pope himself might behold from the walls of Avignon these wild bands; but in John XXII. there was nothing of St. Bernard. He launched his excommunication, not against the murderers of the inoffensive Jews, but against all who presumed to take the Cross without warrant of the Holy See. Even that same year he published violent Bulls against the poor persecuted Hebrews, and commanded the Bishops to destroy the source of their detestable blasphemies, to burn their Talmuds.[o] The Pope summoned the Seneschal of Carcassonne to defend the shores of the Rhone opposite to Avignon: the Seneschal did more terrible service. As the shepherds crowded, on the notion of embarking for the Holy Land, to Aigues Mortes, he cut off at once their advance and their retreat, and left them to perish of want, nakedness, and fever in the pestilential marshes. When they were weakened by their miseries he attacked and hung them without mercy.

Persecution of the Jews.

The next year witnessed a more cruel persecution, that of the Lepers. There can be no more certain gauge of the wretchedness of the lowest classes of society than the prevalence of that foul malady, the offspring of meagre diet, miserable lodging and clothing, physical and moral degradation. The protection and care of this blighted race was among the most beautiful offices of the Church during the Middle Ages.[p] Now in their hour of deeper wretchedness and sufferings, aggravated by the barbarous folly of man, the cold Church was silent, or

The Lepers.

[o] Aug. 1320.

[p] See vol. iv. p. 263, note.

rather, by her denunciations of witchcraft and hatred of the Jews, countenanced the wild accusations of which the poor lepers were the victims. King Philip sat in his Parliament at Poitiers. Public representations were made that all the fountains in Aquitaine had been poisoned, or were about to be poisoned, by the Lepers. Many had been burned; they had confessed their diabolic wickedness, which was to be practised throughout France and Germany. Everywhere they were seized; confessions were wrung from them. They revealed the plot; they revealed the authors of the plot; they were bribed by the Jews, they were bribed by the King of Grenada. The ingredients of the poison were named, a wild brewage of everything loathsome and awful; human urine, three kinds of herbs (which they could not describe), with these a consecrated Host reduced to powder. With another it was the head of a serpent, the feet of a toad, the hair of a woman steeped in some black and fœtid mixture. Every leper, every one suspected of leprosy, was arrested throughout the realm. Some disputes arose about jurisdiction: they were cut short by a peremptory ordinance of the King to clear the land of the guilty and *superstitious* brood of lepers. They were ordered to be burned, and burned they were in many parts of France. A milder ordinance came too late, that only the guilty should be burned, that the females with child should be permitted to give birth to their miserable offspring. The innocent were shut up for life in lazarets.[q]

June 24, 1321.

The inexhaustible Jews furnished new holocausts. The rich alone in Paris were reserved to gorge the royal exchequer with their wealth. The King is said to have obtained from this sanguinary source of revenue the vast sum of 150,000 livres. The mercy of Charles the Fair afterwards allowed all who survived to quit the kingdom on paying a heavy ransom to the royal treasury.[r]

[q] Continuat. Nangis, p. 78. Histoire de Languedoc, iv. 79. Compare Sismondi, ix. p. 394.

[r] Continuator Nangis.

CHAPTER VII.

JOHN XXII. LOUIS OF BAVARIA.

IF John XXII. by his avarice offended those who held absolute poverty to be the perfection of Christianity, he was in other respects as far from their conception of a true Pope—one who should be content with spiritual dominion, and withdraw altogether from secular affairs. His whole life was in contemptuous opposition to such doctrines. Of all the Pontiffs—Gregory VII., Innocent III., Boniface VIII.—no one was more deeply involved in temporal affairs, or employed his spiritual weapons, censures, excommunications, interdicts, more prodigally for political ends. His worldliness wanted the dignity of motive which might dazzle or bewilder the strong minds of his predecessors. If he did not advance new pretensions, he promulgated the old in the most naked and offensive form, so as to provoke a controversy, which, however silent for a time, left its indelible influence on the mind of man. In his long strife with Louis of Bavaria, no great religious, ecclesiastical, or even Papal interests were concerned. It was no mortal struggle, as for the investitures, for the privileges, or immunities of the hierarchy. Louis of Bavaria was no Henry IV., whose profligate life might seem to justify the severe animosity of the Pope; no Barbarossa aiming at the servitude of Italy, and of the Pope himself, to the Empire; no Frederick II. enclosing the Pope between the territory of the Empire and the Kingdom of Naples, and suspected at least and accused of designs not against the hierarchy alone, against the faith itself. Louis, for his age, was a virtuous and religious prince, who would have purchased the Pope's friendship by any concessions. Nor was he powerful enough to be formidable. Nothing but the implacable and unprovoked hostility of the Pope goaded him to his descent on Italy,

Louis of Bavaria.

his close alliance with the Ghibellines, his sympathy with the Spiritual Franciscans, his elevation of an Antipope.

If John XXII., as he was publicly accused,[a] avowed the wicked and un-Christian doctrine that the animosities of Kings and Princes made a real Pope, a Pope, as he meant, the object of common dread; if on this principle civil war amongst the Princes of Germany was the peace and security of the Church of Rome: never did Pope reign at a more fortunate juncture. On his accession John found the Empire plunged into confusion as inextricable as the most politic or hostile Pontiff could desire. On the sudden death of Henry of Luxemburg a double election followed, of singular doubtfulness and intricacy of title. Of the seven Electors, Louis of Bavaria had three uncontested voices—old Peter Aschpalter, Archbishop of Mentz, who, as of old, exacted on behalf of his See an ample price for his suffrage;[b] Baldwin of Treves, as solemnly pledged, and for the same kind of retaining fee; and the Marquis of Brandenburg. The fourth was King Louis of Bohemia. For Frederick, of the great house of Austria, stood the Archbishop of Cologne; Rodolph, Elector Palatine, though brother of the Bavarian; and the Duke of Saxe Wittemberg. With these was Henry of Carinthia, who laid claim to the kingdom and suffrage of Bohemia. Besides this dispute about the Bohemian vote, the Prince of Saxe Lauenberg, on the side of Louis of Bavaria, contested the Saxon suffrage. For part of eight years[c] Pope John had the satisfaction of hearing that the fertile fields of Germany were laid waste, her noble cities burned, the Rhine and her affluents running with the blood of Christian men. He might look on with complacency, admitting neither title, and awaiting the time when he would no longer dissemble his own designs. Even Clement V. had dreaded the union of the two realms of France and the Empire; he had dared secretly to baffle

[a] Ludovici IV. Appellatio apud Baluzium. Vit. Pap. Avenion. ii. p. 478.

[b] See in Boehmer (Regesta) the repeated and prodigal grants to the Archbishop of Mentz, less lavish to the Archbishop of Treves. On Jan. 10, 1315, he pledges Oppenheim, the town and castle, with other places, to Peter Aschpalter, not to the Archbishop. This is not a singular instance.

[c] From the accession of Louis of Bavaria, Oct. 20, 1314, to the battle of Muhldorf, Sept. 28, 1322. John, Pope, 1317.

the plans of his tyrant Philip the Fair, to raise a prince of his house to the Imperial throne. Either from subservience, from gratitude, or from some haughty notion that a Pope in Avignon might rule the feeble princes who successively filled the throne of Philip the Fair, John determined to strive for the elevation of the King of France to the Empire. In Italy it was the deliberate policy of Pope John altogether to abrogate the Imperial claims of supremacy or dominion; but this was not conceived in the noble spirit of an Italian Pontiff, generously resolved, for the independence of Italy, to raise a powerful monarchy in the Peninsula, at the hazard of its obtaining control over the Pope himself. It was as a French Pontiff, ruling in Avignon, as the grateful vassal of his patron Robert of Naples, who had raised him to the Papal throne, and continued to exercise unbounded influence over the mind of John, that the Pope plunged into the politics of Italy. The expedition of Henry of Luxemburg, and the voluntary exile of the Popes, had greatly strengthened the Ghibellines. At their head were the three most powerful of those subtle adventurers who had become Princes, the Visconti in Milan, Can della Scala in Verona, Castruccio in Lucca. Robert of Naples and the Republic of Florence headed the Guelfs. Immediately on his accession Pope John went through the idle form of issuing letters of peace, addressed to all the Princes and cities of Italy. But tempests subside not at the breath of Popes, and John speedily forgot his own lessons. Matteo Visconti ruled as Imperial Vicar, not through that vain title, but by his own power in the north. He was Lord of Milan, Pavia, Piacenza, Novara, Alessandria, Tortona, Como, Lodi, Bergamo, and other territories.[d] The Pope forbade him to bear the title of Imperial Vicar during the abeyance of the Empire. Visconti obeyed, and styled himself Lord of Milan. As yet there was no open hostility; but Genoa had expelled her Ghibelline citizens. The exiles returned at the head of a formidable Lombard force furnished by the Visconti. The city was besieged, reduced to extremity. The Genoese

Italian politics.

A.D. 1317.

[d] Muratori, Annali d' Italia, sub ann. 1320.

summoned Robert King of Naples to their aid; they made over to him the Seignory of the city; but the new Lord of Genoa could not repel the besieging army, which still pressed on its operations. On the 29th April, 1320, Robert of Naples set out to visit the Pope at Avignon. The fate of Italy was determined in their long and amicable conference. The King had bestowed on John the Popedom, John would bestow on Robert the Kingdom of Italy. The Cardinal Bertrand de Poyet, as the enemies of the Pope and the Cardinal averred (and they were not men to want enemies), the natural son of the Pope, was sent as the Legate of the Roman See into Lombardy. The Pope, during the vacancy of the Empire (and the Empire, if he had his will, would be long vacant), claimed the administration of the Imperial realm.[e]

Robert of Naples Vicar.

In the next year King Robert was created, by the Pope's mandate, Vicar of Italy during the abeyance of the Empire. The Pope was prepared to maintain his Vicar, to crush the audacious Ghibellines, who had not withdrawn from the siege of Genoa, with all the arms, spiritual as well as temporal, within his power. The Inquisition was commanded to institute a process of heresy against Matteo Visconti and his sons, against Can Grande, against Passerino, Lord of Mantua, against the Marquis of Este, Lord of Ferrara, and all the other heads of the Ghibellines. The Princes protested their zealous orthodoxy: their sole crime was resistance to this new usurpation of the Pope.[f] But the Pope relied not on his spiritual arms. France was ever ready to furnish gallant Knights and Barons on any adventure, especially where they might adorn their brilliant arms with the Cross. Philip, the son of Charles of Valois, descended the Alps at the head of three thousand men-at-arms; the Guelfs flocked to his

[e] "De jure est legendum quod vacante imperio . . . ejus jurisdictio, regimen et dispositio ad summum Pontificem devolvantur, cui in personâ B. Petri, cœlestis simul et terreni Imperii jura Deus ipse commisit."—Bull, dated 1317. Compare Planck. v. p. 118.

[f] Good Muratori had before spoken of the immoderate influence of Robert of Naples over the Pope; he proceeds: "Che i Re e Principi della terra faceano guerra, e una pension dura, ma inevitabile di questo misero mondo . . . Ma sempre sarà a desiderare chè il sacerdozio istituto da Dio per bene dell' anima, e per seminar la pace, non entri ad ajutare, e fomentar le ambitiose voglie de' Principe terreni, e molto più guardi dall' ambizione se stesso."—Annal. sub ann. 1320.

standard; he was joined by the Cardinal Legate. But the French Prince, encompassed by the wily Visconti with a larger force, either won by his unexpected and politic courtesy, or, as the Guelfs bitterly declared, overbribed, at all events glad to extricate himself from his perilous position, retreated beyond the Alps without striking a blow. Still, though Vercelli fell before the conquering Visconti, the Cardinal Legate maintained his haughty tone. He sent to command the Milanese to submit to the Vicar named by the Pope, King Robert of Naples: his messenger, a priest, was thrown into prison.

The next year more formidable preparations were made. A large army was levied and placed under the command of Raymond de Cardona, an experienced General. Frederick of Austria was invited to join the league: his brother Henry came down the Alps, on the German side, with a body of men.

The spiritual battle was waged with equal vigour. A Council was held at Brogolio, near Alexandria. Council of Brogolio. Matteo Visconti was arraigned as a profane enemy of the Church, as the impious and cruel perpetrator of all crimes and sins, the ravening depopulator of Lombardy.[g] He had contumaciously prevented any one from passing his frontier with the Papal Bull of excommunication; he had resisted the Inquisition, and endeavoured to rescue a heretic female named Manfredi; he was a necromancer, invoked devils, and took their counsel; he denied the resurrection of the body; for two years he had resisted the Papal monition. He was pronounced to be degraded, deprived of his military belt, incapacitated from holding any civil office, and condemned, with all his posterity, to everlasting infamy.[h] The land was under an interdict; his estates, and those of all his partisans, declared confiscate; indulgences were freely offered to all

[g] Feb. 20, 1322. Concilium Brogoliense, apud Labbe, 1322.

[h] "Publicò è confermò tutte le scomuniche e gl' interdetti contra la persona de Matteo Visconti, de suoi figluoli e fautori, e delle di lui circa, col confisco de' beni, schiantà delle persone come se si trattasse de Saraceni. Furono anche aperti tutti i tesori delle Indulgenze e del perdono de peccati, a che prendeva la Croce è l' armi contra di questi pretesi Eretici."—Muratori, sub ann. 1322.

who would join the crusade, as against a Saracen. Henry of Austria was received in Brescia with two thousand men-at-arms: the Pope had purchased this support by one hundred thousand golden florins. The Patriarch of Aquileia, at the head of four or five thousand men, did not fear to publish the Bull of excommunication.[l] But Henry of Austria found that it was not in the interest of a candidate for the Empire to war on the partisans of the Empire. "I come," he said to the Guelfic exiles from Bergamo, "not to crush but to raise those who keep their fealty to the Empire." He refused forty thousand florins for their reinstatement in Bergamo, and retired to Verona. There he was magnificently entertained, received sixty thousand florins from the Ghibelline league, and retired to Germany.

Henry of Austria.

Matteo Visconti was only more assiduous, on account of his excommunication, in visiting churches, by such acts of devotion making public profession of his Catholic faith; but he was seventy-two years old: he died broken down by the weight of affairs, and left his five sons and their descendants to maintain the power and glory of his house, who were to provoke, from more impartial posterity, a sentence of condemnation for far worse crimes than the heresy imputed to him by Pope John.

June 27.

The great battle of Muhldorf, between the rival claimants for the Empire, changed the aspect of affairs.[k] Louis of Bavaria triumphed. His adversary, Frederick of Austria, was his prisoner. He communicated his success to the Pope.[m] The Pope answered coldly, exhorting him to treat his illustrious captive with humanity, and offering his interposition, as if Louis had

Sept. 28, 1322. Battle of Muhldorf.

[l] Compare Muratori during the years 1319, 1320, 1321, 1323, for the acts of this furious Patriarch, supported by the no less furious Legate, Bertrand de Poggetto (Poyet). Foscolo says, with justice, "Era prete omicida, e federato satellite de quel Cardinal di Poggetto il quale un anno o due dopo la morte di Dante andò a Ravenna a dessotterrar le sue ceneri."—Discorso sul Testo di Dante, pp. 20, 305.

[k] Compare the account of the battle in Boehmer, Fontes Rerum Germ. i. p. 161; and Joannes Victorinus, ibid. p. 393.

[m] There is a strange story in the Lib. de Duc. Bavariæ (apud Boehmer, Fontes), that Louis, after the battle, sent letters of submission to the Pope, which were falsified by his Chancellor, Ulric of Augsburg, as those of Frederick II. had been by Peter de Vineâ.—Fontes, i. 142.

won no victory, and the award of the Empire rested with himself.

Louis could not doubt the implacable hostility of the Pope, at least his determination not to leave him in quiet and uncontested possession of the Empire. In self-defence he must seek new alliances. As Emperor now, by the judgement, he might suppose, of the God of battles, it was his duty to maintain the rights of the Empire, and those rights comprehended at least the cities of Lombardy. Robert of Naples aimed manifestly, if not undisguisedly, at the kingdom of Italy: it was rumoured that he had assumed the title. The Pope had proclaimed him Vicar of the vacant Empire. The Cardinal Legate was in person combating at the head of the armies which were to subdue all Lombardy to the sway of the Vicar or King. Louis entered into engagements with his Ghibelline subjects. His ambassador, Count Bertholdt de Nyffen,[n] sent an admonition to the Cardinal Legate at Piacenza to commit no further hostilities on the territory of the Empire. The Cardinal replied that he held the territory in his master's name during the vacancy of the Empire; he was astonished that a Catholic prince like Louis of Bavaria should confederate with the heretical Viscontis. Eight hundred men-at-arms arrived at Milan; the city was saved from the besieging army of the Legate and the King of Naples.

June 13, 1323.

The Pope resolved to crush the dangerous league growing up among the Ghibellines. On October 9, 1323, a year after the battle of Muhldorf, he instituted a process at Avignon against Louis of Bavaria. He arraigned Louis of presumption in assuming the title, and usurping the power of the King of the Romans, before the Pope had examined and given judgement on the contested election, especially in granting the Marquisate of Brandenburg to his own son. Louis was admonished to lay down all his power, to appear personally before the Court of Avignon within three months, there to receive the Papal sentence. All ecclesiastics, patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, under pain of deprivation and

Pope institutes a process against Louis.

[n] Joannes Victorinus, p. 396.

forfeiture of all privileges and feuds which they held of the Church—all secular persons, under pain of excommunication and interdict—were forbidden to render further fealty or allegiance to Louis as King of the Romans; all oaths of fealty were annulled. Louis sent ambassadors to the Court of Avignon, not to contest the jurisdiction of the Pope, but to obtain a prolongation of the period assigned for his appearance. In his apology he took bolder ground. "For ten years he had been King of the Romans;" and he declared the interposition now obtruded by the Pope to be an invasion of his rights. To the charge of alliance with the Viscontis he pleaded ignorance of their heretical tenets. He even ventured to retort insinuations of heresy against the Pope, as having sanctioned the betrayal of the secrets of the confessional by the Minorite friars. Finally he appealed to a General Council, at which he declared his intention to be present.[o]

Yet once more he strove to soften the inexorable Pope. He had already revoked the title of Imperial Vicar borne by Galeazzo Visconti. His ambassadors presented an humble supplication to the Pope seated on his throne, for the extension of the time of his appearance at Avignon. The answer of John was even more insultingly imperious. "The Duke of Bavaria, contrary to the Pontifical decree, persisted in calling himself King of the Romans; not merely was he in league with the Viscontis, but had received the homage of the Marquis of Este, who had got possession of Ferrara. They too were heretics, as were all who opposed the Pope. Louis had presumptuously disturbed Robert King of Naples in his office of Vicar of Italy, conferred on him by the Pope."[p]

Against the Visconti Pope John urged on his crusade: it was a religious war. The Cardinal Legate was defeated with great loss before Lodi. The Papal General, Raymond de Cardona, was attacked and made prisoner near Vaprio: he was taken to Milan, but made his escape to Monza, afterwards to Avignon. According to one account, Galeazzo Visconti had connived at the flight of Cardona. The General declared at Avignon that if

Capture of the Papal General.

[o] Dated Nuremberg, Oct. 1323.

[p] Raynaldus, Jan. 5, 1324.

was vain to attempt the subjugation of the Visconti, but that Galeazzo was prepared to hold Milan for himself with fifteen hundred men-at-arms, subject to the Pope.[q] John would have consented to this compact with the heretical Visconti, but he could not act without the consent of the King of Naples. Robert demanded that the Visconti should join with all their forces to expel the Emperor from Italy. The wily Visconti sought to be master himself, not to create a King in Italy. He broke off abruptly the secret negotiations, and applied himself to strengthen the fortifications and the castle of Milan.

The war was again a fierce crusade against heretical and contumacious enemies of the Pope and of religion. A new anathema was launched against the Visconti, reciting at length all their heresies, in which, except their obstinate Ghibellinism, it is difficult to detect the heresy. It was asserted that the grandmother of Matteo Visconti and two other females of his house had been burned for that crime. Matteo, now dead, laboured under suspicion of having denied the resurrection of the body. Galeazzo was thought to be implicated in this hereditary guilt. The rest of the charges were more likely to be true: acts of atrocious tyranny, sacrileges perpetrated during war, which they had dared to wage against the Legate of the Pope.

Excommunication of Galeazzo Visconti.

The Pope proceeded to the excommunication of Louis of Bavaria. Twice had he issued his process; the two months were passed; Louis did not appear. On the 21st of March the sentence was promulgated with all its solemn formalities. Excommunication was not all: still severer penalties awaited him if he did not present himself in humility at the footstool of the Papal throne within three weeks. By this Bull all prelates and ecclesiastics were forbidden to render him allegiance as King of the Romans; all cities and commonalties and private persons, though pardoned for their contumacy up to the present time, were under ban for all future acts of fealty; all oaths were annulled. The Bull of excommunication was affixed to the cathedral doors of Avignon, and

Excommunication of Louis of Bavaria.

[q] Morigia, l. iii. c. 27. R. I. t. xii. Muratori, Ann. d'Italia, sub ann. 1324.

ordered to be published by the ecclesiastical Electors of Germany.[r]

Pope John had yet but partially betrayed his ultimate purpose—no less than to depose Louis of Bavaria, and to transfer the Imperial crown to the King of France. Another son of Philip the Fair, Philip the Long, had died without male issue. Charles the Fair, the last of the unblessed race, had sought, immediately on his accession, a divorce from his adulterous wife, Blanche of Bourbon.[s] The canon law admitted not this cause for the dissolution of the sacrament, but it could be declared null by the arbitrary will of the Pope on the most distant consanguinity between the parties. Yet this marriage had taken place under a Papal dispensation; a new subterfuge must be sought: it was luckily found that Clement V., in his dispensation, had left unnoticed some still more remote spiritual relationship. Charles the Fair was empowered to marry again. His consort was the daughter of the Emperor Henry of Luxemburg. A Papal dispensation removed the objection of as close consanguinity as in the former case—a dispensation easily granted, for the connection, if not suggested by the Pope, singularly agreed with his ambitious policy. It broke the Luxemburg party, the main support of Louis of Bavaria; it carried over the suffrage of the chivalrous but versatile John of Bohemia, son of the Emperor Henry, the brother of the Queen of France. John of Bohemia appeared with his uncle, the Archbishop of Treves, and took part in all the rejoicings at the coronation of his sister in Paris. His son was married, still more to rivet the bond of union, to a French princess; his younger son sent to be educated at the Court of France. Charles the Fair came to Toulouse to preside over the Floral Games: thence he proceeded to Avignon. The Pope, the King of France, King Robert of Naples, met to partition out the greater part of Christendom—to France the Empire, to Robert the Kingdom of Italy.

Pentecost, 1323.

But the avowed determination to wrest the Empire from

[r] Shroeck, p. 71. Oehlenschlager, sub ann.

[s] It was reported that Blanche of Bourbon continued her licentious life in her prison in Chateau-Gaillard. She was pregnant by her keeper, or by some one else.—Continuat. Nangis.

Germany roused a general opposition beyond the Rhine. Louis held a Diet, early in the spring, at Frankfort. The proclamation issued from this Diet was in a tone of high defiance.[t] It taunted John, "who called himself the XXII., as the enemy of peace, and as deliberately inflaming war in the Empire for the aggrandisement of the Papacy." "He had been so blinded by his wickedness as to abuse one of the keys of St. Peter, binding where he should loose, loosening where he should bind. He had condemned as heretics many pious and blameless Catholics, whose only crime was their attachment to the Empire." "He will not remember that Constantine drew forth the Pope Silvester from a cave in which he lay hid, and in his generous prodigality bestowed all the liberty and honour possessed by the Church. In return, the successor of Silvester seeks by every means to destroy the holy Empire and her true vassals." The protest examined at great length all the proceedings of the Pope, his disputing the election of Louis at Frankfort by the majority of the Electors, and the coronation of Louis at Aix-la-Chapelle; his absolution of the vassals of the Empire from their oaths, "a wicked procuration of perjury! the act not of a Vicar of Christ, but of a cruel and lawless tyrant!" It further denies the right of the Pope to assume the government of the Empire during a vacancy, as utterly without ground or precedent. Moreover, "the Pope had attacked Christ himself, his ever blessed Mother, and the Holy Apostles, by rejecting the evangelic doctrine of absolute poverty."[u] Germany.

The last sentence divulged the quarter from which came forth this fearless manifesto. The Spiritual Franciscans

[t] The long document may be read in Baluzius, Vitæ Pap. Aven. i. p. 478, *et seqq.*; imperfectly in Raynaldus, sub ann. 1324, about April 24. Another protest, in Aventinus, Annal. Boic., and in Goldastus, dated at Ratisbon, Aug. (Christus Servator Dominus), is not authentic, according to Oehlenschlager and Boehmer, Regesta, p. 42.

[u] "Non suffecit in Imperium . . . in ipsum Dominum Jesum Christum Regem Regum, et Dominum Dominorum, Principem Regum terræ, et ejus sanctissimam matrem, quæ ejusdem voti et status cum filio *in observantiâ paupertatis vixit*, et sanctum Apostolorum collegium ipsorum denigrando vitam et actus insurgeret, et in doctrinam evangelicam de paupertate altissimâ . . . quod fundamentum non solum suâ malâ vitâ et a mundi contemptu alienâ conatur evertere et hæretico dogmate, et venenatâ doctrinâ," &c. &c.—P. 494.

were throughout Germany become the staunch allies of the Pope's enemy. Men of the profoundest learning began with intrepid diligence to examine the whole question of the Papal power—men who swayed the populace began to fill their ears with denunciations of Papal ambition, arrogance, wealth. The Dominicans of course, adverse to the Franciscans, tried in vain to stem the torrent; for all the higher clergy, the wealthier monks in Germany, were now united with the barefoot friars. The Pope had but two stedfast adherents, old enemies of Louis, the Bishops of Passau and Strasburg. No one treated the King of the Romans as under excommunication. The Canons of Freisingen refused to receive a Bishop, an adherent of the Pope. The Dominicans at Ratisbon and Landshut closed their churches; the people refused them all alms; they were compelled by hunger to resume their services. Many cities ignominiously expelled those prelates who would publish the Papal Bulls. At Strasburg a priest who attempted to fix it on the doors of the cathedral was thrown into the Rhine. The Dominicans who refused to perform divine service were driven from the city.[x]

Spiritualists for the Emperor.

King Charles of France, trusting in the awe of the Papal excommunications and the ardent promises of the King of Bohemia, advanced in great state to Bar-sur-Aube, where he expected some of the Electors and a great body of the Princes of Germany to appear and lay the Imperial crown at his feet. Leopold of Austria came alone. The German Queen of France had died, in premature childbirth, at Issoudon, on the return of the Court from Avignon.[y] The connection was dissolved which bound the King of Bohemia to the French interest: on the other side of the Rhine he had become again a German. He wrote to the Pope that he could not consent to despoil the German Princes of their noblest privilege, the election to the Empire. The ecclesiastical Electors stood aloof. Leopold was resolved at any price to revenge himself on Louis of Bavaria, and to rescue his brother Frederick from

July, 1324.

[x] Burgundi, Hist. Bavar. ii. 86.

[y] She died April, 1324. July 5, Charles married his cousin-german, the daughter of Louis, Count of Evreux. The Pope, in other cases so difficult, shocked the pious by permitting this marriage of cousins-german.

captivity.[z] The King of France advanced thirty thousand marks to enable him to keep up the war. At the same time the Pope issued a fourth process against Louis of Bavaria: he was cited to appear at Avignon in October. All ecclesiastics who had acknowledged the King were declared under suspension and excommunication; all laymen under interdict. The Archbishop of Magdeburg was commanded to publish the Bull.[a]

On the other hand, at the wedding of Louis of Bavaria with the daughter of William of Holland at Cologne, John of Bohemia and the three ecclesiastical Electors had vouchsafed their presence. At a diet at Ratisbon Louis laid before the States of the Empire his proclamation against the Pope, and his appeal to a General Council. Not one of the States refused its adherence; the Papal Bulls against the Emperor were rejected, those who would publish them banished. The Archbishop of Saltzburg was declared an enemy of the Empire.[b] Even Leopold of Austria made advances towards reconciliation. He sent the imperial crown and jewels to Louis; he only urged the release of his brother from captivity.

Feb. 23, 1324. Diet of Ratisbon.

Louis, infatuated by his success, refused these overtures. But the gold of France began to work. Leopold was soon at the head of a powerful Austrian and German force. Louis was obliged to break up the siege of Burgau and take to flight, with the loss of his camp, munitions, and treasures. The feeble German princes again looked towards France. A great meeting was held at Rhense near Coblentz. The Electors of Mentz and Cologne with Leopold of Austria met the ambassadors of the Pope and Charles of France. The election of the King of France to the Empire was pro-

End of Jan. 1325. Meeting of Rhense.

[z] See in Albert. Argent. (apud Urstesium) the dealings of Leopold with a famous necromancer, who promised to deliver Frederick from prison. The devil appeared to Frederick as a poor scholar, offering to transport him away in a cloth. Frederick made the sign of the cross, the devil disappeared. Frederick entreated his guards to give him some reliques, and to pray that he should not be conjured out of captivity.—P. 123.

[a] July 13. Villani, ix. 264. Martene, Anecdot. Oehlenshlager, Urkundenbuch, xlii. 106. Raynaldi (imperfect). The Pope condemns Louis as the fautor of those heretics, Milano of Lombardy, Marsilio of Padua, John of Ghent.

[b] Aug. Boehmer seems to doubt the Diet of Ratisbon.

posed, almost carried.[c] Berthold of Bucheck, the commander of the Teutonic Order at Coblentz, rose. He appealed with great eloquence to the German pride. "Would they, to gratify the arbitrary passions of the Pope, inflict eternal disgrace on the German Empire, and elect a foreigner to the throne?" Some attempt was made to compromise the dispute by the election of the King of France only for his life; but the Germans were too keen-sighted and suspicious to fall into this snare.

Louis had learned wisdom; the only safe course was reconciliation with his rival; and Frederick of Austria had pined too long in prison not to accede to any terms of release. Louis visited his captive at Trausnitz: the terms were easily arranged between parties so eager for a treaty. Frederick surrendered all right and title to the Empire; Leopold gave up all which his house had usurped from the Empire; he and his brothers were to swear eternal fealty to Louis, against every one, priest or layman, by name, against him who called himself Pope. Certain counts and knights were to guarantee the treaty. Burgau and Reisenberg were to be surrendered to Bavaria; Stephen, son of Louis, was to marry Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick.

Treaty with Frederick.

The Pope and the Austrian party were alike astounded by this sudden pacification. The Pope at once declared the treaty null and void. Leopold rushed to arms. But the high-minded Frederick would not stoop to a breach of faith. He had but to utter his wish, and the Pope had absolved him from all his oaths. They were already declared null, as sworn to an excommunicated person, and therefore of no validity. The Pope forbade him to return to prison;[d] but he published letters declaring his surrender of his title to the Empire, admonished his brother to desist from hostilities, and endeavoured to reconcile the Pope with Louis. He had sworn to more than he could fulfil: he returned to Munich to offer himself again as a prisoner. There was a strife of

May 4.

[c] Albert. Argentin. Raynald. sub ann. Schmidt. Sismondi, p. 438.

[d] Bull "Ad nostrum." Raynald. sub ann. Oehlenshlager.

generosity; the rivals became the closest friends, ate at the same table, slept in the same bed.[e] The Pope wrote to the King of France, expressing his utter astonishment at this strange and incredible German honesty.[f] July 30.

The friends agreed to cancel the former treaty—a new one was made. Both, as one person, were to have equal right and title to the Empire, to be brothers, and each alike King of the Romans and administrator of the Empire. On each alternate day the names of Louis and of Frederick should take precedence in the instruments of state; no weighty affairs were to be determined but by common consent; the great fiefs to be granted, homage received, by both; if one set out for Italy, the other was to rule in Germany. There was to be one common Imperial Judge, one Secretary of State. The seat of government was to change every half or quarter of a year. There were to be two great seals; on that of Louis the name of Frederick, on that of Frederick the name of Louis stood first. The two Princes swore before their confessors to keep their oath: ten great vassals were the witnesses.

This singular treaty was kept secret; as it transpired, all parties except the Austrian broke out into dissatisfaction.[g] The Electors declared it an invasion of their rights. The Pope condemned the impiety of Frederick in daring to enter into this intimate association with one under excommunication. Another plan was proposed, that Louis should rule in Italy, Frederick in Germany. This was more perilous to the Pontiff: he wrote to Charles of France to reprove him for his sluggishness and inactivity in the maintenance of his own interests.

The Austrian party under Leopold began to hope that as Louis was proscribed by the inexorable hatred of the Pope, his Holiness would be persuaded to acknowledge Frederick. The Archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, and their brothers the Counts of Bucheck and Death of Leopold of Austria.

[e] See the authorities in Schmidt, p. 265. Read Schiller's fine lines, Deutsche Treue, Werke, b. ix. p. 199.

[f] "Familiaritas et amicitia illorum ducum incredibilis."—Raynald. sub ann.

[g] Villani, ix. c. 34. Schmidt, p. 265.

Virneburg, repaired to Avignon. Duke Albert, the brother of Frederick and of Leopold, urged this conclusion. But the Pope was too deeply pledged by his passions and by his promises to Charles of France: the Austrians obtained only bland and unmeaning words. The death of Leopold of Austria, before the great Diet of the Empire, summoned to Spires, seemed at once to quench the strife. Frederick withdrew from the contest. Louis of Bavaria met the Diet as undisputed Emperor; he even ventured to communicate his determination to descend into Italy, his long-meditated plan of long-provoked vengeance against the Pope. There were some faint murmurs among the ecclesiastical Electors that he was still under the ban of excommunication. "That ban," rejoined Louis, "yourselves have taught me to despise: to the pious and learned Italians it is even more despicable."[h]

Diet of Spires. Feb. 28, 1326. March, 1326.

Louis of Bavaria, now that Germany if it acknowledged not, yet acquiesced in his kingly title, determined to assert his imperial rights in Italy. The implacable Pope compelled him to seek allies in all quarters, and to carry on the contest wherever he might hope for success. None of the great German feudatories obeyed the summons to attend him. They were bound by their fealty to appear at his coronation in Rome, but that coronation they might think remote and doubtful. The prelates, the ecclesiastical Electors, would hardly accompany one still under excommunication. An embassy to Avignon, demanding that orders should be given for his coronation, was dismissed with silent scorn. But the Ghibelline chieftains eagerly pressed his descent into Italy.[i] He appeared at a Diet of the great Lombard feudatories at Trent, with few troops and still more scanty munitions of war. He found around him three of the Visconti, Galeazzo, Marco, Luchino, the Marquises

Louis meditates a descent on Italy.

At Trent, Jan., Feb., 1327.

[h] Trithemius, Chron. Hirsch. Böehmer observes, "Weder eine urkunde noch ein gleichzeitiger auf diese Thatsache hindeuten." He therefore rejects the whole. But are not the "urkunde" very imperfectly preserved, and the writers few and uncertain in their notice of events? It is of no great historic consequence. The leading facts are certain.

[i] Cortesius apud Muratori, R. I. S. xii. 839. Albertus Mussatus, Fontes, p. 172.

of Este, Rafaello and Obizzo, Passerino Lord of Mantua, Can della Scala Lord of Verona, Vicenza, Feltre, and Belluno. Della Scala had an escort of 600 horse, his body-guard against the Duke of Carinthia, with whom he was contesting Padua. There were ambassadors from Pisa, from the Genoese exiles, from Castruccio of Lucca, and the King of Sicily. All were prodigal in their vows of loyalty, and even prodigal in act.[k] They offered 150,000 florins of gold. The tidings of this supply brought rapidly down considerable bands of German adventurers around the standard of Louis.

War of writings.

Louis relied not on arms alone, nor on the strength and fidelity of the Italian Ghibellines. A war had long been waging; and now his dauntless and even fanatical champions were prepared to wage that religious war in public opinion to the last extremity. He was accompanied by Marsilio of Padua and by John of Jaudun.[m] These men had already thrown down the gauntlet to the world in defence of the Imperial against the Papal supremacy.

Marsilio of Padua.

Marsilio of Padua was neither ecclesiastic nor lawyer; he was the King's physician; but in profound theological learning as in dialectic skill surpassed by few of his age. Three years before, Marsilio had published his famous work, 'The Defender of Peace.' The title itself was a quiet but severe sarcasm against the Pope; it arraigned him as the irreconcileable enemy of peace. This grave and argumentative work, if to us of inconceivable prolixity (though to that of William of Ockham it is light and rapid reading), advanced and maintained tenets which, if heard for centuries in Christendom, had been heard only from obscure and fanatic heretics, mostly mingled up with wild and obnoxious opinions, or, as in the strife with the Lawyers or concerning the memory of Boniface, with fierce personal charges.

The first book discusses with great depth and dialectic subtlety the origin and principles of government. In logic and in thought the author is manifestly a severe Aristotelian. The second establishes the origin, the principles,

[k] "Multis gravis æris dispensis."—Albert. Mussato.

[m] In Champagne, sometimes erroneously called John of Ghent.

the limits of the sacerdotal power.[n] Marsilio takes his firm and resolute stand on the sacred Scriptures, or rather on the Gospel; he distinctly repudiates the dominant Old Testament interpretation of the New. The Gospel is the sole authoritative law of Christianity; the rule for the interpretation of those Scriptures rests not with any one priest or college of priests; it requires no less than the assent and sanction of a General Council. These Scriptures gave no coercive power whatever, no secular jurisdiction to the Bishop of Rome, or any other bishop or priest. The sacerdotal order was instituted to instruct the people in the truths of the Gospel and for the administration of the Sacraments. It is only by usage that the clergy are called the Church, by recent usage the Bishop of Rome and the Cardinals. The true Church is the whole assembly of the faithful. The word "spiritual" has in like manner been usurped by the priesthood; all Christians, as Christians, are spiritual. The third chapter states fairly and fully the scriptural grounds alleged for the sacerdotal and papal pretensions: they are submitted to calm but rigid examination.[o] The question is not what power was possessed by Christ as God and man, but what he conferred on the apostles, what descended to their successors the bishops and presbyters; what he forbade them to assume; what is meant by the power of the keys. "God alone remits sins, the priest's power is only declaratory." The illustration is the case of the leper in the Gospels healed by Christ, declared healed by the priest.[p] He admits what is required by the Sacrament of Penance, and some power of commuting the pains of purgatory (this, as well as transubstantiation he distinctly asserts) for temporal penalties. But eternal damnation is by God

[n] "Mosi legem Deus tradidit observandorum in statu vitæ præsentis, ad contentiones humanas dirimendas, præcepta talium specialiter continentem, et ad hoc proportionaliter se habentem humanæ legis quantum ad aliquam sui partem. Verum hujusmodi præcepta in Evangelicâ lege non tradidit Christus, sed tradita vel tradenda supposuit in humanis legibus, quas observari et principantibus secundum eas omnem animam humanam obedire præcipit, in his saltem quod non adversaretur legi salutis."—P. 215.

[o] Innocent's famous similitude of the sun and moon is, I think, alone omitted no doubt in disdain.

[p] He has another illustration. The priest is as the jailor, who has no judicial power, though he may open and shut the door of the prison.

alone, for God alone is above ignorance and partial affection, to which all priests, even the Pope, are subject. Crimes for which a man is to be excommunicated are not to be judged by a priest or college of priests, but by the whole body of the faithful.[q] The clergy have no coactive power even over heretics, Jews, or infidels. Judgement over them is by Christ alone, and in the other world. They are to be punished by the temporal power if they offend against human statutes.[r] The immunities of the clergy from temporal jurisdiction are swept away as irreconcileable with the absolute supremacy of the State. If the clergy were entirely withdrawn from temporal authority, all would rush into the order, especially since Boniface VIII. extended the clerical privilege to those who had the simple tonsure. Poverty with contempt of the world was the perfection taught by Christ and his apostles, and therefore the indelible characteristic of all bishops and priests. Now the clergy accumulate vast wealth, bestow or bequeath it to their heirs, or lavish it on horses, servants, banquets, the vanity and voluptuousness of the world. Marsilio does not, with the rigour of Spiritual Franciscanism, insist on absolute mendicancy: sustenance the clergy might have, and no more; with that they should be content. Tithes are a direct usurpation. The Apostles were all equal; the Saviour is to be believed rather than old tradition, which invested St. Peter in coercive power over the other Apostles. Still more do the Decretals err, that the Bishop of Rome has authority over the temporalities, not only of the clergy, but of emperors and kings. The Bishop of Rome can in no sense be called the successor of St. Peter, first, because no apostle was appointed by the divine law over any peculiar people or land; secondly, because he was at Antioch before Rome.

[q] Universitas Fidelium, p. 208.

[r] This is remarkable. "Quod si humanâ lege prohibitum fuerit, hæreticum aut aliter infidelem in regione manere, qui talis in ipsâ repertus fuerit, tanquam *legis humanæ transgressor* eâdem pœnâ vel supplicio huic transgressioni eâdem lege statutis, *in hoc sæculo*, debet arceri. Si vero hæreticum aut aliter infidelem commorari fidelibus eâdem provinciâ non fuerit prohibitum humanâ lege, quemadmodum hæreticis et semini Judæorum seu humanis legibus permissum extitit etiam temporibus Christianorum populorum principum atque pontificum, dico cuipiam non licere hæreticum vel aliter infidelem quènquam judicare vel arcere pœnâ vel supplicio reali aut personali pro statu vitæ præsentis."—P. 217.

Paul, it is known, was at Rome two years. He, if any one, having taught the Romans, was Bishop of Rome: it cannot be shown from the Scriptures that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome, or that he was ever at Rome. It is incredible that if he were at Rome before St. Paul, he should not be mentioned either by St. Paul or by St. Luke in the Acts.[s] Constantine the Great first emancipated the priesthood from the coercive authority of the temporal prince, and gave some of them dignity and power over other bishops and churches. But the Pope has no power to decree any article of faith as necessary to salvation.[t] The Bull therefore of Boniface VIII. (Unam Sanctam) was false and injurious to all mankind beyond all imaginable falsehood.[u] A General Council alone could decide such questions, and General Councils could only be summoned by the civil sovereigns. The primacy of the Bishop of Rome was no more than this; that having consulted with the clergy on such or on other important matters, he might petition the sovereign to summon a General Council, preside, and with the full assent of the Council draw up and enact laws. As to the coronation of the Emperor at Rome, and the confirmation of his election by the Pope, the first was a ceremony in which the Pope had no more power than the Archbishop of Rheims at the anointing of the Kings of France. The simplicity alone, not to say the pusillanimity, of certain Emperors had permitted the Bishops of Rome to transmute this innocent usage into an arbitrary right of ratifying the election; and so of making the choice of the seven Electors of as little value as that of the meanest of mankind.[x]

The third book briefly draws forty-one conclusions from the long argument. Among these were,—the Decretals of the Popes can inflict no temporal penalty unless ratified by the civil Sovereign; there is no power of dispensation in

[s] It is curious to find this argument so well put in the fourteenth century.

[t] The author examines the famous saying ascribed to St. Augustine, "Ego vero non crederem Evangelio, nisi me Catholicæ Ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas." He meant the testimony of the Church (the collective body of Christians) that these writings really proceeded from Apostles and Evangelists.

[u] "Cunctis civiliter viventibus præjudicialissimum omnium excogitabilium falsorum."—P. 258.

[x] "Tantam enim septem tonsores aut lippi possent Romano Regi auctoritatem tribuere."

marriages; the temporal power may limit the number of the clergy as of churches; no canonisation can take place but by a General Council; a General Council may suspend or depose a Bishop of Rome.

The 'Defender of Peace' was but one of several writings in the same daring tone. There was a second by Marsilio of Padua on the Translation of the Empire. Another was ascribed, but erroneously, to John of Jaudun, on the nullity of the proceedings of Pope John against Louis of Bavaria. Above all the famous Schoolman, William of Ockham, composed two works (one "in ninety days") of an enormous prolixity and of an intense subtlety, such as might, according to our notions, have palled on the dialectic passions of the most pugnacious university, or exhausted the patience of the most laborious monk in the most drowsy cloister.[y] But no doubt there were lighter and more inflammatory addresses poured in quick succession into the popular ear by the Spiritual Franciscans, and by all who envied, coveted, hated, or conscientiously believed the wealth of the clergy fatal to their holy office—by all who saw in the Pope a political despot or an Antichrist. At Trent, Louis of Bavaria and his fearless counsellors declared the Pope a heretic, exhibited sixteen articles against him, and spoke of him as James the Priest. William of Ockham.

So set forth another German Emperor, unwarned, apparently ignorant of all former history, to run the same course as his predecessors—a triumphant passage through Italy, a jubilant reception in Rome, a splendid coronation, the creation of an Antipope; then dissatisfaction, treachery, revolt among his partisans, soon weary of the exactions wrung from them, but which were absolutely necessary to maintain this idle pageant; his German troops wasting away with their own excesses and the uncongenial climate, and cut off by war or fever; an ignominious retreat quickening into flight; the wonder of mankind sinking at once into contempt; the mockery and scoffing joy of his inexorable foes.

[y] The two, the Dialogus, and the Opus Nonaginta Dierum, which comprehends the Compendium Errorum Papæ, occupy nearly 1000 pages, printed in the very closest type, in Goldasti Monarchia, vol. ii. p. 313 to 1235.

From Trent Louis of Bavaria, with six hundred German horse, passed by Bergamo, and arrived at Como; from thence, his forces gathering as he advanced, he entered Milan. At Pentecost he was crowned in the Church of St. Ambrose. The Archbishop of Milan was an exile. Three excommunicated Bishops (Federico di Maggi of Brescia, Guido Tarlati the turbulent Prelate of Arezzo, and Henry of Trent) set the Iron Crown on the head of the King of the Romans: his wife, Margarita, was crowned with a diadem of gold. Can della Scala was present with fifteen hundred horse, and most of the mighty Ghibelline chieftains. Galeazzo Visconti was confirmed as Imperial Vicar of Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Vercelli; but hardly two months had elapsed when Galeazzo was arrested, imprisoned, threatened with the loss of his head, if Monza was not surrendered. The commander of the castle hesitated, but was forced to yield. The cause of this quarrel is not quite certain. The needy Bavarian pressed for the full payment of the covenanted contribution. Galeazzo, it is said, haughtily replied that the Emperor must wait his time.[z] Galeazzo knew that Milan groaned under his exactions. Two of his own brothers were weary of Galeazzo's tyranny. Louis at once caught at popularity, and released himself from the burthen of gratitude, from the degrading position of being his vassal's vassal. The Visconti was therefore cast into prison,[a] all his proud house were compelled to seek concealment; but it was a fatal blow to the party of Louis. The Ghibelline tyrants had hoped to rule under the name of the Emperor, not to be ruled by him.[b] The Guelfs secretly rejoiced: "God is slaying our enemies by our enemies."

Louis in Italy. March 15. March 18. March 22. May 17. May 30. At Milan. July 7.

Louis having extorted 200,000 florins from Milan and the other cities, advanced unopposed towards Tuscany. He was received with great pomp by Castruccio of Lucca, but imperial Pisa closed her gates

Aug. 13. At Lucca. Sept. 6.

[z] Villani. Morigia, Hist. Modoct. R. I. S. t. xxii.

[a] "Interim Galeaz superbum atque insolentem, ac facere recusantem in altum profundum carcerem detrudi nerque pedes astringi fecit."—Albert. Mussat.—P. 776.

[b] "Animadversio hæc a Ludovico in Vice Comites facta tyrannis cæteris Lombardiæ ingentes terrores incussit."—Ib.

against the ally of her deadly enemy; nor till after she had suffered a long siege was Pisa compelled to her old obedience: she paid heavily for her brief disloyalty.[c] This was the only resistance encountered by the Bavarian. The Pope meanwhile had launched in vain, and for a fifth time, his spiritual thunders. For his impious acts at Trent, Louis was declared to have forfeited all the fiefs he held of the Church or of the Empire, especially the Dukedom of Bavaria. He was again cited to appear before the judgement-seat at Avignon, to receive due penalty for his sins; all Christians were enjoined to withhold every act of obedience from him as ruler.[d] But no Guelfic chieftain, no State or city, stood forward to head the crusade commanded by the Pope. Florence remained aloof, though under the Duke of Calabria; the proceedings of the Pope against Louis of Bavaria were published by the Cardinal Orsini. Her only act was the burning, by the Inquisitor, of the astrologer, Cecco d'Ascoli, whose wild predictions were said to have foreshown the descent of the Bavarian and the aggrandisement of Castruccio. Cecco's book, according to the popular statement, ascribed all human events to the irresistible influence of the stars. The stars themselves were subject to the enchantments of malignant spirits. Christ came into the world under that fatal necessity, lived a coward life, and died his inevitable death. Under the same planetary force, Antichrist was to come in gorgeous apparel and great power.[e]

At Pisa. Nov. 1.

April 3. 1327.

Rome had already sent a peremptory summons to the Pope to return and take up his residence in the sacred city. If he did not obey, they threatened to receive the King of Bavaria. A Court they would have:

Embassy of Romans to John XXII.

[c] "E bisognavagli però ch' ella e sua gente erano molto poveri."—Villani.

[d] Apud Martene, p. 471.

[e] Villani, cxxxix. Compare De Sade, Vie de Pétrarque, i. p. 48. He says that there is in the Vatican a MS., "Profetie di Cecco d'Ascoli." I have examined, I will not say read, Cecco's poem, "L'Acerba," half astrology, half natural history, and must subscribe to De Sade's verdict: "S'il n'étoit pas plus sorcier que poëte, comme il y a apparence, on lui fit grande injustice en le brûlant."—P. 50. There are, however, some curious passages in which he attacks Dante, not, as Pignotti (v. iii. p. 1) unfairly says, thinking himself a better poet, but reprehending his philosophical doctrines—

"In cio peccasti, fiorentin poeta,
Ponendo che gli ben della fortuna
Necessitate sieno con lor metà.
* * * * *
Fortuna nom è altro che disposto
Cielo, che dispone cosa animata," &c.
—p. xxxv.; see also lii.

if not the Pope's, that of the Emperor. The Pope replied with unmeaning promises and solemn admonitions against an impious alliance with the persecutor of the Church.[f] The Romans had no faith in his promises, and despised his counsels. Napoleon Orsini and Stephen Colonna, both in the interests of Robert of Naples, were driven from the city. Sciarra Colonna, a name fatal to Popes, was elected Captain of the people. A large Neapolitan force landed at Ostia, and broke into the Leonine city. The bell of the Capitol tolled, the city rose, the invaders were repelled with great slaughter.

Sept. 23.

From Pisa, where he had forced a contribution of 200,000 florins, 20,000 from the clergy, Louis of Bavaria made a winter march over the Maremma to Viterbo. His partisans (Sciarra Colonna, Jacopo Savelli, Tebaldo de St. Eustazio) were masters of the city. To soothe the people they sent ambassadors to demand certain terms. Louis ordered Castruccio, Lord of Lucca, to reply. Castruccio signed to the trumpeters to sound the advance. "This is the answer of my Lord the Emperor." In five days Louis was within the city; there was no opposition; his advent was welcomed, it was said, like that of God.[g] His march had been swelled by numbers: the city was crowded with swarms of the Spiritual Franciscans; with all who took part with their General, Michael di Cesena, against the Pope; with the Fraticelli; with the poorer clergy, who desired to reduce the rest to their own poverty, or who were honestly or hypocritically possessed with the fanaticism of mendicancy. The higher and wealthier, as well of the clergy as of the monastic Orders, and even the friars, withdrew in fear or disgust before this democratic inroad. The churches were closed, the convents deserted, hardly a bell tolled, the services were scantily performed by schismatic or excommunicated priests.

Jan. 1328. Louis advances to Rome.

Yet the procession to the coronation of Louis of Bavaria was as magnificent as of old. The Emperor passed

[f] Albert. Mussato, p. 173.

[g] "Populus Romanus ut Deo ab excelsis veniente, gavisus illum magnis alacritatibus, præconiorumque applausibus excepit."—Albert. Mussato, S. R. I. p. 772.

through squadrons of at least five thousand horse; the city had decked itself in all its splendour; there was an imposing assemblage of the nobles on the way from S. Maria Maggiore to St. Peter's; but at the coronation the place of the Pope or of delegated Cardinals was ill supplied by the Bishop of Venetia and the Bishop of Aleria, known only as under excommunication. The Count of the Lateran Palace was wanting: Castruccio was invested with that dignity. Castruccio (clad in a crimson vest, embroidered in front with the words, "'Tis he whom God wills," behind, "He will be whatever God wills") was afterwards created, amid loud popular applause, Senator and Imperial Vicar of Rome. Three laws were promulgated: one for the maintenance of the Catholic faith, one on the revenues due to the clergy (a vain attempt to propitiate their favour), one in defence of widows and orphans. Coronation. Sunday, Jan. 17.

Louis could not pause: he was yet but half avenged upon his implacable enemy. He was not even secure; so long as John was Pope, he was not Emperor; he was under the ban of excommunication. He had been driven to extremity; there was no extremity to which he must not proceed. He had not satisfied nor paid the price of their attachment to his Mendicant partizans. On the Place before St. Peter's Church was erected a lofty stage. The Emperor ascended and took his seat on a gorgeous throne: he wore the purple robes, the Imperial crown; in his right hand he bore the golden sceptre, in his left the golden apple. Around him were Prelates, Barons, and armed Knights; the populace filled the vast space. A brother of the Order of the Eremites advanced on the stage, and cried aloud, "Is there any Procurator who will defend the Priest James of Cahors, who calls himself Pope John XXII.?" Thrice he uttered the summons; no answer was made. A learned Abbot of Germany mounted the stage, and made a long sermon in eloquent Latin, on the text, "This is the day of good tidings." The topics were skilfully chosen to work upon the turbulent audience. "The holy Emperor beholding Rome, the head of the world and of the Christian faith, deprived both April 18.

of her temporal and her spiritual throne, had left his own realm and his young children to restore her dignity. At Rome he had heard that James of Cahors, called Pope John, had determined to change the titles of the Cardinals, and transfer them also to Avignon; that he had proclaimed a crusade against the Roman people: therefore the Syndics of the Roman clergy, and the representatives of the Roman people, had entreated him to proceed against the said James of Cahors as a heretic, and to provide the Church and people of Rome, as the Emperor Otho had done, with a holy and faithful Pastor." He recounted eight heresies of John. Among them, "he had been urged to war against the Saracens: he had replied, 'We have Saracens enough at home.'" He had said that Christ, "whose poverty was among his perfections, held property in common with his disciples." He had declared, contrary to the Gospel, which maintains the rights of Cæsar, and asserts the Pope's kingdom to be purely spiritual, that to him (the Pope) belongs all power, temporal as well as spiritual. For these crimes, therefore, of heresy and treason, the Emperor, by the new law, and by other laws, canon and civil, removed, deprived, and cashiered the same James of Cahors from his Papal office, leaving to any one who had temporal jurisdiction to execute upon him the penalties of heresy and treason. Henceforth no Prince, Baron, or commonalty was to own him as Pope, under pain of condemnation as fautor of his treason and heresy: half the penalty was to go to the Imperial treasury, half to the Roman people.[h] He, Louis of Bavaria, promised in a few days to provide a good Pope and a good Pastor for the great consolation of the people of Rome and of all Christians.[i]

The Pope deposed.

But Rome was awed rather than won by this flattery to her pride. Only four days after, an ecclesiastic, James[k] son of Stephen Colonna, appeared

Protest of James Colonna. April 22.

[h] According to the statement of Louis, still more atrocious charges were inserted into this sentence of deposition, by Udalric of Gueldres, the Emperor's secretary. Louis being a rude soldier, ignorant of Latin, knew nothing, as he afterwards declared to Benedict XII., of these things (Raynald. sub ann. 1336). Udalric did this out of secret enmity to the Emperor, to commit him more irretrievably with the Pope.—Mansi, note on Raynaldus, 1328, c. xxxvi.

[i] Apud Baluzium, ii. p. 523.

[k] He was canon of the Lateran;

before the church of S. Marcellus, and in the presence of one thousand Romans read aloud and at full length the last and most terrible process of Pope John against Louis of Bavaria. He went on to declare that "no Syndicate, representing the clergy of Rome, had addressed Louis; that Syndicate, the priests of St. Peter's, of St. John Lateran, of S. Maria Maggiore, with all the other dignified clergy and abbots, had left Rome for some months, lest they should be contaminated by the presence of persons under excommunication." He continued uninterrupted his long harangue, and then deliberately nailed the Pope's Brief on the doors of the Church of S. Marcellus. The news spread with a deep murmur through the city. Louis sent a troop of horse to seize the daring ecclesiastic; he was gone, the populace had made no attempt to arrest him. He was afterwards rewarded by the Pope with a rich bishopric. The next day a law was published in the presence of the senators and people, April 23. that the Pope about to be named, and all future Popes, should be bound to reside, except for three months in the year, in Rome; that he should not depart, unless with the permission of the Roman people, above two days' journey from the city. If summoned to return, and disobedient to the summons, he might be deposed and another chosen in his place.[m]

On Ascension Day the people were again summoned to the Place before St. Peter's Church. Louis appeared in all his imperial attire with many of the lower clergy, monks, and friars. He took his seat upon the throne: the designated Pope, Peter di Corvara, sat by his side under the baldachin. The friar Nicolas di Fabiano preached on the text, "And Peter, turning, said, the angel of the Lord hath appeared and delivered me out of the hand of Herod." The Bavarian was the angel, May 12.

afterwards the friend of Petrarch. See account of Petrarch's visit to him as Bishop of Lombes.—De Sade, i. 161, &c.

[m] The condemnation of John XXII. to death, and his capital sentence, are asserted by Raynaldus on unpublished authority. This account is received as authentic by Boehmer, who accepts all that is against Louis and in favour of Pope John. It is more likely a version of Mussato's story of his being burned in effigy by the people, rather than confirmed by it. As a grave judicial proceeding it is highly improbable.—Raynald. sub ann.

Pope John was Herod. The Bishop of Venetia came forward, and three times demanded whether they would have the brother Peter for the Pope of Rome. There was a loud acclamation, whether from fear, from contagious excitement, from wonder at the daring of the Emperor, or from genuine joy that they had a humble and a Roman Pope.[n] The Bishop read the Decree. The Emperor rose, put on the finger of the friar the ring of St. Peter, arrayed him in the pall, and saluted him by the name of Nicolas V. With the Pope on his right hand he passed into the church, where Mass was celebrated with the utmost solemnity.

The Anti-pope.

Peter di Corvara was born in the Abruzzi; he belonged to the extreme Franciscan faction; a man of that rigid austerity that no charge could be brought against him by his enemies but hypocrisy. The one imputation was, that he had lived in wedlock five years before he put on the habit of S. Francis. He took the vows without his wife's consent. She had despised the beggarly monk; she claimed restitution of conjugal rights from the wealthy Pontiff.[o] All this perhaps proves the fanatic sincerity of Peter, and the man that was thus put forward by a fanatic party (it is said when designated for the office he fled either from modesty or fear) must have been believed to be a fanatic. Nothing indeed but fanaticism would have given him courage to assume the perilous dignity.

The first act of Nicolas V. was to create seven Cardinals—two deposed bishops, Modena and Venetia, one deposed abbot of S. Ambrogio in Milan, Nicolas di Fabriano, two Roman popular leaders. Louis caused himself to be crowned again by his Supreme Pontiff.

But in Nicolas V. his party hoped, no doubt, to see the apostle of absolute poverty. They saw him and his Cardinals on stately steeds, the gift of the Emperor, with

[n] The people, according to Albert of Mussato, demanded the deposition of John, and the elevation of a new Pope, "novum proponendum Pontificem, qui ... sacrosanctam ecclesiam Romanam ... in suâ Româ regat ... illum Joannem, qui trans montes sacræ Ecclesiæ illudit, anathematiset."—Fontis, p. 175.

[o] "Repetiit Pontificem locupletem, quem tot annos spreverat mendicum monachum."—Wading, l. vii. f. 77.

servants, even knights and squires: they heard that they indulged in splendid and costly banquets. The Pope bestowed ecclesiastical privileges and benefices with the lavish hand of his predecessors, it was believed at the time for payments in money.

The contest divided all Christendom. In the remotest parts were wandering friars who denounced the heresy of Pope John, asserted the cause of the Emperor and of his Antipope. In the University of Paris were men of profound thought who held the same views, and whom the ruling powers of the University were constrained to tolerate. The whole of Europe seemed becoming Guelf or Ghibelline. Yet could no contest be more unequal; that it lasted, proves the vast and all-pervading influence of the Mendicants;[p] for the whole strength of the Emperor and of the Antipope was in the religious movement of this small section, in the Roman populace and their Ghibelline leaders. The great Ghibelline princes were for themselves alone; if they maintained their domination over their subject cities, they cared neither for Emperor nor Pope. Against this were arrayed the ancient awe which adhered to the name of the Pope, the Pope himself elected and supported by all the Cardinals, the whole higher clergy, whose wealth hung on the issue, those among the lower clergy (and they were very many), who hated the intrusive Mendicants, the rival Order of the Dominicans, who now, however, were weakened by a schism in which the Pope had mingled, concerning the election and power of the General and Prefects of the Order. Besides these were Robert of Naples, for whom the Pope had hazarded so much, and all the Guelfs of Italy, among them most of the Roman nobles.

Contest in Christendom.

The tide which had so rapidly floated up Louis of Bavaria to the height of acknowledged Emperor, and the creator of a new Pope, ebbed with still greater rapidity.[r] He is accused of having wasted precious time and not advanced

[p] See a very striking passage of Albert Mussato, de Ludov. Bavar.; Muratori, x. p. 775; Fontes, p. 77.

[r] "Ipse Cæsar segnis tanto tempore stetit, otiosus in urbe, quod quasi omnia expendebat." In one expedition he destroyed the castle in which Conradin was beheaded.—Albert. Argentin. p. 124.

upon Naples to crush his defenceless rival. But Louis may have known the inefficient state of his own forces and of his own finances. Robert of Naples now took the aggressive: his fleet besieged Ostia; his troops lined the frontier and cut off the supplies on which Rome partly depended for subsistence. The Emperor's military movements were uncertain and desultory; when he did move, he was in danger of starvation. The Antipope, to be of any use, ought to have combined the adored sanctity of Cœlestine V. with the vigour and audacity of Boniface VIII. The Romans, always ready to pour forth shouting crowds into the tapestried streets to the coronation of an Emperor, or the inauguration of a Pope, had now had their pageant. Their pride had quaffed its draught: languor ever follows intoxication. They began to oscillate back to their old attachments or to indifference. The excesses of the German soldiers violated their houses, scarcity raised their markets. If the Pope might now, compulsorily, take pride in his poverty (and the loss of the wealth which flowed to Rome under former Pontiffs was not the least cause of the unpopularity of the Avignonese Popes), yet the Emperor's state, the Emperor's forces must be maintained. And how maintained, but by exactions intolerable, or which they would no longer tolerate? The acts of the new government were not such as would propitiate their enemies. Two men, in the absence of the Emperor, were burned for denying Peter of Corvara to be the lawful Pope.[s] A straw effigy of Pope John was publicly burned, a puerile vengeance which might be supposed significant of some darker menace.[t]

Louis abandons Rome.

On the 4th of August, not four months after his coronation, the Emperor turned his back on Rome, which he could no longer hold. On the following night came the Cardinal Berthold and Stephen Colonna; on the 8th Napoleon Orsini took possession of the city. The churches were reopened; all the privileges granted by the Emperor and the Antipope annulled; their scanty archives, all their Bulls and state papers burned: the bodies of the German soldiers dug up out of their graves and cast

[s] Villani, c. lxxiv. [t] Mussato.

into the Tiber. Sciarra Colonna and his adherents took flight, carrying away all the plunder which they could seize.

Louis of Bavaria retired to Viterbo; he was accompanied by the Pope, whose pontificate, by his own law, depended on his residence in Rome. He is charged with having robbed the Church of St. Fortunatus even of its lamps—the apostle of absolute poverty! Worse than this, he threatened all who should adhere to his adversary not merely with excommunication, but with the stake. He would employ against them the remedy of burning, and so of severing them from the body of the faithful.[u] The Antipope in Viterbo, Oct. 1.

Pope John, meantime, at Avignon, having exhausted his spiritual thunders, had recourse to means of defence seemingly more consistent with the successor of Christ's Apostles. He commanded intercessory supplications to be offered in all churches: at Avignon forms of prayer in the most earnest and solemn language were used, entreating God's blessing on the Church, his malediction on her contumacious enemies. His prayers might seem to be accepted. The more powerful of the Ghibelline chieftains came to a disastrous end. Passerino, the crafty tyrant of Mantua, was surprised by a conspiracy of the Gonzaga, instigated by Can della Scala, and slain; his son was cast alive to perish in a tower, into which Passerino had thrown the victims of his own vengeance. The excommunicated Bishop of Forlì died by a terrible death; Galeazzo Visconti, so lately Lord of Milan and of seven other great cities, died in poverty, a mercenary soldier in the army of Castruccio. Castruccio himself, if, as is extremely doubtful, Louis could have depended on his fidelity (for Castruccio, Master of Pisa, was negotiating with Florence), seemingly his most powerful support, died of a fever.[x] Sept. 3.

Pisa, of which Castruccio had become Lord, and which the Emperor scrupled not to wrest from his sons (Castruccio's dying admonition to them had been to make haste and secure that city), became the head-quarters of Louis and his Antipope. Nicolas V. continued to issue his edicts anathematising the so-called Pope, Sept. 21. Louis at Pisa.

[u] "Adustionis et præcisionis remedium."—Apud Raynaldum, c. lii.

[x] Alberto Mussato, in Ludov. Bavar. Villani, lxxxv.

inveighing against the deposed James of Cahors, against Robert of Naples and the Florentines. But the thunders of an acknowledged Pope made no deep impression on the Italians: those of so questionable a Pontiff were heard with utter apathy. The Ghibellines were already weary of an Emperor whose only Imperial power seemed to be to levy onerous taxes upon them, with none of gratifying their vengeance on the Guelfs. Gradually they fell off. The Marquises of Este made their peace with the Pope. Azzo, the son of Galeazzo Visconti, having purchased his release from the Court of the Emperor at the price of 60,000 florins,[y] returned to Milan as Imperial Vicar; but before long the Visconti began to enter into secret correspondence with Avignon; they submitted to the humiliation of being absolved, on their penitence, from the crime of heresy, and to receive back their dignity as a grant from the Pope.[z] The Pope appointed John Visconti Cardinal and Legate in Lombardy.

The Emperor's own German troops, unpaid and unfed, broke away from the camp to live at free quarters wherever they could. The only allies who joined the Court at Pisa were Michael di Cesena, the contumacious General of the Franciscans, and his numerous followers. Pope John had attempted to propitiate this party by the wise measure of canonising Cœlestine V.; but the breach was irreparable between fanatics who held absolute poverty to be the perfection of Christianity, and a Pope whose coffers were already bursting with that mass of gold which on his death astonished the world.

Defection of Italy.

The Emperor, summoned by the threatening state of affairs in Lombardy, broke up his Court at Pisa, and marched his army to Pavia, there to linger for some inglorious months. No sooner was he gone than Ghibelline Pisa rose in tumult, and expelled the pseudo-Pontiff with his officers from their city. They afterwards made a merit with Pope John that they would have seized and delivered him up, but from their fear of the Imperial garrison. A short time elapsed: they had courage to

[y] 125,000. Villani, x. c. 117.

[z] See in Raynaldus the form of absolution, 1328, c. lv. and lvi.

compel the garrison to abandon the city. They sent ambassadors to make their peace with the Pope. Most of the Lombard cities had either set or followed the example of defection. Rumours spread abroad of the death of Frederick of Austria, the friendly rival of the Bavarian for the Empire. Some more formidable claimant might obtain suffrages among those who still persisted in asserting the Empire to be vacant. Louis retired to Trent, and for ever abandoned his short-lived kingdom of Italy.[a]

Death seemed to conspire with Fortune to remove the enemies of the Pope.[b] Sciarra Colonna died; Silvester Galta, the Ghibelline tyrant of Viterbo, died; at length Can della Scala was cut off in his power and magnificence. A more wretched and humiliating fate awaited the Antipope. On the revolt of Pisa from the Imperial interests he had fled to a castle of Count Boniface, Doneratico, about thirty-five miles distant. The castle being threatened by the Florentines, he stole back, and lay hid in the Pisan palace of the same nobleman. Pope John addressed a letter to "his dear brother," the Count, urging him to surrender the child of hell, the pupil of malediction. Peter himself wrote supplicatory letters, throwing himself on the mercy of the Pope. The Count, with honour and courage, stipulated for the life and even for the absolution of the proscribed outlaw. The Archbishop of Pisa was commissioned to receive the recantation, the admission of all his atrocious crimes, and to remove the spiritual censures. In the Cathedral of Pisa, where he had sat in state as the successor of St. Peter, the Antipope now abjured his usurped Popedom, and condemned all his own heretical and impious acts. He was then placed on board a galley, and conveyed to Avignon. In every city in Provence, through which he passed, he was condemned to hear the public recital of all his iniquities. The day after his arrival at Avignon he was introduced into the full Consistory with a halter round his neck: he threw himself at

Fate of the Antipope.

Aug. 4.

Aug. 24.

[a] He seems to have reached Trent by Dec. 24 (1329), before the actual death of Frederick of Austria.—Boehmer, Regesta.

[b] Raynaldus, 1329, xix. Villani, x. 139.

the Pope's feet, imploring mercy, and execrating his own impiety. Nothing more was done on that day, for the clamour and the multitude, before which the awe-struck man stood mute. A fortnight after, to give time for a full and elaborate statement of all his offences, he appeared again, and read his long self-abasing confession. No words were spared which could aggravate his guilt or deepen his humiliation. He forswore and condemned all the acts of the heretical and schismatic Louis of Bavaria, the heresies and errors of Michael di Cesena, the blasphemies of Marsilio of Padua and John of Jaudun. Pope John wept, and embraced as a father his prodigal son. Peter di Corvara was kept in honourable imprisonment in the Papal palace, closely watched and secluded from intercourse with the world, but allowed the use of books and all the services of the Church. He lived about three years and a half, and died a short time before his triumphant rival.[c]

Sept. 6.

Louis of Bavaria, now in undisturbed possession of the Empire by the death of Frederick of Austria (the Pope had in vain sought a new antagonist among the German Princes), weary of the strife, dispirited by his Italian discomfiture, still under excommunication, though the excommunication was altogether disregarded by the ecclesiastics as well as by the lay nobles of Germany, was prepared to obtain at any sacrifice the recognition of his title. Baldwin, Archbishop of Treves, and the King of Bohemia, undertook the office of mediation. They proposed terms so humiliating as might have satisfied any one but a Pope like John XXII. Louis would renounce the Antipope, revoke his appeal to a General Council, rescind all acts hostile to the Church, acknowledge the justice of his excommunication. The one concession was that he should remain Emperor. The Pope replied at length, and with contemptuous severity.[d] The books of Marsilio of Padua and John of Jaudun had made too deep a wound: it was still rankling in his heart. Nor these alone—Michael di Cesena, Bonagratia, William of Ockham, had

Reconciliation proposed.

[c] Read the Confession of the Antipope, vol. ii.—Apud Baluzium, p. 145.
[d] Martene, Thesaurus, ii. 800.

fled to Germany: they had been received with respect. The Pope examines and scornfully rejects all the propositions:—"The Bavarian will renounce the Antipope after the Antipope has deposed himself, and sought the mercy of the Pope. He will revoke his appeal, but what right of appeal has an excommunicated heretic? He will rescind his acts, but what atonement will he make for those acts? He will acknowledge the justice of his excommunication, but what satisfaction does he offer?—what proof of penitence? By what title would he be Emperor?—his old one, which has been so often annulled by the Pope?—by some new title?—he, an impious, sacrilegious, heretical tyrant?" The King of Bohemia is then exhorted to take immediate steps for the election of a lawful Emperor. July 31, 1330.

But Louis of Bavaria continued to bear the title and to exercise at least some of the functions of Emperor. Once indeed he proposed to abdicate in favour of his son, but the negotiation came to no end. The restless ambition of John of Bohemia was engaged in an adventurous expedition into Italy, where to the Guelfs he declared that his arms were sanctioned by the Pope—to the Ghibellines, that he came to re-establish the rights of the Empire.

The Pope was more vigorous, if not more successful, in the suppression of the spiritual rebels against his power. The more turbulent and obstinate of the Franciscan Order were spread throughout Christendom, from England to Sicily. The Queen of Sicily was suspected of favouring their tenets. Wherever they were, John pursued them with his persecuting edicts. The Inquisition was instructed to search them out in their remotest sanctuaries; the clergy were directed to denounce them on every Sunday and on every festival.

On a sudden it was bruited abroad that the Pope himself had fallen into heresy on a totally different point. John XXII. was proud of his theologic learning; he had indulged, and in public, in perilous speculations; he had advanced the tenet, that till the day of Judgement the Saints did not enjoy the beatific vision of God. At his own Court some of the Cardinals opposed Heresy of the Pope.

him with polemic vehemence. The more absolutely the question was beyond the boundary of human knowledge and revealed truth, the more positive and obstinate were the disputants. The enemies of the Pope—those who already held him to be a heretic on account of his rejection of absolute poverty—raised and propagated the cry with zealous activity. It was either his assertion, or an inference from his doctrines, that the Apostles, that John and Peter, even the Blessed Virgin herself, only contemplated the humanity of Christ, and beheld not his Godhead.[e]

About the same time jealousies had begun to grow up between the Pope and the Court of France. A new race, that of Valois, was now on the throne. The Pope, while from his residence at Avignon he might appear the vassal, in fact had become the master of his Sovereign. He ruled by a kind of ostentatious parental authority, by sympathy with all their superstitions, and by fostering their ambition, as soaring to the Imperial crown. Philip of Valois aspired to the character of a chivalrous monarch. He declared his determination to organise a vast crusade, first against the Moors in Spain: his aims extended to the conquest of Syria. But the days were past when men were content with the barren glory of combating for the Cross, when the high religious impulse was the inspiration of valour, the love of Christ with the hope of heaven the sole motive and the sole reward. Philip was no St. Louis. There was more worldly wisdom, more worldly interest, in his plan. He submitted certain propositions to the Pope as the terms on which he would condescend to engage in holy warfare for the Cross:—The absolute disposal of all the vast wealth in the Papal treasury, laid up, as always had been said, for this sacred purpose; the tenths of all Christendom for ten years; the appointment to all the benefices in his realm for three years; the re-erection of the kingdom of Arles in favour of his son; the kingdom of Italy for his brother, Charles Count of Alençon.[f] The Pope and the Cardinals stood aghast at these demands. The avaricious Pope to sur-

Philip de Valois King of France.

Crusade

[e] Villani. That, no doubt, was the popular view of the doctrine. Raynaldus, sub ann. 1332.

render all his treasures!—A new kingdom to be formed which might incorporate Avignon within its limits! They returned a cold answer, with vague promises of spiritual and temporal aid when the King of France should embark on the crusade.

This menaced invasion of his treasury, and the design of creating a formidable kingdom at his gates, caused grave apprehensions to the Pope. He had no inclination to sink, like his predecessor, into a tame vassal of the King of France. He began, if not seriously to meditate, to threaten and to prepare, a retreat into Italy, not indeed to Rome. Rome's humble submission had not effaced the crimes of the coronation of the Bavarian, and the inauguration of the Antipope; and Rome was insecure from the raging feuds of the Orsinis and the Colonnas. The Cardinal Legate, Poyet, the reputed son or nephew of the Pope, after a succession of military adventures and political intrigues, was now master of Bologna: He was Count of Romagna, Marquis of the March of Ancona. He announced the gracious intention of the Pope to honour that city with his residence. He began to clear a vast space, to raze many houses of the citizens, in order to build a palace for the Pope's reception; but this palace had more the look of a strong citadel, to awe and keep in submission the turbulent Bolognese. Cardinal Legate at Bologna.

Meanwhile the King of France seemed still intent on the crusade. He had rapidly come down in his demands. He would be content with the grant of the tenths throughout his realm for six years. But the rest of Christendom was not to escape this sacred tax: the tenths were to be levied for the Pope during the same period. The King solemnly pledged himself to embark in three years for Syria; but he stipulated that if prevented by any impediment, the validity of his excuse was to be judged not by the Pope, but by two Prelates of France designated for that office.

Yet even the stir of preparation for the crusade, somewhat abated by menacing signs of war between France and England, was absorbed not only among the clergy, but among the laity also, by the discus- The Beatific Vision.

sions concerning the Beatific Vision, which rose again into engrossing importance. The tenet had become a passion with the Pope. He had given instructions to the Cardinals, Bishops, and all learned theologians, to examine it with the most reverent attention; but benefices and preferments were showered on those who inclined to his own opinions—the rest were rewarded with coldness and neglect. The Pope himself collected a chain of citations from the Scriptures and the Fathers, in which, without absolutely determining the question, he betrayed his own views with sufficient distinctness. Paris became the centre of these disputes. The Pope was eager to obtain the support of the University, in theology, as in all other branches of erudition, of the highest authority. The General of the Franciscans, Gerald Otho, a fellow-countryman of the Pope, and advanced by his favour to that high rank on the degradation of Michael di Cesena, was zealous to display his gratitude. He preached in public, denying the Beatific Vision till the day of Judgement. The University and the Dominicans, actuated by their hostility to the Franciscans, declared the authority of their own irrefragable Thomas Aquinas impeached. They broke out in indignant repudiation of such heretical conclusions. The King rushed into the contest: he declared that his realm should not be polluted with heresy; he threatened to burn the Franciscan as a Paterin; he uttered even a more opprobrious name; he declared that not even the Pope should disseminate such odious doctrines in France. "If the Saints behold not the Godhead, of what value was their intercession? Why address to them useless prayers?" The preacher fled in all haste; with equal haste came the watchful Michael di Cesena to Paris, to inflame and keep alive the ultra-Papal orthodoxy of King Philip.

The King of France and the King of Naples were estranged too by the doubtful conduct of the Pope towards the King of Bohemia. The double-minded Pontiff was protesting to the Florentines that he had given no sanction to, and disclaimed aloud all connection with the invasion of Italy by the Bohemian; but, as was well known, John of Bohemia was too useful an ally against Louis of Bavaria

for the Pope to break with him; and the Cardinal Legate, Bernard de Poyet, was in close alliance with the Bohemian.[g]

The Kings spoke the language of strong remonstrance; the greater part of the Cardinals admitted, with sorrow, the heterodoxy of the Pope. His adversaries, all over Christendom, denounced his grievous departure from holy truth. Bonagratia, the Franciscan, wrote to confute his awful errors. Even John XXII. began to quail: he took refuge in the cautious ambiguity with which he had promulgated his opinions. He sought only truth; he had not positively determined or defined this profound question. The Pope alarmed.

But the time was now approaching, when, if a Pontiff so worldly and avaricious might be admitted among the Saints, he would know the solution of that unrevealed secret. John XXII. was now near ninety years old: the last year of his life was not the least busy and unquiet. The Greeks, through succours from the Pope and the King of Naples, had obtained some naval advantages over the Turks; but the Cardinal Legate, expelled from Bologna, either fled for refuge or was unwilling to be absent, if not from the deathbed of his parent, from the conclave which should elect his successor. Against Louis of Bavaria, though in the hope of his surrender of the Empire to his brother he had taken a milder tone, Pope John now resumed all his immitigable rigour: on the condition of the unqualified surrender of the Empire, and that alone, could he be admitted into the bosom of the Church. The Pope had continued to urge the suppression of the Fraticelli by the stake. But his theological hardihood forsook him.[h] He published on his deathbed what his enemies called a lukewarm recantation,[i] but a recantation which might have satisfied less jealous polemics. He had no intention to infringe on the decrees of the Church. All he had preached or disputed he humbly submitted to the judgement of the Church and of his successors.[j] A.D. 1334.

[g] Compare the curious autobiographical account of this expedition by Charles, the son of John of Bohemia, afterwards the Emperor Charles IV.—Boehmer, Fontes, i. pp. 228, 270.

[h] Raynald. sub ann.

[i] "Tepidam recantationem."—Minorita apud Eccard.

[j] Villani. This was dated Dec. 3. He died Dec. 4.

But if the doctrinal orthodoxy of John XXII. was thus rescued from obloquy, the discovery of the enormous treasures accumulated during his Pontificate must have shaken the faith even of those who repudiated the extreme views of Apostolic poverty. The brother of Villani the historian, a banker, was ordered to take the inventory. It amounted to eighteen millions of gold florins in specie, seven millions in plate and jewels. "The good man," observes the historian, "had forgotten that saying, 'Lay not up your treasures upon earth;' but perhaps I have said more than enough—perhaps he intended this wealth for the recovery of the Holy Land."[k] This was beyond and above the lavish expenditure on the Italian wars, the maintenance of his martial son or nephew, the Cardinal Legate, at the head of a great army, and his profuse provision for other relatives.[m] One large source of his wealth was notorious to Christendom. Under the pretext of discouraging simony, he seized into his own power all the collegiate benefices throughout Christendom. Besides this, by the system of Papal reserves, he never confirmed the direct promotion of any Prelate; but by his skilful promotion of each Bishop to a richer bishopric or archbishopric, and so on to a patriarchate, as on each vacancy the annates or first fruits were paid, six or more fines would accrue to the treasury. Yet this Pope—though besides his rapacity, he was harsh, relentless, a cruel persecutor, and betrayed

[k] "He loved our city," says Villani, "when we were obedient to the Legate; when not so, he was our enemy."

[m] A large portion of this revenue rose from the system of reservations, carried to its height by John XXII. He began this early. "Joannes XXII., Pontificatus sui anno primo reservavit suæ et Sedis Apostolicæ collationi, omnia beneficia ecclesiastica, quæ fuerunt et quocunque nomine censeantur, ubicunque ea vacare contigerit per acceptionem alterius beneficii, prætextu gratiæ ab eodem D. Papæ factæ vel faciendæ acceptata, mihique Gaucelmo Vicecancellario suo præcepit . . . quod hæc redigerem in scripturam."—Baluz. Vit. P. Avin. i. p. 722. Those vacancies were extended to other cases. He amplified in the same manner the Papal provisions. "That all these graces would be sold, and that this was the object of their enactment, was as little a secret as the wealth they brought into the Papal treasury."—Eichhorn, Deutsche Recht, l. ii. p. 507. This is truly said. John, by a Bull under the specious pretext of annulling the execrable usage of pluralities (the Bull is entitled Execrabilis), commanded all pluralists to choose one, and one only, of their benefices (the Cardinals were excepted), and to surrender the rest, to which the Pope was to appoint, as reserves. "Quæ omnia et singula beneficia vacatura, ut præmittitur, vel dimissa, nostræ et Sedis Apostolicæ dispositioni reservamus, inhibentes ne quis præter Romanum Pontificem . . . de hujusmodi beneficiis disponere præsumat."

his joy not only at the discomfiture, but at the slaughter of his enemies[n]—had great fame for piety as well as learning, arose every night to pray and to study, and every morning attended Mass.[o]

[n] "Rallegróssi oltre a modo d'uccisione e morte de' nemici."—Villani, xi. 20.

[o] Boehmer, who warps everything to the advantage of the Pope, ends with this sentence: "Er war neunzig jahre alt, und hinterliess einen Schatz von funf und zwanzig Millionen gold gulden." Well might he repudiate the absolute poverty of Christ!

CHAPTER VIII.

BENEDICT XII.

John XXII. had contrived to crowd the Conclave with French Prelates. Twenty-four Cardinals met; the general suffrage was in favour of the brother of the Count of Comminges, Bishop of Porto, but the Cardinals insisted on a solemn promise that De Comminges would continue to rule in Avignon. "I had sooner," he said, "yield up the Cardinalate than accept the Popedom on such conditions." All fell off from the intractable Prelate. In the play of votes, now become usual in the Conclave, all happened at once to throw away their suffrages on one for whom no single vote would have been deliberately given.[a] To his own surprise, and to that of the College of Cardinals and of Christendom, the White Abbot, the Cistercian, James Fournier, found himself Pope. "You have chosen an ass," he said in humility or in irony. He took the name of Benedict XII.

Dec. 20, 1334.

Benedict XII. did himself injustice: he was a man of shrewdness and sagacity; he had been a great Pope, if his courage had been equal to his prudence. His whole Pontificate was a tacit reproach on the turbulence, implacability, and avarice of his predecessor. His first act was to disperse the throng of greedy expectants around the Court at Avignon. He sent them back, each to his proper function. He declared against the practice of heaping benefices—held, according to the phrase, in commendam—on the favoured few: he retained that privilege for Cardinals alone. He discouraged the Papal reserves; would not create vacancies by a long ascending line of promotions. The clergy did not forgive

Benedict XII.

[a] "Et ecce in electione . . . tot cardinalibus quasi insciis, sub altercatione electus extitit." "Ego M. nomino illum, qui si esse non poterit nomino Blancum, quod repertum est a duobus partibus nominatum."—Albert. Argent. p. 125.

him his speech, that he had great difficulty in finding men worthy of advancement. He even opened the coffers of his predecessor: he bestowed 100,000 florins on the Cardinals. He sought for theological peace. He withdrew to the picturesque sources of the Sorga, not yet famed in Petrarch's exquisite poetry, to meditate and examine the arguments (he was a man of learning) on the Beatific Vision. He published a full and orthodox determination of the question, that the Saints who do not pass through Purgatory immediately behold the Godhead. The heresy of John XXII. was thus at the least implied. He had some thought (he wanted courage to carry out his own better designs) of restoring the See of St. Peter to Italy; but Bologna would not yield up her turbulent independence, and was averse to his reception. Rome was still in a state of strife; and perhaps Robert of Naples did not wish to be overshadowed by the neighbourhood of the Pope.[b] Benedict even made the first advance to reconciliation with Louis of Bavaria.

July 6, 1335.

Jan. 30, 1336.

But Benedict XII. was under the hard yoke of the King of France. He soon abandoned all design of emancipation from that control. The magnificent palace which, out of the treasures of Pope John, he began to build, looked like a deliberate determination to fix the Holy See for ever on the shores of the Rhone. Avignon was to become the centre and capital of Christendom. The Cardinals began to erect and adorn their splendid and luxurious villas beyond the Rhone. The amicable overtures to Louis of Bavaria were repressed by some irresistible constraint. The Emperor, weak, weary, worn out with strife, would have accepted the most abasing terms. His own excommunication, the interdict on the Empire, weighed him down. He was not without superstitious awe; his days were drawing on; he might die unabsolved.[c] Where the interdict was not observed (in most cities of Germany), there was still some want of solemnity, something of embarrassment in the services of the Church; in a few cities,

[b] Letter written from the bridge over the Sorga to King Philip, July 31, 1335. —Raynald. sub ann.

[c] Schmidt, Geschichte, b. vii. l. 7, p. 324.

where the zealous monks or clergy endeavoured to maintain it, were heartburnings, strife, persecution. He would have submitted to swear fealty to the Pope in as ample terms as any former Emperor, and to annul all his acts against Pope John, all acts done as Emperor;[d] he would revoke all proceedings and judgements of Henry of Luxemburg against Robert of Naples, all the grants and gifts which he had made at Rome; he would agree to accept no oath of fealty, recognition, or any advocacy, or grant any fief in Rome or in the territories of the Church. If he broke this treaty, the Pope had power to depose him from all his dignities, or to inflict heavier penalties, without citation or solemnity of law.[e] He would submit to a second coronation in Rome, on a day appointed by the Pope, and quit the city the day after. The Pope was to be the absolute judge of the fulfilment of the treaty.

No sooner had the rumour of these negotiations spread abroad than Benedict XII. was besieged with rude and vehement remonstrances. Ambassadors arrived at Avignon from the Kings of France and of Naples. The Kings of Bohemia and Hungary were known to support their protest. "Would the Pope," they publicly demanded, "maintain a notorious heretic? Let him take heed, lest he himself be implicated in the heresy." Benedict replied, "Would they destroy the Empire?" "Our Sovereigns speak not against the Empire, but against a Prince who has done so much wrong to the Church." "Have we not done more wrong? If my predecessors had so willed, Louis would have come with a staff instead of a sceptre, and cast himself at their feet. He has acted under great provocation." "We could not," he subjoined, "have exacted harder terms, if Louis of Bavaria had been a prisoner in one of our dungeon towers."[f] But Benedict could speak, he could not act, truth and justice: his words are a bitter satire on his own weakness. The King of France took

[d] "Quæcunque alia titulo imperii dicta vel facta per nos existunt . . . ita ea omnia irrita et nulla pronunciamus."—Apud Raynaldum, 1336, c. xviii.

[e] "Liberum sit Romano Pontifici ad alias pœnas procedere contra nos, *privando etiam nos*, si tibi videbitur, imperiali, regiâ et quâlibet aliâ dignitate, absque aliâ vocatione vel juris solemnitate."—Ibid.

[f] Albert. Argentin, Chron., p. 126.

summary measures of compulsion: he seized all the estates of the Cardinals, most of them French Prelates, within his realm. The Cardinals besieged the Court; the King of France himself visited Avignon. He made a pompous journey, partly to survey the cities of his kingdom, partly from devotion for the recovery of his son, Prince John. He was accompanied by the Kings of Bohemia and Navarre: he was met by the King of Arragon. He took up his abode in the Villeneuve beyond the Rhone, in his own territory, where the Cardinals had their sumptuous palaces. The Pope, on Good Friday, preached so moving a sermon (disastrous news had arrived from the East) that the King renewed his vows of embarking on the crusade. The other Kings, numberless Dukes, Counts, and Knights, with four Cardinals, were seized with the same contagious impulse. Orders were actually sent to prepare the fleets in all the ports of the south of France; letters were written to the Kings of Hungary, Naples, Cyprus, and to the Venetians, to announce the determination.[g] At Avignon the King of France charged Louis of Bavaria with entering into a league with the enemies of France: as though he himself had not occupied cities of the Empire under pretence of protecting them from the pollution of heresy, or as though a league with the enemies of France was an act of hostility to the Pope. And who were these enemies? The war with England had not begun. The obsequious Pope coldly dismissed the Imperial ambassadors.[h]

The King of France at Avignon.

But even success against his enemies raised not Louis of Bavaria from his stupor of religious terror. He had wreaked his vengeance on his most dangerous foe, the King of Bohemia; wrested from him Carinthia and the Tyrol by force of arms, and awarded them to the Austrian Princes. "You tell me," said the Pope, "that he is abandoned by all; but who has yet been able to deprive him of his crown?"[i] Still Louis, though repulsed, looked eagerly to Avignon; but so completely did Philip rule the

[g] Froissart, i. 60.

[h] Letter of the Pope to Louis of Bavaria.—Apud Raynald.

[i] Albert. Argentin. p. 126, apud Urstisium.

Cardinals, the Cardinals the Pope, that he took the desperate measure of proposing an alliance with the King of France. Philip could not but in courtesy consult the Pope; the Pope could only sanction an alliance with a Prince under excommunication when he had sought and obtained absolution. Perhaps he thought this the best course to gain permission to absolve Louis; perhaps he was alarmed at the confederacy. But Philip would condescend to this alliance only on his own terms. The Emperor was to pledge himself to enter into treaty with no enemy of France (no doubt he had England in view). The negotiations dragged slowly on: the ambassadors of Louis at Avignon grew weary and left the city. Already the Pope had warned the King of France, that if he still persisted in his haughty delay, still exacted intolerable conditions, Louis would throw himself into the arms of England. The Pope was profoundly anxious to avert the damnation which hung over the partisans of Louis in Germany and Italy.[k]

April, 1337.

War was now imminent, inevitable, between France and England. The Pope had interposed his mediation, but in vain.[m] Edward III. treated with outward respect, but with no more, the Pope's solemn warning not to be guilty of an alliance with Louis of Bavaria, the contumacious rebel, and the excommunicated outcast of the Church.[n] The English clergy were with the King. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Winchester, disregarded the Pope's letters, and opposed his Legates. The Emperor rose in importance. The Pope reproached him afterwards with breaking off the negotiations at Avignon, withdrawing his ambassadors, and not appearing at the appointed day, Michaelmas.[o] Yet all his

[k] Letter from the Pope to Philip.—Raynald. 1337, c. ii.

[m] There are several letters MS. B. M. on this subject.

[n] MS. B. M. A letter, dated July 20, 1337, denounces the crimes of Louis of Bavaria, his offences against John XXII., his consorting with notorious heretics in Italy, his elevation of Peter of Corvara to the Antipopedom. Benedict, who had treated him with mildness in hope of his penitence, entered into negotiations with him. King Edward is urged to withdraw from all recognition of Louis as Emperor, till he should have made full satisfaction to the Church. See, following letters, his dread of Edward's alliance "cum Theutonicis," Nov. 13, 1338. The Pope declares the Empire vacant, the full right of so ordaining in the Pope.

[o] Lit. ad Archepisc. Colon., apud Raynald. 1338, c. 3.

conduct showed, that if he had hoped for absolution, Louis of Bavaria would have bought it at any price of degradation. He might seem ready to drink the last dregs of humiliation. He had made, before this, another long appeal to the Pope; he had excused himself, by all kinds of pitiful equivocation, for all his damnable acts in the usurpation of the Empire, and the creation of the Antipope; he forswore all his bold partisans, Marsilio of Padua, John of Jaudun; declared himself ignorant of the real meaning of their writings; threw off Michael of Cesena and the Spiritual Franciscans; asserted himself to hold the orthodox doctrine on the poverty of Christ. This had been his sixth embassy to the Court at Avignon.[p] Now, however, Louis took a higher tone: he threatened to march to Avignon, and to extort absolution by force of arms. For not only was his alliance eagerly solicited by England: Germany was roused to indignation. Diet after Diet met, ever more and more resolved to maintain their independent right to elect the Sovereign of the Empire. Henry of Virneburg had been forced by the Pope on the reluctant Chapter and reluctant Emperor as Archbishop of Mentz; but Henry was now in direct opposition to the Pope, under excommunication. He summoned an assembly of the Prelates and clergy at Spires. With the utmost unanimity they agreed to send letters, by the Bishop of Cöire and Count Gerlach of Nassau, to demand the reconciliation of Louis of Bavaria (they did not call him Emperor) with the Church, and so the deliverance of the German churches and clergy from their wretched state of strife and confusion. The Pope openly refused an answer to these ambassadors; but yet it was believed in Germany that he had whispered into their ears, not without tears, that he would willingly grant the absolution; but that if he did, the King of France had threatened to treat him with worse indignity than Philip the Fair had treated Boniface VIII.[q] To the excommunicated Archbishop of Mentz he deigned no reply; but to the Archbishop of Cologne he spoke in milder language, but

Oct. 28, 1336.

Movement in Germany.

March, 1338.

July 1. 1338.

[p] Oehlenschlager, Urkunden, lxvi.

[q] Albertus Argentin.

threw the whole blame of the rupture on the Bavarian.

Diets. April 19, May 18, July 16, Aug. 8. Four other Diets were held of Prelates, Princes, Nobles, at Cologne, Frankfort, Rhense near Coblentz, again at Frankfort.

At Frankfort the Emperor appeared, and almost in tears complained of the obduracy of the Pope, and charged the King of France with preventing the reconciliation in order to debase and degrade the Imperial crown. He repeated the Lord's Prayer, the Ave-Maria, and the Apostles' Creed, to prove his orthodoxy. The assembly declared that he had done enough as satisfaction to the Pope: they pronounced all the Papal proceedings, even the excommunication, null and void. If the clergy would not celebrate the divine services, they must be compelled to do so. The meeting at Rhense

July 16. was more imposing. Six of the Electors, all but the King of Bohemia, were present.[r] It is called the first meeting of the Electoral College. They solemnly agreed that the holy Roman Empire and they the Prince-Electors had been assailed, limited, and aggrieved in their honours, rights, customs, and liberties; that they would maintain, guard, assert those rights against all and every one without exception; that no one would obtain dispensation, absolution, relaxation, abolition of his vow; that he should be, and was declared to be, faithless and traitorous before God and man who should not maintain all this against any opponent whatsoever. The States-General at Frankfort passed, as a fundamental law of the Empire, a declaration that the Imperial dignity and power are from God alone; that an Emperor elected by the concordant suffrage or a majority of the electoral suffrages has plenary Imperial power, and does not need the approbation, confirmation, or authority of the Pope, or the Apostolic See, or any other.[s]

This declaration was the signal for an active controversy: for daring acts of defiance on the Papal side, of

[r] Chronicon Vintoduran, apud Eccard, i. p. 1844. Chronicon Petren. apud Menckenium, iii. 337. Raynald. 1838, c. viii.

[s] "Nec Papæ sive Sedis Apostolicæ aut alicujus alterius approbatione confirmatione, auctoritate indiget vel consensu." — Oehlenschlager, No. lxviii. Rebdorf, Annal. apud Freher, i. 616.

persecution by the Imperial party. The Pope's ban of excommunication was nailed upon the gate of the Cathedral at Frankfort. At Frankfort all the Canons and Dominicans, in many cities on the Rhine the Dominicans and all known partisans of the Pope, all those who refused to celebrate the service, were expelled from their convents.

At a Diet at Coblentz the Emperor and the King of England met. Two thrones were raised in the market-place, on which the monarchs took their seats. The Emperor held the sceptre in his right hand, the globe in his left: a knight stood with a drawn sword over his head. Above 17,000 men-at-arms surrounded the assembly. The King of England recognised the Emperor excommunicated by the Pope. Before the Chief Sovereign of Christendom, Edward arraigned Philip of France as unjustly withholding from him not only Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine, but the throne of France, his maternal inheritance. The Emperor then rose. He accused Philip of refusing homage for the fiefs held of the Empire. He declared Philip to have forfeited those fiefs, to be out of the protection of the Empire, till he should have restored the kingdom of France to its rightful owner, the King of England. He declared the King of England Imperial Vicar over all the provinces west of the Rhine, and from Cologne to the sea. All the Princes of the Low Countries became thus his allies or vassals. The Emperor and the King of England sent their common defiance to the King of France. Pope Benedict, it was said, rejoiced at that defiance.[t] Meeting with King Edward of England. Sept. 3.

Yet all this ostentation of defiance and scorn, this display of German independence, the determination of the electors to maintain their own rights, this confederacy of prelates and nobles and the States-General to repel the pretensions of the Pope, as to any control over the election of the Emperor, the popular excitement against the papalising clergy and monks, the elaborate arguments of the advocates of the imperial power, the alliance with England—could not repress the versatility of Louis of

[t] "De quâ diffidatione," says Albert Argentin (he was a dependent on the Bishop of Strasburg), "Papa Benedictus, eâ intellectâ, multum jocundabatur."—P. 128.

Bavaria, nor allay his terror of the Papal censures. On the first excuse he began to withdraw his feeble support from the King of England, to revoke his title of Imperial Vicar.[u] He listened to the first advances of Philip, who lured him with hope of reconciliation to the Roman See. Two years had not passed when Pope Benedict beheld at his court at Avignon three imperial ambassadors (not the first since the treaty with England), the Duke of Saxony, the Count of Holland, and the Count Hohenberg, renowned for his legal knowledge. They were accompanied or met by an ambassador from the King of France, supplicating the Pope to grant absolution to the orthodox, pious, and upright Louis of Bavaria. His letters were somewhat colder and less urgent. They pressed the abrogation of censures, which endangered such countless souls, as far as might be consistent with the honour of the Church. Even a Pope in Avignon could not submit to this insolent dictation, and from a King of France, embarrassed, as Philip now was, by such formidable enemies. Benedict replied with dignity, mingled with his characteristic shrewdness and sarcasm, "that he could not, according to the good pleasure of the King of France, hold Louis of Bavaria one day for a heretic, the next for an orthodox believer: Louis must make his submission, and undergo canonical penance." The world saw through both; it was thought that the King of France pretended to wish that which he did not wish; the Pope not to wish that which in fact was his real wish.[x]

Benedict XII. did not live to fulfil his peaceful designs. He died, leaving his reputation to be disputed with singular pertinacity by friends and foes. He was a man wiser in speech than in action, betraying by his keen words that he saw what was just and right, but dared

[u] MS. B. M. The Pope, who had made new proposals of peace between France and England, urges Edward to give up the Vicariate accepted from the excommunicated Louis of Bavaria, Oct. 12, 1339. Benedict's exertions for peace between France and England were constant, earnest, solemn. There is a letter on Edward's assumption of any pretensions to the throne of France: the crown does not descend in the female line; if it did, there are nearer heirs than Edward: let him not trust to Germans and Flemings. March 3, 1340. See Edward's elaborate answer. Edward is admonished not to be too proud of his victories, Oct. 27, 1340. The King of France had agreed to accept the Pope's mediation as "persona privata."

[x] Albert. Argentin, p. 128. Vitoduran, p. 1863. Benedict Vit. viii. apud Baluzium.

not follow it.[y] Yet political courage alone was wanting. He was resolutely superior to the papal vice of nepotism. On one only of his family, and that a deserving man, he bestowed a rich benefice. To the rest he said: "As James Fournier I knew you well, as Pope I know you not. I will not put myself in the power of the King of France by encumbering myself with a host of needy relatives." He had the moral fortitude to incur unpopularity with the clergy by persisting in his slow, cautious, and regular distribution of benefices; with the monks by rigid reforms. He hated the monks, and even the Mendicant Orders. He showed his hatred, as they said, by the few promotions which he bestowed upon them; and hatred so shown was sure to meet with hatred in return. His weaknesses or vices were not likely to find much charity. He was said to be fond of wine, to like gay and free conversation. A bitter epitaph describes him as a Nero, as death to the laity, a viper to the clergy, without truth, a mere cup of wine.[z] Yet of this Nero there is not one recorded act of cruelty (compare him with John XXII.); he was guiltless of human blood shed in war. He may have shown a viper's tooth to the clergy; he was too apt to utter biting and unwelcome truths. The justice of the other charges may be fairly estimated by the injustice of these. The last was most easy of exaggeration; another tradition ascribes to the habits of Benedict the coarse proverb, "as drunk as a Pope." Another more disgraceful accusation has been preserved or invented on account of the fame of one whose honour was involved in it. He is said to have seduced and kept as a concubine a sister of Petrarch. But this rests on the unsupported authority of a late biographer of the Poet.[a]

[y] See the very curious account of a personal interview which Albert of Strasburg had with the Pope, which shows at once his leaning towards the Emperor and his jesting disposition.—P. 129.

[z] "Ille fuit Nero, laicis mors, vipera clero,
Devius a vero, cuppa repleta mero."

[a] It is absolutely without contemporary authority or allusion, even in the later biographies in Baluzius, which, perhaps written by some of the unpreferred clergy or monks, carefully record all the other charges. It first appeared in Squarzafico's "Life of Petrarch." If De Sade is right in supposing Petrarch's letter to refer to Benedict XII., he speaks of him as "madidus mero," but there is not a word about licentious manners.—De Sade.

CHAPTER IX.

CLEMENT VI.

THE French Cardinals were all-powerful in the Conclave. Clement VI. May 7, 1342. The successor of Benedict XII. was Cardinal Peter Roger, of a noble house of Marmont in the Limousin. He had been Prior of St. Bandille at Nismes, Abbot of Fécamp, Bishop of Arras, Archbishop of Sens, Archbishop of Rouen. A Frenchman by birth, inclination, character, at his inauguration all was French. For the Emperor, for the Senator of Rome, for the Orsinis, Colonnas, Annibaldis, his stirrup was held by the Duke of Normandy, son and heir of the King of France, with the Dukes of Bourbon and Burgundy, and the Dauphin of Vienne. He took the name of Clement VI.; it might almost seem an announcement of the policy which was to distinguish his popedom. If Benedict XII. stood in every respect in strong contrast to John XXII., the rule of Clement's administration might seem to be the studious reversal of that of his predecessor. All the benefices, which the tardy and hesitating conscientiousness of Benedict had left vacant, were filled at once by the lavish and hasty grants of Clement. He declared a great number of bishoprics and abbacies vacant as Papal reserves, or as filled by void elections; he granted them away with like prodigality. It was objected that no former Pope had assumed this power. "They knew not," he answered, "how to act as Pope."[a] He issued a Brief that all poor clergy who would present themselves at Avignon within two months should partake of his bounty. An eye-witness declares that 100,000 greedy applicants crowded the

His first acts.

[a] Vit. iii. et v. Clement VI. apud Baluzium, p. 284, p. 321.

streets of Avignon.[b] If Clement acted up to his maxim, that no one ought to depart unsatisfied from the palace of a prince, how vast and inexhaustible must have been the wealth and preferment at the disposal of the Pope! The reforms in the monastic orders were mitigated or allowed to fall into disuse. The clemency of the Pope had something of that dramatic show which characterises and delights his countrymen. A man of low rank had in former days done him some injury. The man, in hopes that he and his offence had been forgotten, presented a petition to the Pope. Clement remembered both too well. Twice he threw down the petition and trampled it under foot. He was then heard by his attendants to murmur, "Devil, tempt me not to revenge!" He took up and set his seal to the petition.[c]

If Clement was indulgent to others, he was not less so to himself. The Court at Avignon became the most splendid, perhaps the gayest, in Christendom. The Provençals might almost think their brilliant and chivalrous Counts restored to power and enjoyment. The papal palace spread out in extent and magnificence. The young art of painting was fostered by the encouragement of Italian artists.[d] The Pope was more than royal in the number and attire of his retainers. The papal stud of horses commanded general admiration. The life of Clement was a constant succession of ecclesiastical pomps and gorgeous receptions and luxurious banquets. Ladies were admitted freely to the court,[e] the Pope mingled with ease in the gallant intercourse. If John XXII., and even the more rigid Benedict, did not escape the imputation of unclerical licence, Clement VI., who affected no disguise in his social hours, would hardly be supposed superior to the common freedom of the ecclesiastics of his day. The Countess of Turenne, if not, as general report averred, actually so, had at least many of the advantages of the Pope's mistress—the distribution of preferments and benefices to any extent, which this woman, as rapacious as she

[b] Vit. i. p. 264.
[c] Vit. ibid.
[d] See Kugler. Giotto had painted for Clement V., i. 123.
[e] "Mulierum et bonorum et potentiæ cupidus . . . ipse Francis Francus ferventer adhæsit."—Albert. Argentin, p. 132.

was handsome and imperious, sold with shameless publicity.[f]

A voluptuous Court was not likely to raise the moral condition of the surrounding city. Petrarch had lived for some time at Avignon, under the patronage of the Cardinal Colonna, and James Colonna, Bishop of Lombes. His passion for Laura had begun in a church; and though her severe and rare virtue gave that exquisite unattainted purity to his love verses; though as a poet his tenderness never melts into earthly passion; his highest raptures are Platonism; yet Petrarch was not altogether, though he became Canon of Lombes and Archdeacon of Parma, preserved from the contagion of his age; he had two natural children. But of the moral corruption of Avignon he repeatedly speaks with loathing abhorrence; Rome itself in comparison was the seat of matronly virtue: by his account it was one vast brothel. He fled to the quiet and unvitiated seclusion of Vaucluse.[g]

Morals of Avignon.

Clement VI., with his easy temper, was least likely to restrain that proverbial vice of the Popes, which has formed for itself a proper name—Nepotism. On his brothers, nephews, kindred, relatives, compatriots, were accumulated grants, benefices, promotions. One nephew, at the age of eighteen, was Notary of the Apostolic Court and Cardinal.[h]

Scarcely had Clement ascended the throne, when the Roman people sent a deputation to his Holiness to urge him to return to his See. Petrarch,

Embassy from Rome.

[f] Matteo Villani.

[g] This repulsive subject cannot be fully understood without the study of Petrarch's letters, especially the book "Sine Titulo." Avignon was the sink of Christendom. "Nec tam propter se quam propter concurrentes et coactas ibi concretasque orbis sordes ac nequitias hic locus a principio multis atque ante alios mihi pessimus omnium visus est." —Sen. l. 10, ep. 2. But this wickedness was not only among the low, the retainers of the Church, or the gown. "Tam calidi, tamque præcipites in Venerem senes sunt, tanta eos ætatis et status et virium cepit oblivio, sic in libidines inardescunt sic in omne ruunt dedecus, quasi omnes eorum gloria, non in cruce Christi sit, sed in comessationibus, et ebrietatibus, et quæ hæc sequuntur in cubilibus, impudentiis . . . Spectat hæc Sathan ridens atque in pari tripudio delectatus, atque inter decrepitos ac puellas arbiter sedens, stupet plus illos agere, quam se hortari." I must break off. "Mitto stupra, raptus, incestus, adulteria, qui jam *Pontificalis* ludi lasciviæ sunt."—P. 730, Ed. Baz. Again I must pause; I dare not quote even the Latin. It is not enough to say that Petrarch was an Italian, and eager to restore the Papacy to Rome, or to treat such passages as satiric declamation.

[h] Vit. i. p. 265. Matteo Villani apud Muratori, xiv. l. iii. c. 43.

who had been crowned at Rome, had acquired the rights of a Roman citizen, and was one of the eighteen ambassadors. Among the rest lurked undistinguished Nicolo Rienzi, the future Tribune. Petrarch, as the crowned Poet of Rome, addressed the Pope in a long piece of Latin verse. Rome, the aged female, besought the return of the Pope; she tempted him with the enumeration of her countless religious treasures, her wonder-working reliques, her churches, her apostolic shrines.

The Pope, as usual, put off this supplication with fine words, but he granted one request. The Jubilee appointed by Pope Boniface for every hundred years was but a partial blessing to mankind; very few indeed lived to that period. Clement ordained that it should be celebrated at the end of fifty years. The Jubilee.

One man alone was excepted from the all-embracing clemency of the Pope—Louis of Bavaria. Already, as Archbishop of Rouen, Clement had preached before the Kings of France and Bohemia a furious and abusive declamation, in which he played on the name of the Bavarian. Louis had not merely joined in the persecution of those ecclesiastics or monks who obeyed the papal interdict; he had done an act of usurpation on the ecclesiastical authority, which, besides its contempt of the Pope, had inflamed against him the implacable resentment of the King of Bohemia. Of his imperial authority he had dissolved the marriage of Margaret of Carinthia, heiress of great part of the Tyrol, and sanctioned her repudiation of her husband, a younger son of the King of Bohemia.[i] He had then given a dispensation for her marriage with his own son, within the prohibited degrees.[k] The bold and faithful asserters of the imperial power, Marsilio of Padua and William of Ockham, had been again his counsellors; they declared the power of Louis of Bavaria.

[i] Albert of Strasburg gives a strange account of this ill-assorted wedlock. "Cumque Joannes Comes Tyrolis, filius Bohemi *impotens*, uxorem suam *semifatuam* plurimum molestaret, inter alia, ejus mordendo mammillas."

[k] Albert (p. 119) calls the act of Louis "inconsuetum et horribile. O idolorum servitus avaritia, quæ tantos principes confudisti, ex quibus iterum inter Bohemos et Principem et filios suos non immerito livor edax et odia suscitantur."

dissolving marriages, and of dispensations, to be inherent in the imperial crown.

Yet on the accession of Clement, Louis sent a submissive embassy to the Pope, to demand absolution. At the same time he reminded Philip of France of his solemn oath to interpose his friendly mediation. The Pope sternly answered that Louis must first acknowledge his sins and heresies, entreat pardon, lay down his imperial power at the Pope's feet, and restore the Tyrol to its rightful lord.

During the same year Clement published a new Bull of excommunication throughout Christendom, which, if Louis did not abdicate all his imperial authority within three months, and appear to receive judgement before the papal tribunal, threatened him with still heavier and worldly penalties. The Archbishops, Henry of Mentz and Baldwin of Treves, were ordered immediately to take steps for the election of a King of the Romans.

April 12, 1343.

Oct. 17, 1343.

Louis was constantly vacillating between the most haughty defiance of the Pope and the meanest submission. At one time he alarmed the religious fears of his boldest partisans by his lofty pretensions; at another, disquieted them by his abject humiliation. He now threatened not to recognise Clement as Pope; he gave away bishoprics and benefices to which the Pope had already presented; he seized the money which the Pope's collectors were exacting for a crusade. But no sooner had the Pope's orders to the Archbishops to summon the electors to discuss a new election, and the publication of the papal excommunication throughout Germany, produced some effect; no sooner had the electors met at Rhense, than Louis hastened to entreat their forbearance, to promise his utmost endeavours to obtain reconciliation with the Pope, and to be guided altogether by their counsel.

Vacillation of Louis.

Not content with this, Louis plunged desperately and at once into the lowest depths of humiliation. The Pope at the close of the three months had held a consistory. It was proclaimed in Latin and in German, "Does any

one appear for Louis of Bavaria?" None replied. He was pronounced in contumacy. At the same time came the answer of the King of France. "He had not sought the favour of the Pope in a becoming manner."[m]

Degrading terms accepted by Louis.

And now even the Pope himself was astonished by a proposal from Louis, that he, Clement, should absolutely dictate the form of submission: the ambassadors of Louis would receive full powers to subscribe to whatever conditions the Pope might be pleased to impose. Now was executed a procuration the most disgraceful, the most rigorous, that Louis ought not to have signed had he been in the Pope's prison.[n] It might seem to tax the ingenuity of the Pope's pride and enmity to frame more degrading conditions. Louis was to acknowledge and repudiate all his transgressions committed against John XXII. or his legates in the election of an Antipope, the protection of Marsilio of Padua and his fellows, his appeal to the Council; he was to condemn and declare accursed all the errors of Marsilio and his partisans. As penance for these offences, Louis was to undertake a crusade, build churches and monasteries, and do all other acts to the satisfaction of the Pope; he was to entreat pardon and absolution for all his crimes, to lay aside unconditionally the imperial title assumed at Rome; to confess that he had borne it heretically and unlawfully; to surrender his whole power into the hands of the Pope: as regarded the Kings of France and Bohemia, to conform himself entirely to the Pope's will; humbly to beseech the Pope to restore him to that state in which he was before his condemnation by Pope John; formally to take the amplest oath of allegiance ever taken by his predecessors to the Pope, to confirm all grants, to swear never to assail the papal territory, and be in all things, even the most severely trying, absolutely and entirely obedient to the Pope; to surrender his whole power, state, will, judgement, to the free and unlimited disposition of the Pope.[o] The imperial ambassadors, the Dauphin of Vienne, the

[m] Albert Argentin.

[n] So writes the author of the Paralipomena.—Chronic. Uspergens. p. 271.

[o] "Res, statum, velle et nolle, nihil sibi proprio arbitrio retinendo, absolute et liberaliter in manibus dicti Domini nostri Papæ."—Lud. IV. Submissio, in Baluz. Miscellan. ii. 272, 276.

Bishops of Augsburg and Bamberg, Ulric of Augsburg, had full authority to sign these terms, which Henry IV. might almost have been ashamed of at Canosa.
Jan. 1344. They swore on the Gospels and by the soul of the Emperor, that he would truly observe them. They signed them in full consistory, in the presence of twenty-three Cardinals and numbers of French, Italian, and German prelates.

But even yet the insatiate pretensions of the Roman See had not reached their height. The Emperor had drunk the very lees of humiliation; the Empire itself must be prostrate, as of old, at the feet of the Popedom: one more precedent must be furnished for the total subordination of the temporal to the spiritual power. New articles were prepared; the Emperor was to swear that all acts hitherto done by himself or in his name were invalid; he was to entreat the Pope, when he removed the ban of excommunication, to give validity to such acts; he was to make oath, not only not to attack the territory of the Church, but especially the three dependent kingdoms, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica; that he would enter into no alliance with heretics, whether men, princes, or kings; that he would issue no ordinance as Emperor or King of the Romans without special permission of the Roman See; that he would supplicate the Pope, after absolution, to grant him the administration of the empire; that he would make the states of the empire swear by word and by writing to stand by the Church. If he should not fulfil all these terms, should any doubt arise concerning these articles, the Pope alone was to judge thereof.

Louis, without appeasing his enemies, had sunk into the most abject contempt with his rightful partisans: this contempt would not condescend to disguise or dissemble itself.
Sept. 1344. At a Diet at Frankfort the Emperor ventured to
Indignation of Germany. appear, and to submit to the States of Germany his own shame and the shame of the Empire. Some lingering personal respect for Louis and for his high office constrained the assembly; but though he had forfeited his own dignity, they would maintain theirs. Wicker, the Proto-notary of Trèves, in a long and skilful

speech, showed the usurpation of the Pope on the rights of the Empire. An embassy was determined to represent to Pope Clement that the conditions to which Louis had submitted could not be fulfilled without violating his oath to the States. In other quarters there were loud murmurs that an Emperor who had so debased the holy office, ought to be compelled to abdicate: the throne had been so degraded by the Bavarian, that no Bavarian should ever hereafter be raised to the throne.

The Pope, after some time, took a strong aggressive measure. Henry of Virneburg, Archbishop of Mentz, was deposed by his sole authority.[p] Gerlach, a brother of the powerful Count of Holland, whose estates were in the neighbourhood, was elevated, though but twenty years old, to the Metropolitan See. April 11, 1346.

The Pope scrupled not to break, if he could, the bruised reed. A new Bull of excommunication, on the pretence that Louis had betrayed reluctance or tardiness in the fulfilment of the treaty, was promulgated, which in the vigour and fury of its curses transcended all that had yet, in the wildest times, issued from the Roman See. April 13, 1346.

"We humbly implore the Divine power to confute the madness and crush the pride of the aforesaid Louis, to cast him down by the might of the Lord's right hand, to deliver him into the hands of his enemies, and those that persecute him. Let the unforeseen snare fall upon him! Be he accursed in his going out and his coming in! The Lord strike him with madness, and blindness, and fury! May the heavens rain lightning upon him! May the wrath of Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, turn against him in this world and in the world to come! May the whole world war upon him! May the earth open and swallow him up quick! May his name be blotted out in his own generation, his memory perish from the earth! May the elements be against him, his dwelling be desolate! The merits of all the Saints at rest confound him and execute vengeance on him in this life! Be his sons cast forth from their homes and be delivered before his eyes into the hands of his enemies!"[q]

[p] Albert. Argentin, p. 135.

[q] Raynaldus, sub ann.

The Electors were called upon to proceed at once to the creation of a new Emperor.

Of these electors two only, his son the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the deposed Archbishop of Mentz, adhered to Louis. The three ecclesiastical electors, including Gerlach of Mentz, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Saxony, were arrayed against him. The Elector Palatine vacillated between the parties. John, the King of Bohemia, the rival of Louis, now embittered by the affair of the Tyrol, was blind, and so disqualified for the Imperial crown. His son, Charles of Moravia (of the age of thirty-six), was the representative of the house of Luxemburg. The Pope, not without fierce debates in the consistory, had determined to put forward Charles. The French cardinals, headed by the Cardinal Perigord, the Gascons by the Cardinal de Comminges, came to high words in the presence of the Pope. Each charged the other with treason to the Church. De Comminges accused Talleyrand de Perigord as implicated in the murder of Andrew, King of Naples. The Pope had refused to hear the ambassadors of the King of Hungary, when they demanded vengeance for that murder. The dispute almost came to a personal conflict. Talleyrand rose up to strike De Comminges; the Pope and the other cardinals parted them with difficulty. They retired in sullen wrath; each fortified his palace and armed his retainers. It was long before they were brought even to the outward show of amity.[r]

Charles of Moravia.

Charles obtained not the support of the Pope without hard and humiliating conditions. He swore to those conditions before the Conclave. Eight days after his election he was to ratify his oath. He was to rescind all the acts of Louis of Bavaria; he was so religiously to respect the territories of the Church to their widest extent, that he was only to enter Rome for his coronation, and on the day of his coronation to depart again from the city.

The electors met at Rhense; the Empire was declared long vacant; Charles of Moravia was proclaimed King of the Romans. But Frankfort had shut her gates against

[r] Raynaldus, sub ann.

the Electors. Aix-la-Chapelle shut her gates against the new Emperor. Louis, low as he had fallen, almost below contempt, had still partisans; Germany at least had partisans. An assembly at Spires declared the election at Rhense void; and denied the right of the Pope to depose an Emperor. July 11, 1346.

War, a terrible civil war, seemed inevitable. But gratitude, kindred, the unextinguished passion for chivalrous adventure, led the blind John of Bohemia, accompanied by his son, the elected Emperor, to join the army of the King of France, now advancing to repel the invasion of Edward III. of England. The blind King fell nobly on the field of Crecy. His Imperial son was the first to fly; he was of the few that escaped the carnage of that disastrous day. Charles was thus King of Bohemia. As King of the Romans, though Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne still closed their gates, he was crowned at Bonn. But Germany scoffed at the Priests' Emperor; the ally of the discomfited King of France, the fugitive of Crecy, made but slow progress either by arms or by policy. The unexpected death of Louis of Bavaria left him without rival. Louis died the last Emperor excommunicated by the Pope; the Emperor, of all those that had been involved in strife with the Papacy, who had demeaned himself to the lowest baseness of submission. Battle of Crecy. Aug. 26, 1346. Death of Louis of Bavaria. October.

Yet Germany would not acknowledge an Emperor nominated by the Pope. The Empire was offered to Edward of England; it was declined by him. The election then fell on Gunther of Schwarzenburg.[s] His resignation and his death relieved Charles from a dangerous rival; but Charles was obliged to submit to a new election at Frankfort. His coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle at length established his right to the throne. Still he was recognised not as appointed by the Pope; but raised by the free choice of Germany to the kingdom of the Romans.[t] Gunther of Schwarzenburg. 1348. June, 1349.

[s] Schmidt, Geschichte, p. 359.

[t] Hervart von Hohenberg published two learned works, in defence of Louis of Bavaria against Bzovius, the continuator of Baronius. They contain many of the documents.

In Italy, tragical and wonderful events marked the Pontificate of Clement VI. In Naples, King Robert had closed his long and busy reign. The crown had descended to his granddaughter, the heiress of the Duke of Calabria. Joanna was wedded in her early youth to her kinsman Andrew, of the royal house of Hungary. Joanna now stood arraigned before the world as an adulteress; if not as an accomplice, as having connived at the murder of her husband.[u] Louis, King of Hungary, invaded the kingdom with a strong force to avenge his brother's death, and to assert his right to the throne as heir of Charles Martel. Joanna fled to Avignon; she was for a time placed under custody; but the Pope granted a dispensation for her marriage with her kinsman, Louis of Tarento. She returned to Naples, having sold to the Pope the city of Avignon, part of her kingdom of Provence.[x] The Pope thus recognised her title: he became henceforth the lord and owner of Avignon. War continued to rage in Naples between the Hungarian faction, and that of Joanna and Louis of Tarento. At length the determination of the contest (the cause having, as will appear, been heard on his tribunal by Nicolo Rienzi at Rome), was referred to the Pope, the lord paramount of the kingdom of Naples. After a year's examination by three Cardinals, Joanna pleaded that she was under a magic spell, which compelled her to hate her husband. Against such a plea who would venture to deny her innocence? and in this justification the Pope, and on the Pope's authority the world, acquiesced. The award of Clement absolved Joanna from the crime:[y] with her husband, Louis Prince of Tarento, she was restored to the throne. Peace was established between Naples and Hungary. Rome, meantime, had beheld the rise and fall of Rienzi.

Italy.

June 19, 1343.

Joanna of Naples.

Jan. 15, 1347.

Peace in 1351.

[u] Compare Giannone, l. xxiii. He is favourable to the character and abilities of Joanna.

[x] Vit. Clement VI. apud Baluzium. The price was 30,000 florins of gold of Florence. Lunig, quoted in Giannone, xxiii. 1.

[y] The King of Hungary openly accused the Cardinal Talleyrand Perigord as an accomplice in the murder.

CHAPTER X.

RIENZI.

ROME for nearly forty years had been deserted by the Popes: she had ceased to be the religious capital of the world. She retained the shrines and the reliques of the great apostles and the famous old churches, the Lateran, St. Peter, and St. Paul; some few pilgrims came from all parts of Europe to the city still hallowed by these sacred monuments, to the Jerusalem of the West. But the tide of homage and tribute which had flowed for centuries towards the shrine of the successors of St. Peter had now taken another course. All the ecclesiastical causes, and the riches they poured into the papal treasury; the constant influx of business which created large expenditure; the thousands of strangers, which year after year used to behold in Rome from motives secular or religious, now thronged the expanding streets of Avignon. Rome, thus degraded from her high ecclesiastical position, was thrown back more forcibly than ever on her older reminiscences. She had lost her new, she would welcome with redoubled energy whatever might recall her ancient supremacy. At the height of the Papal power old Rome had been perpetually breaking out into rebellion against younger Rome. Her famous titles had always seemed to work like magic on her ear. It was now Republican and now Imperial Rome which threw off disdainfully the thraldom of the Papal dominion. The Consul Crescentius, the Senator Brancaleone, Arnold of Brescia, the Othos, the Fredericks, Henry of Luxemburg, Louis of Bavaria, had proclaimed a new world-ruling Roman republic, or a new world-ruling Roman Empire. Dante's universal monarchy, Petrarch's aspirations for the independence of Italy, fixed the seat of their power, splendour, liberty, at Rome.

Rienzi.

The history of Rienzi may now be related almost in Rienzi's own words, and that history, thus revealed, shows his intimate connection not only with Roman and Papal affairs, but is strangely moulded up with the Christianity of his time.[a] His autobiography ascends even beyond his cradle. The Tribune disdains the vulgar parentage of the Transteverine innkeeper and the washerwoman, whom Rome believed to be the authors of his birth. With a kind of proud shamelessness he claims descent, spurious indeed, from the Imperial house of Luxemburg. His account is strangely minute. "When Henry of Luxemburg went up to be crowned (May 1312) at Rome, the church of St. Peter, in which the coronation ought to have been celebrated, was in the power of his enemies, the Roman Guelfs, and the King of Naples. Strong barricades and defences, as well as the deep Tiber, separated the two parts of the city. Henry was therefore compelled to hold his coronation in the church of St. John Lateran. But the religious Emperor was very anxious, before he left Rome, to pay his devotions at the shrine of St. Peter, and to see the church which had witnessed the coronation of so many Emperors. He put on the garb of a pilgrim, and in this disguise, with a single attendant, found his way into the church of St. Peter. A report spread abroad that the Emperor had passed the barriers in secret; the gates and bridges were instantly closed and jealously watched; and a herald was sent to put the Guelfic faction on their guard, and to offer a large reward for his capture. As soon as the Emperor and his attendant perceived this movement, they stole hastily along a street by the bank of the river, and, finding all the passages closed, they took refuge, under pretence of going in to drink, in the hostel or small inn kept by Rienzi's supposed father.

[a] These documents, unknown to Gibbon and to later writers, were published by Dr. Papencordt, "Cola di Rienzi und seine Zeit," Hamburg and Gotha, 1841. (Compare Quarterly Review, vol. lxix. p. 346, by the author.) They are chiefly letters addressed by Rienzi to Charles, Emperor and King of Bohemia, and to the Archbishop of Prague, written during his residence in Bohemia after his first fall. They throw a strong, if not a clear and steady light upon his character. These documents were first discovered and made use of by Pelzel, the historian of Bohemia. The original MS. is not to be found, but the copy made by Pelzel for his own use is in the library of Count Thun at Teschen. It was published almost entire by Dr. Papencordt.

There they took possession of a small chamber, and lay hid for ten or fifteen days. The Emperor's attendant went out to procure provisions: in the mean time, Rienzi's mother, who was young and handsome, ministered to the Emperor (Rienzi's own words!), "as their handmaids did to holy David and to the righteous Abraham." Henry afterwards escaped to the Aventine, retired from Rome, and died in the August of that year. Story of his birth.

"But as there is nothing hidden that does not come to light, when his mother found out the high rank of her lover, she could not help, like a very woman, telling the secret of her pregnancy by him to her particular friend; this particular friend, like a woman, told it to another particular friend, and so on, till the rumour got abroad. His mother, too, on her deathbed, confessed the whole, as it was her duty, to the priest. Rienzi, after his mother's death, was sent by his father to Anagni, where he remained till his twentieth year. On his return, this marvellous story was related to him by some of his mother's friends, and by the priest who attended her deathbed.[b] Out of respect for his mother's memory, Rienzi was always impatient of the scandal, and denied it in public, but he believed it in his heart,[c] and the imperial blood stirring in his veins, he began to disdain his plebeian life, to dream of honours and glories far above his lowly condition. He sought every kind of instruction; he began to read and study history, and the lives of great and good men, till he became impatient to realise in his actions the lofty lessons which he read." Was this an audacious fiction, and when first promulgated? Was it after his fall, to attach himself to the imperial house when he offered himself, as will here-

[b] The priest must have heard it sub sigillo confessionis; but Roman priests in those days may not have been over strict.

[c] There are strong obvious objections to this story. The German writers know nothing of Henry's ten or fifteen days' absence from his camp, which could hardly have been concealed, as it must have caused great alarm. Consider too Rienzi's long suspicious silence, though he labours to account for it. He endeavoured, he avers, to suppress the report at the time of his greatness, because any kind of German connection would have been highly unpopular in Rome; but that the rumour prevailed among many persons of both sexes and all ages. Rienzi, on the other hand, appeals to a Roman noble, who at the court of Louis of Bavaria had spoken freely of his great secret, "Tam sibi quam suis ut audivi domesticis hanc conditionem meam sibi consciam revelavit."

after appear, as an instrument to reinstate the Cæsarean power in Italy.[d]

Be this as it may, the adolescence of Rienzi was passed in obscurity at Anagni. He then returned to Rome, a youth of great beauty, with a smile which gave a peculiar and remarkable expression to his countenance. He married the daughter of a burgher, who brought him a dowry of 150 golden florins; he had three children, one son and two daughters. He embraced the profession of a notary. But his chief occupation was poring over those sacred antiquities of Rome, which exercised so powerful an influence on his mind. Rome had already welcomed the first dawn of those classical studies, publicly, proudly, in the coronation of Petrarch.[e] The respect for the ancient monuments of Rome, and for her famous writers, which the great poet had endeavoured to inculcate by his language and by his example, crept into the depths of Rienzi's soul. The old historian, Fortefiocca, gives as his favourite authors, Livy, Cicero, Seneca, Valerius Maximus; but "the magnificent deeds and words of the great Cæsar were his chief delight." His leisure was passed among the stupendous and yet august remains, the ruins, or as yet hardly ruins, of elder Rome. He was not less deeply impregnated with the Biblical language and religious imagery of his day, though he declares that his meditations on the profound subjects of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate, were not drawn from the holy wisdom of Gregory or Augustine; but were droppings from the less deep and transparent springs of the Roman patricians, Boetius and Symmachus, Livy, Cicero, and Seneca. Even now a religious has begun to mingle with the Roman fanaticism of the youth.

Already too had Rienzi learned to contrast the miserable and servile state of his countrymen with that of their free and glorious ancestors. "Where are those old Romans? Where their justice? Would that I had lived in their

[d] De Sade had picked up what may seem a loose reminiscence of the story. The mother of Rienzi, he says, was reported to be the daughter of a bastard of King Henry. This could not be. The whole is in the Urkunde of Dr. Papencordt, p. xxxii.

[e] Apud Muratori, R. I. S.

times!"[f] The sense of personal wrong was wrought up with these more lofty and patriotic feelings. His younger brother was murdered; and Rienzi, unable to obtain redress from the partial and disdainful justice of the nobles, vowed vengeance for the innocent blood. And already had he assumed the office of champion of the poor. As the heads of the mercantile guilds, or the Roman Schools, called themselves by the proud name of Consuls, so Rienzi took the title of Consul of the orphans, the widows, and the indigent.

Rienzi must have attained some fame, or some notoriety, to have been either alone or among the delegates of the people sent on the public mission to Clement VI. at Avignon.[g] These ambassadors were instructed to make three demands, some of them peremptory, of the Pope:—I. To confirm the magistracy appointed by the Romans. II. To entreat his Holiness at least to revisit Rome. III. To appoint the Jubilee for every fiftieth year. The eloquence of Rienzi so charmed the Pope that he desired to hear him every day. He enthralled the admiration of a greater than the Pope: Petrarch here learned to know him whose fame was to be the subject of one of his noblest odes.[h] Rienzi at Avignon.

Rienzi wrote in triumph to Rome.[i] The Pope had acceded to two of the demands of the people: he had granted the Jubilee on the fiftieth year; he had promised, when the affairs of Rome should permit, to revisit Rome. Rienzi calls on the mountains around, and on the hills and plains, to break out into joy. "May the Roman city arise from her long prostration, ascend the throne of her majesty, cast off the garment of her widowhood, and put on the bridal purple. Let the crown of liberty adorn her head, and rings of gold her neck; let her reassume the sceptre

[f] The passage is quoted by Papencordt.

[g] There seem to have been two embassies, successive or simultaneous, one headed by Stephen Colonna, and two other nobles, with Petrarch; another (perhaps later), in which Rienzi signed himself "Nicolaus Laurentii, Romanus, consul orphanorum viduarum et pauperum, unicus popularis legatus."—Hobhouse, "Illustrations of Childe Harold."

[h] The "Spirto gentil." I cannot doubt that this canzone was addressed to Rienzi.

[i] These letters were published from the Turin MSS. by Mr. Hobhouse (Lord Broughton), in his "Illustrations of Childe Harold."

of justice; and, regenerate in every virtue, go forth in her wedding attire to meet her bridegroom. . . . . Behold the most merciful Lamb of God that confoundeth sin! The most Holy Pontiff, the father of the city, the bridegroom of the Lord, moved by the cries and complaints and wailings of his bride, compassionating her sufferings, her calamities, and her ruin—astonished at the regeneration of the city, the glory of the people, the joy and salvation of the world, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost—opening the bosom of his clemency—has pledged himself to have mercy upon us, and promises grace and redemption to the whole world, and to the nations remission of sins." After all this vague and high-flown Scriptural imagery, Rienzi passes to his classical reminiscences:—"What Scipio, what Cæsar, or Metellus, or Marcellus, or Fabius, can be so fairly deemed the deliverer of their country, or so justly honoured with a statue? They won hard victories by the calamities of war, by the bloodshed of citizens: he, unsolicited, by one holy and triumphant word, has achieved a victory over the present and future disasters of his country, re-established the Roman commonwealth, and rescued the despairing people from death."

Whether Pope Clement was conscious that he was deluding the ardent Rienzi with false hopes, while the eloquence of Rienzi palled in the ears of the French Papal Court; whether Rienzi betrayed his suspicions of the Pope's sincerity, or the Cardinal Colonna became jealous of his influence with the Pope, he soon fell into disfavour. At Avignon he was reduced to great poverty, and, probably from illness, was glad to take refuge in a hospital.[1] The Cardinal, however, perhaps from contemptuous compassion, reconciled him with the Pope. Rienzi returned to Rome with the appointment of Notary in the Papal Court, and a flattering testimonial to his character, as a man zealous for the welfare of the city.

Rienzi in Rome.

At Rome, Rienzi executed his office of Notary by deputy, and confined himself to his studies, and to his profound and rankling meditations on the miseries and oppressions of the people. The luxury of

[1] Fortefiocca, apud Muratori.

the nobles was without check; the lives of the men and the honour of the women seemed to be yielded up to their caprice and their lust. All this Rienzi attributed, in a great degree, to the criminal abandonment of his flock by the Supreme Pontiff. "Would that our pastor had been content with this scandal alone, that he should dwell in Avignon, having deserted his flock! But far worse than this: he nurses, cherishes, and favours those very wolves, the fear of which, as he pretends, keeps him away from Rome, that their teeth and their talons may be stronger to devour his sheep. On the Orsini, on the Colonnas, and on the other nobles whom he knows to be infamous as public robbers, the destroyers, both spiritual and temporal, of his holy episcopal city, and the devourers of his own peculiar flock, he confers dignities and honours; he even bestows on them rich prelacies, in order that they may wage those wars which they have not wealth enough to support, from the treasures of the Church; and when he has been perpetually entreated by the people that, as a compassionate father, he would at least appoint some good man, a foreigner, as ruler over his episcopal city, he would never consent; but, in contempt of the petitions of the people, he placed the sword in the hands of some madman, and invested the tyrants of the people with the authority of Senators, for the sole purpose, as it is credibly known and proved, that the Roman flock, thus preyed on by ravening wolves, should not have strength or courage to demand the residence of their Pastor in his episcopal seat."[k]

Rienzi, thus despairing of all alleviation of the calamities of the people from the ecclesiastical power, sat brooding over his hopes of reawakening the old Roman spirit of liberty. In this high design he proceeded with wonderful courage, address, and resolution. He submitted to every kind of indignity, and assumed every disguise which might advance his end. He stooped to be admitted as a buffoon to amuse, rather than as a companion to enlighten, the haughty nobles in the Colonna Palace. He has been

[k] Thus he wrote later to the Archbishop of Prague.—Papencordt, Urkunde, p. xliv.

called the modern Brutus:[m] he alleges higher examples. "I confess that, drunken after the parching fever of my soul, in order to put down the predominant injustice, and to persuade the people to union, I often feigned and dissembled; made myself a simpleton and a stage-player; was by turns serious or silly, cunning, earnest, and timid, as occasion required, to promote my work of love. David danced before the ark, and appeared as a madman before the King; Judith stood before Holofernes, bland, crafty, and dissembling; and Jacob obtained his blessing by cunning: so I, when I took up the cause of the people against their worst tyrants, had to deal with no frank and open antagonists, but with men of shifts and wiles, the subtlest and most deceitful." Once in the assembly of the people he was betrayed by his indignation into a premature appeal to their yet unawakened sympathies. He reproached his fellow representatives with their disregard of the sufferings of the people, and ventured to let loose his eloquence on the blessings of good order. The only answer was a blow from a Norman kinsman of the Colonnas; in the simple language of the historian, a box on the ear that rang again.[n]

Allegorical picture was the language of the times. The Church had long employed it to teach or to enforce Christian truth or Christian obedience among the rude and unlettered people. It had certainly been used for political purposes.[o] Dante may show how completely the Italian mind must have been familiarised with this suggestive imagery. Many of the great names of the time—the Orsini, the Mastini, the Cani, the Lucchi—either lent themselves to or grew out of this verbal symbolism. Rienzi seized on the yet unrestricted freedom of painting, as a modern demagogue might on the freedom of the press, to instil his own feelings of burning shame at the common degradation and oppression. All the historians have dwelt on the masterpiece of his pictorial eloquence:—On a sinking ship, without mast or sail, sat a noble lady in widow's weeds, with dishevelled hair and

Allegorical painting.

[m] By Gibbon. See Urkunde, p. xlix.

[n] "Un sonante gotata."—Fortefiocca.

[o] Dr. Papencordt cites many examples.

her hands crossed over her breast. Above was written, "This is Rome." She was surrounded by four other ships, in which sat women who personated Babylon, Carthage, Tyre, Jerusalem. "Through unrighteousness," ran the legend, "these fell to ruin." An inscription hung above, "Thou, O Rome, art exalted above all; we await thy downfall."[p] Three islands appeared beside the ship: in one was Italy, in another four of the cardinal virtues, in the third Christian Faith. Each had its appropriate inscription. Over Faith was written, "O highest Father, Ruler, and Lord! when Rome sinks, where find I refuge?" Bitter satire was not wanting. Four rows of winged beasts stood above, who blew their horns, and directed the pitiless storm against the sinking vessel. The lions, wolves, and bears denoted, as the legend explained, the mighty barons and traitorous senators; the dogs, the swine, and the bulls, were the counsellors, the base partisans of the nobles; the sheep, the serpents, and foxes, were the officers, the false judges, and notaries; the hares, cats, goats, and apes, the robbers, murderers, adulterers, thieves, among the people. Above was, "God in his majesty come down to judgement, with two swords, as in the Apocalypse, out of his mouth." St. Peter and St. Paul were beneath, on either side, in the attitude of supplication.

Rienzi describes another of his well-known attempts to work upon the populace, and to impress them with the sense of the former greatness of Rome.[p] The great bronze tablet[q] containing the decree by which the Senate conferred the Empire upon Vespasian, had been employed by Boniface VIII., out of jealousy to the Emperor, as Rienzi asserts,[r] to form part of an altar in the Lateran Church, with the inscription turned inward, so that it could not be read. Rienzi brought forth this tablet, placed it on a kind of high scaffold in the Church, and summoned the people to a lecture on its meaning,[s] in which he enlarged on the former power and dominion of Rome.[t]

[p] Letter to the Archbishop of Prague, in Papencordt.

[q] The lex regia, Imperium. This tablet is still in the Capitoline Museum.

[r] This was written when Rienzi's object was to obtain favour with the Emperor (Charles) at the expense of the Pope.

[s] This probably was somewhat later.

[t] It was in this speech that he made

Rienzi's hour came at length. Throughout his acts the ancient traditions of Pagan Rome mingled with the religious observances of the Christian capital. The day after Ash Wednesday (A.D. 1347) a scroll appeared on the doors of the Church of St. George in Velabro: "Ere long Rome will return to her good estate." Nightly meetings were held on the Aventine (Rienzi may have learned from Livy the secession of the people to that hill). Rienzi spoke with his most impassioned eloquence. He compared the misery, slavery, debasement of Rome, with her old glory, liberty, universal dominion. He wept; his hearers mingled their tears with his. He summoned them to freedom. There could be no want of means; the revenue of the city amounted to 300,000 golden florins. He more than hinted that the Pope would not disapprove of their proceedings. All swore a solemn oath of freedom.

Feb. 18.

Meeting on the Aventine.

On the Vigil of Pentecost, the Festival of the Effusion of the Holy Ghost, the Roman people were summoned by the sound of trumpet to appear unarmed at the Capitol on the following day. All that night Rienzi was hearing, in the Church of St. Angelo, the Thirty Masses of the Holy Ghost. "It was the Holy Ghost that inspired this holy deed." At ten o'clock in the morning he came forth from the Church in full armour, with his head bare: twenty-five of the sworn conspirators were around him. Three banners went before—the banner of freedom, borne by Cola Guallato, on which appeared, on a red ground, Rome seated on her twin lions, with the globe and the palm-branch in her hand. The second was white; on it St. Paul with the sword and diadem of justice: it was borne by the Notary, Stefanello Magnacuccia. On the third was St. Peter with the keys. By the side of Rienzi was Raimond, Bishop of Orvieto, the Pope's Vicar: around was a guard of one hundred horsemen. Amid the acclamations of the thronging multitudes they ascended the Capitol. The Count di Cecco

May 20. Revolution.

the whimsical antiquarian blunder, which Gibbon takes credit for detecting. He rendered "pomærium," of which he did not know the meaning, as "pomarium," and made Italy the *garden* of Rome.

Mancino was commanded to read the Laws of the Good Estate. These laws had something of the wild justice of wild times. All causes were to be determined within fourteen days; every murderer was to suffer death, the false accuser the punishment of the crime charged against the innocent man. No house was to be pulled down; those that fell escheated to the State. Each Rione (there were thirteen) was to maintain one hundred men on foot, twenty-five horse: these received a shield and moderate pay from the State; if they fell in the public service, their heirs received, those of the foot one hundred livres, of the horse one hundred florins. The treasury of the State was charged with the support of widows, orphans, convents. Each Rione was to have its granary for corn; the revenues of the city, the hearth-money, salt-tax, tolls on bridges and wharves, were to be administered for the public good. The fortresses, bridges, gates, were no longer to be guarded by the Barons, but by Captains chosen by the people. No Baron might possess a stronghold within the city; all were to be surrendered to the magistrates. The Barons were to be responsible, under a penalty of one thousand marks of silver, for the security of the roads around the city. The people shouted their assent to the new constitution. The senators Agapito Colonna, Roberto Orsini, were ignominiously dismissed. Rienzi was invested in dictatorial power —power over life and limb, power to pardon, power to establish the Good Estate in Rome and her domain. A few days later he took the title of Tribune. "Nicolas, by the grace of Jesus Christ, the Severe and Merciful, Tribune of Freedom, Peace, and Justice, the Deliverer of the Roman Republic."

Awe of the Nobles.

The nobles, either stunned by this unexpected revolution, of which they had despised the signs and omens, or divided among themselves, looked on in wondering and sullen apathy. Some even professed to disdain it as some new public buffoonery of Rienzi. The old Stephen Colonna was opportunely absent from the city; on his return he answered to the summons of the Tribune, "Tell the fool that if he troubles me with his insolence, I will throw him from the windows of the Capitol!" The

tolling of the bell of the Capitol replied to the haughty noble. Rome in all her quarters was in arms. Colonna fled with difficulty to one of his strongholds near Palestrina. The younger Stephen Colonna appeared in arms with his partisans before the Capitol, where the Tribune was seated on the bench of justice. The Tribune advanced in arms to meet him. Colonna, either overawed, or with some respect for the Roman liberty, swore on the Holy Eucharist to take no hostile measure against the Good Estate. All the Colonnas, the Orsini, the Savelli, were compelled to yield up their fortress-palaces, to make oath that they would protect no robbers or malefactors, to keep the roads secure, to supply provisions to the city, to appear in arms or without arms at the summons of the magistracy: All orders of the city took the same oath—clergy, gentry, judges, notaries, merchants, shopkeepers, artisans: they swore to maintain the laws of the Good Estate.

Their submission.

Within fifteen days, so boasts Rienzi, the old, inveterate pride of this barbarous Patriciate was prostrate at the feet of the Tribune. History may record in his own words the rapidity with which he achieved this wonderful victory. "By the Divine grace no King, or Duke, or Prince, or Marquis in Italy ever surpassed me in the shortness of the time in which I rose to legitimate power, and earned fame which reached even to the Saracens. It was achieved in seven months, a period which would hardly suffice for a king to subdue one of the Roman nobles. On the first day of my tribunate (an office which, from the time that the Empire sank into decrepitude, had been vacant under tyrannical rule for more than five hundred years) I, for God was with me, scattered with my consuming breath before my face, or rather before the face of God, all these nobles, these haters of God and of justice. And thus, in truth, on the day of Pentecost, was that word fulfilled which is chanted on that day in honour of the Holy Ghost, 'Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered,' and again, 'Send forth thy Holy Ghost, and thou shalt renew the face of the earth.' Certainly hitherto no Pontiff or Emperor had been able

to expel the nobles from the city, who had in general rather triumphed over than submitted to Popes and Emperors; and yet these nobles, thus terribly expelled and exiled, when I cited them to appear again in fifteen days, I had prostrate at my feet, swearing obedience to my decrees."[u] The old historian, in his own graphic phrase, confirms the words of Rienzi, "How stood they trembling with fear."[x]

The primary laws of the new Republic had provided for financial reforms. The taxes became more productive, less onerous: the salt-duty alone increased five or six fold. The constitution had regulated the military organisation. At the sound of the bell of the Capitol appeared in arms from the thirteen Rioni of the city three hundred and sixty horse, thirteen hundred foot. The open, patient, inexorable justice of Rienzi respected not, it delighted to humiliate, the haughtiest of the nobles. It extended not only throughout the city, but to all the country around. The woods rejoiced that they concealed no robbers; the oxen ploughed the field undisturbed; the pilgrims crowded without fear to the shrines of the saints and the apostles; the traders might leave their precious wares by the road-side in perfect safety; tyrants trembled; good men rejoiced at their emancipation from slavery.[y] The Tribune's hand fell heavily on the great houses. Petruccio Frangipani, Lord of Civita Lavigna, and Luca Savelli, were thrown into prison; the Colonnas and the Orsini bowed for a time their proud heads; the chief of the Orsini was condemned for neglecting the protection of the highways; a mule laden with oil had been stolen. Peter Agapito Colonna, the deposed senator, was arrested for some crime in the public streets.[z] Rome was summoned to witness the ignominious execution of Martino Gaetani, nephew of two Cardinals, but newly married, for the robbery of a stranded ship at the mouth of the Tiber. The Tribune spared not the sacred persons of the clergy: a monk of S. Anastasio was hanged for many crimes. Rienzi boasted that he had wrought a moral as well as a

Justice of Rienzi.

[u] Urkunde, xxxiv.
[x] "Deh che stavano paurosi!"
[y] Urkunde.
[z] Fortefiocca, p. 41.

civil revolution. All who had been banished since 1340 were recalled, and pledged to live in peace. "It was hardly to be believed that the Roman people, till now full of dissension and corrupted by every kind of vice, should be so soon reduced to a state of unanimity, to so great a love of justice, virtue, and peace; that hatred, assaults, murder, and rapine should be subdued and put an end to. There is now no person in the city who dares to play at forbidden games or blasphemously to invoke God and his saints; there is no layman who keeps his concubine; all enemies are reconciled; even wives who had been long cast off return to their husbands."[a]

The magic effect of the Tribune's sudden apparition at the head of a new Roman Republic, which seemed to aspire to the sway of ancient Rome over Italy, if not over all the world, is thus glowingly described in his own language: this shows at least the glorious ends of Rienzi's ambition. "Did I not restore peace among the cities which were distracted by factions? Did I not decree that all the citizens who were banished by party violence, with their wretched wives and children, should be readmitted? Had I not begun to extinguish the party names of Guelf and Ghibelline, for which numberless victims had perished body and soul, and to reduce the city of Rome and all Italy into one harmonious, peaceful, holy confederacy? The sacred standards and banners of all the cities were gathered, and, as a testimony to our hallowed association, consecrated and offered with their golden rings on the day of the Assumption of our Blessed Lady. . . . I received the homage and submission of the Counts and Barons, and almost all the people of Italy. I was honoured by solemn embassies and letters from the Emperor of Constantinople and the King of England. The Queen of Naples submitted herself and her kingdom to the protection of the Tribune. The King of Hungary, by two stately embassies, with great urgency brought his cause against the Queen and her nobles before my tribunal. And I venture to say further that the fame of the Tribune alarmed

[a] Letter to a friend at Avignon, from the Turin MS.—Hobhouse, p. 537.

the Soldan of Babylon. The Christian pilgrims to the Sepulchre of our Lord related all the wonderful and unheard-of circumstances of the reformation in Rome to the Christian and Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem; both Christians and Jews celebrated the event with unusual festivities. When the Soldan inquired the cause of these rejoicings, and received this answer about Rome, he ordered all the towns and cities on the coast to be fortified and put in a state of defence."[b]

Nor was this altogether an idle boast. The rival Emperors Louis of Bavaria and Charles of Bohemia regarded not his summons to submit their differences to the arbitration of Rome. But before the judgement-seat of Rienzi stood the representatives of Louis of Hungary, of Queen Joanna of Naples, and Louis Prince of Tarento, the husband of the Queen, and of Charles of Durazzo who claimed the throne in right of his wife, Joanna's sister. They were prepared to await the award of the Tribune, who applied to himself the words of the Psalm, "He shall judge the people in equity." An Archbishop pleaded before the tribunal of Rienzi. The kingdom of Naples, held in fee, as long asserted, of the Pope, seemed to submit itself to the Seignoralty of the Tribune of Rome.

Rienzi's titles.

It is impossible to determine whether, as Rienzi himself in one place admits, it was mere vanity or a vague and not impolitic desire to gather round his own name all the glorious reminiscences of every period of Roman history, and so to rivet his power on the minds of men, which induced Rienzi to accumulate on himself so many lofty but discordant appellations. The Roman Republic, the Roman Empire in its periods of grandeur and of decline, the Church, and the Chivalry of the middle ages, were blended together in the strange pomp of his ceremonies and the splendid array of his titles. He was the Tribune of the people, to remind them of the days of their liberty. He called himself Augustus, and chose to be crowned in the month of August, because that month was called after the "great Emperor, the conqueror of

[b] I have put together two passages; the latter from his letter to the Emperor. —Papencordt, Urkunde.

Cleopatra."[c] He called himself Severe, not merely to awe the noble malcontents with the stern terrors of his justice, but in respect to the philosopher, the last of the Romans, Severinus Boethius. He was knighted according to the full ceremonial of chivalry, having bathed in the porphyry vessel in which, according to the legend, Pope Silvester cleansed Constantine the Great of his leprosy. Among the banners which he bestowed on the cities of Italy, which did him a kind of homage, that of Perugia was inscribed "Long live the citizens of Perugia and the memory of Constantine." Sienna received the arms of the Tribune and those of Rome, the wolf and her twin founders. Florence had the banner of Italy, in which Rome was represented between two other females, designating Italy and the Christian faith.

Respect for the Church.

Rienzi professed the most profound respect for religion; throughout he endeavoured to sanction and hallow his proceedings by the ceremonial. He professed the most submissive reverence for the Pope. The Papal Vicar, the Bishop of Orvieto, a vain, weak man, was flattered by the idle honour of being his associate without any power in the government. Though many of the Tribune's measures encroached boldly on the prerogatives of the Pontiff, yet he was inclined, as far as possible, to encourage the notion that his rise and his power were, if not authorised, approved by his Holiness. He asserts, indeed, that he was the greatest bulwark of the Church. "Who, in the memory of man, among all the sovereigns of Rome or of Italy, ever showed greater love for ecclesiastical persons, or so strictly protected ecclesiastical rights? Did I not, above all things, respect monasteries, hospitals, and other temples of God, and, whenever complaint was made, enforce the peaceful restitution of all their estates and properties of which they had been despoiled by the Nobles? This restitution they could never obtain by all the Bulls and Charters of the Supreme Pontiff; and now that I am deposed, they deplore all their former losses. I wish that the Supreme Pontiff would condescend to promote me or put me to death, ac-

[c] Urkunde, xi. and lxv.

cording to the judgement of all religious persons, of the monks, and the whole clergy." The Tribune's language, asserting himself to be under the special influence of the Holy Ghost, which from the first awoke the jealousy of the Pope, he explains away, with more ingenuity, perhaps, than ingenuousness.[d] "No power but that of the Spirit of God could have united the turbulent and dissolute Roman people in his favour. It was their unity, not his words and actions, which manifestly displayed the presence of the Holy Ghost." At all events, in the proudest days of his ceremonial, especially on that of his coronation with the seven crowns, all the most distinguished clergy of Rome did not scruple to officiate.

These days, the 1st and the 15th of August, beheld Rienzi at the height of his power and splendour. Roman tradition hallowed, and still hallows, the 1st of August as the birthday of the empire: on that day Octavius took Alexandria, and ended the civil war. It became a Christian, it is still a popular, festival.[e] On the vigil of that day set forth a procession to the Lateran Church — the Church of Constantine the Great. It was headed by the wife of Rienzi, her mother, with 500 ladies, escorted by 200 horsemen. Then came Rienzi with his iron staff, as a sceptre; by his side the Pope's Vicar. The naked sword glittered and the banner of the city waved over his head. The ambassadors of twenty-six cities were present; those of Perugia and Corneto stripped off their splendid upper garments and threw them to the mob. That night Rienzi passed in the church, in the holy preparations for his knighthood. The porphyry font or vessel in which Constantine, by one legend was baptized, by another cleansed from the leprosy, was his bath. In the morning proclamation was made in the name of Nicolas, the Severe and Merciful, the Deliverer of the City, the Zealot for the freedom of Italy, the Friend of the World, the August Tribune. It asserted the ancient indefeasible title of Rome as the head of the world, and the foundation of the Chris-

[d] Written to the Archbishop of Prague.

[e] It is still called Felicissimo Ferau-gusto. Murator., Ant. Ital. diss. lix. tom. v. 12. Niebuhr in Roms Beschreibung, iii. 2, 235.

tian faith, to universal sovereignty; the liberty of all the cities of Italy, which were admitted to the rights of Roman citizenship. Through this power, and the gift of the Holy Ghost, Rome had the sole prerogative of the election of the Emperor. It summoned all Prelates, Emperors elect or Kings, Dukes, Princes, and Nobles, who presumed to contest that right, to appear in Rome at the ensuing Pentecost. It summoned specially the high Princes, Louis Duke of Bavaria and Charles King of Bohemia, the Dukes of Austria and Saxony, the Elector Palatine, the Margrave of Brandenberg, the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, Trèves. Though the proclamation seemed to save the honour of the Pope and the Cardinals, the Pope's Vicar attempted to interpose; his voice was drowned in the blare of the trumpets and the shouts of the multitude. In the evening there was a splendid banquet in the Lateran Palace. Tournaments and dances delighted the people. The horse of the famous statue of Marcus Aurelius poured wine from his nostrils. The cities presented sumptuous gifts of horses, mules, gold, silver, precious stones.

The pride of Rienzi was not yet at its full. Fourteen days after, on the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, there was another ceremony in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore. Seven distinguished ecclesiastics or nobles placed seven crowns on the head of the Tribune, of oak, ivy, myrtle, laurel, olive, silver, gold. Of these the laurel crown had the emblems of religion, justice, peace, humility. Together the seven crowns symbolised the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. The Tribune spoke, and among his words were these: "As Christ in his thirty-third year, having overthrown the tyrants of Hell, went up crowned into Heaven, so God willed that in the same year of my life,[f] I, having conquered the tyrants of the city without a blow, and alone given liberty to the people, should be promoted to the laurel crown of the Tribune." This was the day of his

Aug. 15. Coronation of Rienzi.

[f] This is at variance with the story of his imperial birth. Henry of Luxemburg was in Rome in May and June, 1312. In Aug. 1347, Rienzi would have been in his 34th or 35th year.

highest magnificence. Never, he confesses in his humiliation, was he environed with so much pomp or elated by so much pride. It was now, after he had made the profane comparison between himself and the Lord, that was uttered the awful prediction of his downfall.[g] In the midst of the wild and joyous exultation of the people, one of his most zealous supporters, Fra Gulielmo, in high repute for sanctity, stood aloof in a corner of the church, and wept bitterly. A domestic chaplain of Rienzi inquired the cause of his sorrow. "Now," replied the servant of God, "is thy master cast down from Heaven. Never saw I man so proud! By the aid of the Holy Ghost he has driven the tyrants from the city without drawing a sword; the cities and the sovereigns of Italy have acknowledged his power. Why is he so arrogant and ungrateful against the Most High? Why does he seek earthly and transitory rewards for his labours, and in wanton speech liken himself to the Creator? Tell thy master that he can only atone for this by streams of penitential tears." In the evening the chaplain communicated this solemn rebuke to the Tribune: it appalled him for a time, but was soon forgotten in the tumult and hurry of business. Prophecy of his fall.

Power had intoxicated Rienzi; but the majestic edifice which he had built was based on a quicksand. In the people this passion of virtue was too violent to last; they were accustomed to paroxysmal bursts of liberty. It would indeed have been a social and religious miracle if the Romans, after centuries of misrule, degradation, slavery, superstition, had suddenly appeared worthy of freedom; or able to maintain and wisely and moderately to enjoy the blessings of a just and equal civilisation. They had lived too long in the malaria of servitude. Of the old vigorous plebeian Roman, they had nothing but the turbulence; the frugality, the fortitude, the discipline, the love of order, and respect for law, are virtues of slow growth. They had been depressed too long, too low. If victims of the profligacy and tyranny of the nobles, submission to such outrages, however reluc- Roman people.

[g] See the letter to the Archbishop of Prague in Papencordt.

tant, however cast off in an access of indignation, is no school of high and enduring dignity of morals, that only safeguard of sound republican institutions. The number, wealth, licence of the Roman clergy were even more fatally corruptive. Still, as for centuries, the Romans were a fierce, fickle populace. Nor was Rienzi himself, though his morals were blameless, though he incurred no charge of avarice or rapacity, a model of the sterner republican virtues. He wanted simplicity, solidity, self-command. His ostentation, in some respects politic, became puerile. His processions, of which himself was still the centre, at first excited, at length palled on the popular feeling. His luxury—for his table became sumptuous, his dress, his habits splendid—was costly, burthensome to the people, as well as offensive and invidious. The advancement of his family, the rock on which demagogues constantly split, unwise. Even his religion, the indispensable, dominant influence in such times, was showy and theatrical; it wanted that depth and fervour which spreads by contagion, hurries away, and binds to blind obedience its unthinking partisans. Fanaticism brooks no rivals in the human heart. From the first the Papal Court had watched the proceedings of Rienzi with sullen jealousy. There was cold reserve in their approbation, or rather in the suspension of their condemnation: an evident determination not to commit themselves. Rienzi was in the same letter the humble servant, the imperious dictator to the Pope. As his power increased, their suspicions darkened; the influence of his enemies at Avignon became more formidable.

Papal court.

And when the courtiers of the papal chamber, the clergy, especially the French clergy, the Cardinals, almost all French, who preferred the easy and luxurious life at Avignon to a disturbed and dangerous residence at Rome (perhaps with a severe republican censorship over their morals); when all these heard it not obscurely intimated that the Tribune would refuse obedience to any Pope who would not fix his seat in Rome, the intrigues became more active: the Pope and his representatives more openly adverse to the new order of things. Petrarch speaks of the poison of deep hatred which had

infected the souls of the courtiers; they looked with the blackest jealousy on the popularity and fame of Rome and Italy.[h] The Cardinal Talleyrand Perigord was furious at the interposition of Rienzi in the affairs of Naples. The Nobles of Rome had powerful relatives at Avignon. The Cardinal Colonna brought dangerous charges against Rienzi, not less dangerous because untrue, of heresy,[i] even of unlawful and magical arts.

Power had intoxicated Rienzi, but it had not inspired him with the daring recklessness which often accompanies that intoxication, and is almost necessary to the permanence of power. In the height of his pride he began to betray pusillanimity, or worse. He could condescend to treachery to bring his enemies within his grasp, but hesitated to crush them when beneath his feet. Twice again the Tribune triumphed over the Nobles, by means not to be expected from Rienzi, once by perfidy, once by force of arms. The Nobles, Colonnas and Orsinis, had returned to Rome. They seemed to have sunk from the tyrants into the legitimate aristocracy in rank of the new republic. They had taken the oath to the Constitution, the old Stephen and the young John Colonna, Rinaldo and Giordano Orsini. At the Tribune's command the armorial bearings had vanished from the haughty portals of Colonnas, Orsinis, Savellis![k] No one was to be called Lord but the Pope. They were loaded with praise, with praise bordering on adulation, by the Tribune, not with praise only, with favour. A Colonna and an Orsini were entrusted with, and accepted, the command of the forces raised to subdue the two tyrants, who held out in the Campagna, John de Vico, the lord of Viterbo, in the strong castle of Respampano, and Gaetano Cercano, lord of Fondi. Nicolas Orsini, Captain of the Castle of St. Angelo, with Giordano Orsini, commanded against John de Vico.

Nobles in Rome.

On a sudden (it was a month after the last August

[h] Petrarch, Epist. sine titulo.

[i] Rienzi's constant appeal to the Holy Ghost would sound peculiarly akin to the prophetic visions of the Fraticelli.

[k] All this he commanded, "e fo fatto." Compare Du Cerceau, Vie de Rienzi, p. 93.

festivity), Rome heard that all these nobles had been arrested, and were in the prisons of the Tribune. Rienzi has told the history of the event.[m] "Having entertained some suspicion" (he might perhaps entertain suspicion on just grounds, but he deigns not to state them) of designs among the nobles against myself and against the people; it pleased God that they fell into my hands." It was an act of the basest treachery! He invited them to a banquet. They came, the old Stephen Colonna, Peter Agapito Colonna, lord of Genazzano (once senator), John Colonna, who had commanded the troops against the Count of Fondi; John of the Mountain, Rinaldo of Marino, Count Berthold, and his sons, the Captain of the Castle of St. Angelo, all Orsinis. Luca Savelli, the young Stephen Colonna, Giordano Marini alone lay hid or escaped. The Tribune's suspicions were confirmed. Thus writes Rienzi: "I adopted an innocent artifice to reconcile them not only with myself but with God; I procured them the inestimable blessing of making a devout confession." The Confessor, ignorant of the Tribune's merciful designs, prepared them for death. It happened that just at the moment the bell was tolling for the assembly of the people in the Capitol. The Nobles, supposing it the death-knell for their execution, confessed with the profoundest penitence and sorrow.

Arrest of Nobles.

Sept. 14.

In the assembly of the people, Rienzi suddenly veered round: not only did he pardon, he propitiated the people towards the Nobles; he heaped praise upon them; he restored their honours and offices of trust. He made them swear another oath of fidelity to the Holy Church, to the people, and to himself; to maintain against all foes the Good Estate. They took the Blessed Sacrament together.

Sept. 17.

Rienzi must have strangely deluded himself, if he conceived that he could impose upon Rome, upon the Pope,

[m] This letter was translated with tolerable accuracy, by Du Cerceau, from Hocsemius (in Chapeaville, Hist. Episcop. Leodens.) It was addressed to an Orsini, canon of Liege. Gibbon, who had not seen the original, observes on it, that it displays in genuine colours the mixture of the knave and the madman. It was obviously meant to be communicated to the Pope.

and upon the Cardinals by this assertion of religious solicitude for the captive nobles; still more if he could bind them to fidelity by this ostentatious show of mercy. Contemptuous pardon is often the most galling and inexpiable insult. His show of magnanimity could not cancel his treachery. He obtained no credit for sparing his enemies, either from his enemies themselves or from the world. The Nobles remembered only that he had steeped them to the lips in humiliation, and brooded on vengeance. Both ascribed his abstaining from blood to cowardice. The times speak in Petrarch. The gentle and high-souled poet betrays his unfeigned astonishment at the weakness of Rienzi; that when his enemies were under his feet, he not merely spared their lives (that clemency might have done), but left such public parricides the power to become again dangerous foes of the state.[n]

The poet was no bad seer. In two months the Colonnas, the Orsinis were in arms. From their fastnesses in Palestrina and Marino they were threatening the city. The character of Rienzi rose not with the danger. He had no military skill; he had not even the courage of a soldier. Nothing less than extraordinary accident, and the senseless imprudence of his adversaries, gave him a victory as surprising to himself as to others; and his mind, which had been pitifully depressed by adversity, was altogether overthrown by unexpected, undeserved success. The young and beautiful John Colonna had striven to force his way into the gates; he fell; the father, at the sight of his maimed and mangled body, checked the attack in despair. All was panic; four Colonnas perished in the battle or the flight; eighteen of the others of the noblest names, Orsinis, Frangipanis, Savellis, the lords of Civita Vecchia, Viterbo, Toscanella.[o] Rienzi tarnished his fame by insulting the remains of the dead. His sprinkling his son Lorenzo with the water tainted by the blood of his enemies, and saluting him as Knight of Victory, was an

Defeat of the Colonnas. Nov. 22.

[n] Petrarch's letter, quoted p. lxxix. of Papencordt's Urkunde.

[o] See the list of the slain and prisoners in Rienzi's account.—Papencordt, note, p. 182.

outburst of pride and vengeance which shocked his most ardent admirers.[p]

Rienzi might seem by this victory, however obtained, by the death of the Colonnas, the captivity of his other foes, secure at the height of his greatness. Not a month has passed; he is a lonely exile. Everything seems suddenly, unaccountably, desperately, to break down beneath him; the bubble of his glory bursts, and becomes thin air.

Rienzi's prostration of mind.

Rienzi must speak again. He had dark and inward presentiments of his approaching fall. The prophecy at his coronation recurred in all its terrors to his mind, for the same Fra Gulielmo had foretold the death of the Colonnas by his hand and by the judgement of God. The latter prophecy the Tribune had communicated to many persons; and when the four chiefs of that house fell under the walls of Rome, the people believed in a Divine revelation. His enemies asserted that Rienzi kept, in the cross of his sceptre, an unclean spirit who foretold future events. (This had been already denounced to the Pope.) "When I had obtained the victory," he proceeds, "and in the opinion of men my power might seem fixed on the most solid foundation, my greatness of mind sank away, and a sudden timidity came over me so frequently, that I awoke at night, and cried out that the armed enemy was breaking into my palace; and although what I say may seem ludicrous, the night-bird called the owl took the place of the dove on the pinnacle of the palace, and, though constantly scared away by my domestics, as constantly flew back, and for twelve nights kept me without sleep by its lamentable hootings. And thus he whom the fury of the Roman nobles and the array of his armed foes could not alarm, lay shuddering at visions and the screams of night-birds. Weakened by want of sleep, and these perpetual terrors, I was no longer fit to bear arms or give audience to the people."[q]

To this prostration of mind Rienzi attributes his hasty

[p] Read in Hocsemius (p. 506), or in Du Cerceau (p. 222), his letter of triumph: "This is the day that the Lord hath made."

[q] From the same letter.

desperate abandonment of his power. But there were other causes. The Pope had at length declared against him in the strongest terms. During the last period of his power Rienzi had given many grounds for suspicion that he intended to assume the empire. He had asserted the choice of the Emperor to be in the Roman people; though in his condescension he had offered a share in this great privilege to the cities of Italy. The bathing in the porphyry vessel of Constantine was not forgotten. When the Papal Legate, Bertrand de Deux, had appeared in Rome to condemn his proceedings and to depose him from his power, Rienzi returned from his camp near Marino (he was then engaged against John de Vico), and confronted the Legate clad in the Dalmatica, the imperial mantle worn at the coronation of the Emperors, which he had taken from the sacristy of St. Peter's. The Legate, appalled at the demeanour of the Tribune and the martial music which clanged around him, could not utter a word. Rienzi turned his back contemptuously, and returned to his camp. Upon this, in a letter to his "beloved sons," the Roman people, the Pope exhaled all his wrath against the Tribune.[r] He was denounced under all those terrific appellations, perpetually thundered out by the Popes against their enemies. He was "a Belshazzar, the wild ass in Job, a Lucifer, a forerunner of Antichrist, a man of sin, a son of perdition, a son of the Devil, full of fraud and falsehood, and like the Beast in the Revelations, over whose head was written 'Blasphemy.'" He had insulted the Holy Catholic Church by declaring that the Church and State of Rome were one, and fallen into other errors against the Catholic faith, and incurred the suspicion of heresy and schism. The Pope's declaration.

After his triumph over the Colonnas, Rienzi's pride had become even more offensive, and his magnificence still more insulted the poverty and necessities of the people. He was obliged to impose taxes; the gabelle on salt was raised. He had neglected to pursue his advantage against the Nobles: they still held many of the strongholds in the neighbourhood, and cut off the supplies of corn and

[r] This letter was printed by Pelzel; it is not in Papencordt.

other provisions from the city. The few Barons of his party were rapidly estranged; the people were no longer under the magic of his spell; his hall of audience was vacant; the allied cities began to waver in their fidelity. Rienzi began too late to assume moderation. He endeavoured again to associate the Pope's Vicar, the Bishop of Orvieto, in his rule. He softened his splendid appellations, and retained only the modest title, the "August Tribune!" He fell to "Knight and Stadtholder of the Pope." Amid an assembly of clergy and of the people, after the solemn chanting of psalms, and the hymn, "Thine, O Lord, is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory," he suspended before the altar of the Virgin his silver crown, his iron sceptre, and orb of justice, with the rest of the insignia of his Tribunate.

Count Pepin in Rome.

All was in vain. Pepin, Palatine of Altamura and Count of Minorbino, marched into the city, and occupied one of the palaces of the Colonnas with an armed force. The bell of the Capitol rang unheeded to summon the adherents of Rienzi. He felt that his hour was come. He might, he avers, easily have resisted the sedition excited by Count Pepin, but he was determined to shed no more blood. He called an assembly of the Romans, solemnly abdicated his power, and departed, notwithstanding, he says, the reluctance and lamentations of the people. After his secession, it may well be believed that, under the reinstated tyranny of the Nobles, his government was remembered with regret; but when the robber chief, whom he had summoned before his tribunal, first entered Rome and fortified the Colonna Palace, Rienzi's tocsin had sounded in vain; the people flocked not to his banner, and now all was silence, desertion. Even with the handful of troops which he might have collected, a man of bravery and vigour might perhaps have suppressed the invasion; but all his energy was gone: he who had protested so often that he would lay down his life for the liberties of the people did not show the courage of a child.[s] His enemies could hardly believe their easy victory: for three days the Nobles without the city did not venture to

[s] So writes the old Roman biographer.

approach the walls; Rienzi remained undisturbed within the Castle of St. Angelo. He made one effort to work on the people by his old arts. He had an angel painted on the walls of the Magdalen Church, with the arms of Rome, and a cross surmounted with a dove, and (in allusion, no doubt, to the well-known passage in the Psalms) trampling on an asp, a basilisk, a lion, and a dragon. Mischievous boys smeared the picture with mud. Rienzi, in the disguise of a monk, saw it in this state, ordered a lamp to be kept burning before it for a year (as if to intimate his triumphant return at that time), and then fled from Rome. Flight of Rienzi. Dec. 14 or 15.

His retreat was in the wild Apennines which border on the kingdom of Naples. There the austerest of the austere Franciscans dwelt in their solitary cells in the deep ravines and on the mountain sides, the Spiritualists who adored the memory of Cœlestine V.,[t] despised the worldly lives of their less recluse brethren, and brooded over the unfulfilled prophecies of the Abbot Joachim, John Peter Oliva, the Briton Merlin, all which foreshadowed the coming kingdom, the final revelation of the Holy Ghost. The proud vain Tribune exchanged his pomp and luxury for the habit of a tertiary of the Order (his marriage prohibited any higher rank); he wore the single coarse gown and cord; his life was a perpetual fast, broken only by the hard fare of a mendicant. He was enraptured with this holy society, in which were barons, Nobles, even some of the hostile house of Colonna. "O life which anticipates immortality! O angels' life, which the fiends of Satan alone could disturb! and yet these poor in spirit are persecuted by the Pope and the Inquisition!" Rienzi among the Fraticelli.

For two years and a half Rienzi couched unknown, as he asserts, among this holy brotherhood. They were dismal, disastrous years. Earthquakes shook the cities of Christendom; Pope Clement, in terror of the plague which desolated Europe, shut himself up in his palace at Avignon, and burned large fires to keep out the 1348, 1349. The Plague.

[t] Rienzi at one time declared that Boniface VIII. appeared to him in a vision. All that in any way might tend to the glory of Rome found welcome in his mind.

terrible enemy. The enemy respected the Pope, but his subjects around perished in awful numbers. It is said that three-fourths of the population in Avignon died. In Narbonne, thirty thousand; of twelve Consuls of Montpellier, ten fell victims. It was called the Black Plague; it struck grown-up men and women rather than youths. After it had abated, the women seemed to become wonderfully prolific, so as to produce a new race of mankind. As usual, causes beyond the ordinary ones were sought and found. The wells had been poisoned, of course by unbelievers. The Jews were everywhere massacred. Pope Clement displayed a better title to the Divine protection than his precautions of seclusion and his fires. He used his utmost power to arrest the popular fury against these unhappy victims.[u] The Flagellants swarmed again through all the cities, scourging their naked bodies, and tracing their way by their gore. Better that fanaticism, however wild, should attempt to propitiate God by its own blood, rather than by that of others; by self-torture rather than murder![x]

The Jubilee.

The wild access of religious terror and prostration gave place, when the year of Jubilee began, to as wild a tumult of religious exultation. Rome again swarmed with thousands on thousands of worshippers. Rienzi had meditated, but shrank in fear from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. It is said that he stole into Rome in disguise: the Tribune was lost in the multitude of adoring strangers.

Fra Angelo.

Suddenly, after his return, in his retreat on Monte Magello, he was accosted by the hermit, Fra Angelo, a man acknowledged by all the brethren as a prophet. Angelo pronounced his name, which he believed had been a profound secret. The prophet had been led to Rienzi's dwelling by Divine revelation:—

[u] This plague has a singular relation with the history of letters. Among its victims was Petrarch's Laura. It has been usually called the Plague of Florence, because described in the Decameron of Boccaccio; just as the common pestilence of Europe is said to be that of Athens, because related by Thucydides. Singular privilege of genius, to concentre all the interest and terror of such a wide-wasting calamity on one spot!

[x] See Continuator of Nangis; and the very curious account, especially of the Flagellants, in Albertus Argentinensis, p. 150.

"Rienzi had laboured enough for himself; he must now labour for the good of mankind. The universal reformation, foreseen by holy men, at the urgent prayer of the Virgin, was at hand: God had sent earthquakes and great mortality on earth to chastise the sins of men. Such had been his predeterminate will before the coming of the blessed Francis. The prayers of St. Francis and St. Dominic, who had preached in the spirit of Enoch and Elias, had averted the doom." But "since there is now not one that doeth good, and the very Elect (the Dominicans and Franciscans) have cast off their primitive virtues, God has prepared, is preparing, vengeance. After this the Church will resume her primal holiness. There will be peace not only among Christians, but among Christians and Saracens. The age of the Holy Ghost is at hand. For this end a holy man, chosen of God, is to be made known to mankind by Divine revelation, who, with the Elect Emperor, shall reform the world, and strip the pastors of the Church of all temporal and fleeting superfluities."

Rienzi, from doubt, fear, perhaps some lingering touch, as he says, of his old arrogance, hesitated to undertake the mission to the Emperor Charles IV. imposed upon him by the prophet. Fra Angelo unfolded, with much greater distinctness, the secrets of futurity: he showed him prophecies of Spiritual men—of Joachim, of Oliva, of Merlin—already fulfilled. Rienzi deemed that it would be contumacy to God to resist the words of the prophet.[y]

In the month of August appeared in the city of Prague a man in a strange dress. He stopped at the house of a Florentine apothecary, and asked to be presented to my Lord Charles the Emperor Elect: he had something to communicate to his honour and advantage. Aug. 1, possibly in July. Rienzi in Prague.

Rienzi, admitted to the presence of the King of the Romans, announced his mission from the prophet, Fra Angelo. He had been commanded to deliver this message:—"Know ye, Sire and Emperor, that Brother Angelo has sent me to say to you, that up to this time the Father has reigned in this world, and God his Son. The power

[y] All this is from Rienzi's own letters in Papencordt, with the Urkunde.

has now passed from him, and is given to the Holy Ghost, who shall reign for the time to come." The Emperor, hearing that he thus separated and set apart the Father and Son from the Holy Ghost, said, "Art thou the man that I suppose you to be?"[z] He answered, "Whom do ye suppose me to be?" The Emperor said, "I suppose that you are the Tribune of Rome." This the Emperor conjectured, having heard of the heresies of the Tribune, and he answered, "Of a truth I am he that was Tribune, and have been driven from Rome." The Emperor sat in mute astonishment, while Rienzi exhorted him to the peaceful and bloodless conquest of Italy:—"In this great work none could be of so much service as himself. He alone could overcome the rival Orsinis and Colonnas." He offered his son as a hostage: "he was prepared to sacrifice his Isaac, his only begotten, for the welfare of the people." He demanded only the Imperial sanction. "Every one who presumes to take the rule in Rome when the Empire is not vacant, without leave of the Emperor, is an adulterer."

He was admitted to a second interview. The Archbishop of Trèves, two other Bishops, the ambassadors of the King of Scotland, many other nobles and doctors, sat around King Charles, Rienzi was commanded to repeat his message. He spoke on some points more at length:—"Another messenger had been sent to the Pope at Avignon: him the Pope would burn. The people of Avignon would rise and slay the Pope; then would be chosen an Italian Pope, a poor Pope, who would restore the Papacy to Rome. He would crown the Emperor with the crown of gold, King of Sicily, Calabria, Apulia; himself, Rienzi, King of Rome and of all Italy. The Pope would build a temple in Rome to the Holy Ghost, more splendid than that of Solomon. Men would come out of Egypt and the East to worship there. The triune reign, the peaceful reign, of the Emperor, of Rienzi, and of the Pope, would be an earthly image of that of the Trinity."

Second interview.

The Archbishops and Bishops departed in amazement and horror. Rienzi was committed, as having uttered lan-

[z] I have moulded together the account in the historian Polistore, with Rienzi's own as it appears in the Urkunde. There is no essential discrepancy.

guage bordering at least upon heresy, to safe custody under the care of the Archbishop of Prague. He was commanded to put his words in writing. From his prison he wrote a long and elaborate address. He now revealed the secret of his own Imperial birth; he protested that he was actuated by no fantastic or delusive impulse; he was compelled by God to approach the Imperial presence; he had no ambition; he scorned (would that he had ever done so!) the vain glory of the world; he despised riches; he had no wish but in poverty to establish justice, to deliver the people from the spoilers and tyrants of Italy. "But arms I love, arms I seek and will seek; for without arms there is no justice." "Who knows," he proceeds, "whether God, of his divine providence, did not intend me as the precursor of the Imperial authority, as the Baptist was of Christ?" For this reason (he intimates) he may have been regenerated in the font of Constantine, and this baptism may have been designed to wash away the stains which adhered to the Imperial power. He exhorts the Emperor to arise and gird on his sword, a sword which it became not the Supreme Pontiff to assume. He concludes by earnestly entreating his Imperial Majesty not rashly to repudiate his humble assistance; above all, not to delay his occupation of the city of Rome till his adversaries had got possession of the salt-tax and other profits of the Jubilee, which amounted to one hundred millions of florins, a sum strictly belonging to the Imperial treasury, and sufficient to defray the expenses of an expedition to Italy.

Rienzi in custody.

Charles of Bohemia was no Otho, no Frederick, no Henry of Luxemburg; his answer was by no means encouraging to the magnificent schemes of the Tribune. It was a grave homily upon lowliness and charity. It repudiated altogether the design of overthrowing the Papal power, and protested against the doctrine of a new effusion of the Holy Ghost. As to the story of Rienzi's imperial descent, he leaves that to God, and reminds the Tribune that we are all the children of Adam, and all return to dust. Finally, he urges him to dismiss his fantastic views and earthly ambition; no longer

Answer of the Emperor.

to be stiff-necked and stony-hearted to God, but with a humble and contrite spirit to put on the helmet of salvation and the shield of faith.

Archbishop of Prague.

Baffled in his attempts to work on the personal ambition of the Emperor, the pertinacious Rienzi had recourse to his two most influential counsellors, John of Neumark, afterwards Chancellor, and Ernest of Parbubitz, Archbishop of Prague. John of Neumark professed a love of letters, and Rienzi addressed to him a brief epistle on which he lavished all his flowers of rhetoric. John of Neumark repaid him in the same coin. The Archbishop was a prelate of distinction and learning, disposed to high ecclesiastical views, well read in the canon-law, and not likely to be favourable to the frantic predictions, or to the adventurous schemes of Rienzi. Yet to him Rienzi fearlessly addressed a long "libel," in which he repeated all his charges against the Pope of abandoning his spiritual duties, leaving his sheep to be devoured by wolves, and of dividing, rending, severing the Church, the very body of Christ, by scandals and schisms. The Pope violated every precept of Christian charity; Rienzi alone maintained no dreamy or insane doctrine, but the pure, true, sound apostolic and evangelic faith. It was the Pope who abandoned Italy to her tyrants, or rather armed those tyrants with his power. Rienzi contrasts his own peaceful, orderly, and just administration with the wild anarchy thus not merely unsuppressed, but encouraged by the Pope; he asserts his own more powerful protection of the Church, his enforcement of rigid morals. "And for these works of love the Pastor calls me a schismatic, a heretic, a diseased sheep, a blasphemer of the Church, a man of sacrilege, a deceiver, who deals with unclean spirits kept in the Cross of the Lord, an adulterator of the holy body of Christ, a rebel and a persecutor of the Church; but 'whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth:' as naked I entered into power, so naked I went out of power, the people resisting and lamenting my departure."[a]

[a] A little further on he gives this piece of history: "We read in the Chronicles that Julius, the first Cæsar, angry at the loss of some battle, was so mad as to raise his sword against his own life; but Octavianus, his grandson, the first

He reiterates his splendid offer to the Emperor for the subjugation of Italy. "If on the day of the Elevation of the Holy Cross I ascend up into Italy, unimpeded by the Emperor or by you, before Whitsuntide next ensuing I will surrender up all Italy in peaceable allegiance to the Emperor." For the accomplishment of this he offered hostages, whose hands were to be cut off if his scheme was not fulfilled in the prescribed time; and if he failed, he promised and vowed to return to prison to be dealt with as the Emperor might decide. He repeats that his mission, announced by the prophetic hermit, is to prepare the way for the peaceful entrance of the Emperor, to bind the tyrants in chains, and the nobles in links of iron. "So that Cæsar, advancing without bloodshed, not with the din of arms and *German fury*, but with psalteries and sweet-sounding cymbals, may arrive at the Feast of the Holy Ghost, and occupy his Jerusalem, a more peaceful and securer Solomon. For I wish this Cæsar, not secretly or as an adulterer, like his ancestor of old,[b] to enter the chamber of my mother, the city of Rome, but gladly and publicly, like a bridegroom, not to be introduced into my mother's chamber by a single attendant, in disguise and through guarded barriers; not as through the ancestor of Stephen Colonna, by whom he was betrayed and abandoned, but by the whole exulting people. Finally, that the bridegroom shall not find his bride and my mother an humble hostess and handmaid, but a free woman and a queen; and the home of my mother shall not be a tavern but a church."[c]

The reply of the Archbishop was short and dry. He could not but wonder at his correspondent's protestations of humility, so little in accordance with the magnificent titles which he had assumed as Tribune; or with his assertion that he was under the special guidance of the Holy

Augustus, violently wrested the sword from his hand, and saved Cæsar from his own frantic hand. Cæsar, returning to his senses, immediately adopted Octavianus as his son, whom the Roman people afterwards appointed his successor in the empire. Thus, when I have wrested the frantic sword from his hand, the Supreme Pontiff will call me his faithful son."

[b] Henry of Luxemburg. What does this strange confusion of allusion mean?

[c] There are several more letters to the Archbishop in the same rhapsodical tone and spirit.

Ghost. "By what authority did Rienzi assert for the Roman people the right of electing the Emperor?" He was amazed that Rienzi, instead of the authentic prophecies of the Holy Scriptures, should consult the wild and unauthorised prophets Methodius and Cyril. The Archbishop ends with the words of Gamaliel, that "if the Tribune's schemes are of God they will succeed, however men may oppose them."

Was, then, Rienzi in earnest in his belief in all these mad apocalyptic visions? Was he an honest fanatic? Does his own claim, during all his early career, to the special favour of the Holy Ghost intimate an earlier connection, or only a casual sympathy and accordance with the Franciscan Spiritualists? A letter to Fra Angelo is that of a passionate believer, prepared, he asserts, to lay down his imperilled life, entreating the prayers of the brethren, warning them that they may be exposed to persecution.[d] Or was it that in the obstinacy of his hopes, the fertility of his resources, the versatility of his ambition, Rienzi deliberately threw himself on this wild religious enthusiasm and on Ghibellinism, to achieve that which he had failed to accomplish in his nobler way? Would he desperately, rather than abandon the liberty, the supremacy of Rome, enlist in his aid German and Imperial interests, Imperial ambition? The third and last act of his tragic life, which must await the Pontificate of Innocent VI., may almost warrant this view, if, in truth, the motives of men, especially of such men as Rienzi, are not usually mingled, clashing, seemingly irreconcileable impulses from contradictory and successive passions, opinions, and aims.

During all Rienzi's residence at Prague, the Pope had been in constant communication with the Emperor, and demanded the surrender of this son of Belial, to be dealt with as a suspected heretic and a rebel against the Holy

[d] There is a strange passage about his wife (his Luna), which might tend to the suspicion that she had been corrupted by some of his enemies among the Roman clergy. Yet both his wife and his daughters he hopes at the end will become Sisters of St. Clare (the female Franciscans). There are some tender parental provisions about his son, whom he consigns to the care of the Spiritual brethren.—Apud Papencordt, p. 74.

See: the Emperor at length complied with his request. Rienzi's entrance into Prague has been described in the words of an old historian; his entrance into Avignon is thus portrayed by Petrarch. The poet's whole letter is a singular mixture of his old admiration, and even affection for Rienzi, with bitter disappointment at the failure of his splendid poetic hopes, and not without some wounded vanity and more timidity at having associated his own name with one, who, however formerly glorious, had sunk to a condition so contemptible. One of Rienzi's first acts on his arriva. at Avignon was to inquire if his old friend and admirer was in the city. "Perhaps," writes Petrarch, "he supposed that I could be of service to him; he knew not how totally this was out of my power; perhaps it was only a feeling of our former friendship." "There came lately to this court—I should not say came, but was brought as a prisoner—Nicolas Laurentius, the once formidable Tribune of Rome, who, when he might have died in the Capitol with so much glory, endured imprisonment, first by a Bohemian (the Emperor), afterwards by a Limousin (Pope Clement), so as to make himself, as well as the name and Republic of Rome, a laughingstock. It is perhaps more generally known than I should wish how much my pen was employed in lauding and exhorting this man. I loved his virtue, I praised his design; I congratulated Italy: I looked forward to the dominion of the beloved city and the peace of the world. . . . . Some of my epistles are extant, of which I am not altogether ashamed, for I had no gift of prophecy, and I would that he had not pretended to the gift of prophecy; but at the time I wrote, that which he was doing and appeared about to do was not only worthy of my praise, but that of all mankind. Are these letters, then, to be cancelled for one thing alone, because he chose to live basely rather than die with honour? But there is no use in discussing impossibilities; I could not destroy them if I would; they are published, they are no longer in my power. But to my story. Humble and despicable that man entered the court, who, throughout the world, had made the wicked tremble, and filled the good with joyful hope and expectation; he who was attended, it is

said, by the whole Roman people and the chief men of the cities of Italy, now appeared between two guards, and with all the populace crowding and eager to see the face of him of whose name they had heard so much."

A commission of three ecclesiastics was appointed to examine what punishment should be inflicted on Rienzi. That he deserved the utmost punishment Petrarch declares, "not for his heresy, but for having abandoned his enterprise when he had conducted it with so much success; for having betrayed the cause of liberty by not crushing the enemies of liberty." Yet, after all, everything in this extraordinary man's life seems destined to be strange and unexpected. Rienzi could scarcely look for any sentence but death, death at the stake, as an audacious heretic, or perpetual imprisonment. He was at first closely and ignominiously guarded in a dungeon. He had few friends, many enemies at Avignon. He was even denied the aid of an advocate. Yet the trial by the three Cardinals was not pursued with activity. Perhaps Clement's approaching death inclined him to indifference, if not to mercy; then his decease and the election of a new Pope distracted
1352. public attention. The charge of heresy seems to have quietly dropped. Petrarch began to dare to feel interest in his fate; he even ventured to write to Rome to urge the intercession of the people in his behalf. Rome was silent; but Avignon seemed suddenly moved in his favour. Rumour spread abroad that Rienzi was a great poet; and the whole Papal court, the whole city, at this first dawn of letters, seemed to hold a poet as a sacred, almost supernatural being. "It would be a sin to put to death a man skilled in that wonderful art." Rienzi was condemned to imprisonment; but imprisonment neither too ignominious nor painful. A chain, indeed, around his leg was riveted in the wall of his dungeon. But his meals were from the remnants of the Pope's table distributed to the poor. He had his Bible and his Livy, perhaps yet unexhausted visions of future distinction, which strangely enough came to pass.

CHAPTER XI.

INNOCENT VI.

THE terrible Black Plague had startled the voluptuous Court of Avignon to seriousness. The last act of Clement VI. was one of papal wisdom and of earnest religion. He had not set the example of Christian courage and devotion to the distresses of the more than decimated people (two-thirds, it was said, of the population in Languedoc and Provence had perished [a]), but he dared to admire that virtue in others which he displayed not in himself. The clergy too had mostly stood aloof during these dreary times in terror and in apathy. The Mendicant Friars alone were everywhere, braving contagion by the sickbed, in the church, in the churchyard; praying with the people, praying for the people, praying over their bodies, which owed to them alone decent interment. The grateful people repaid them with all they could bestow. Alms, oblations, bequests, funeral dues, poured upon them, and upon them alone. The clergy took alarm; they found themselves everywhere supplanted in the affections of men, in their wills, in the offerings at the altar. The very dead seemed to reject them, and, as it were, to seek the churchyards of the Friars for their holy rest. They began to clamour, even more loudly than heretofore, against these invasions of their rights. The cardinals, many bishops, a multitude of the secular clergy, thronged to Avignon; they demanded the suppression of the Mendicants. By what authority did they preach, hear confes-

[a] Petrarch writes of it (it swept away his Laura)—

"Exemplis caritura quidem, tenuemque nepotum
Vix habitura fidem: *superant si forte nepotes*,
Nec finem modo fata parant imponere mundo."
Ecloga ix.

The "Epistola ad seipsum" is at once more true and throughout more poetical:

"Funera crebra quidem, quocunque paventia flecto
Lumina, conturbant aciem: perplexa feretris
Templa gemunt, passimque simul sine honore cadaver
Nobile plebeiumque jacet."

sions, intercept the alms of the faithful, even the burial dues of their flocks? The Consistory sat, not one was present who dared to lift his voice in favour of the Friars. The Pope rose: the Pope might well know of what incalculable importance were the Mendicants to his own power, but he might also at this time have had more generous, more pious motives. He defended them with imposing eloquence against their adversaries. At the close of his speech he turned to the prelates: "And if the Friars were not to preach to the people, what would ye preach? Humility? you, the proudest, the most disdainful, the most magnificent among all the estates of men, who ride abroad in procession on your stately palfreys! Poverty? ye who are so greedy, so obstinate in the pursuit of gain, that all the prebends and benefices of the world will not satiate your avidity! Chastity? of this I say nothing! God knows your lives, how your bodies are pampered with pleasures. If you hate the Begging Friars, and close your doors against them, it is that they may not see your lives; you had rather waste your wealth on pandars and ruffians than on Mendicants. Be not surprised that the Friars receive bequests made in the time of the fatal mortality, they who took the charge of parishes deserted by their pastors, out of which they drew converts to their houses of prayer, houses of prayer and of honour to the Church, not seats of voluptuousness and luxury." So went forth to the world the debate in the Consistory at Avignon.[b]

Consistory of Avignon.

Yet Clement VI., not long before his death,[c] had filled up the conclave with French prelates; twelve were appointed at once in the interests of the King of France. The King of England, now, by the victory at Crecy and by conquest, master of great part of France, had in vain

[b] Continuator of Nangis, sub ann.

[c] There are two terrible satires by Petrarch against Clement VI. The first an Eclogue (the sixth) between Pamphilus (St. Peter) and Micio (Pope Clement). Pamphilus, whom Micio in his unblushing effrontery insults by openly avowing his love of gold and pleasure, and by comparing himself with St. Peter, breaks out in these lines:

"Es meritus post vincla crucem, post verbera ferrum,
Supplicium breve! quin potius sine fine dolores
Carceris æterni, vel si quid tristius usquam est.
Serve infide, fugax, Dominoque ingrate benigno."

The second (Eclogue VII.) is between Micio (Pope Clement) and Epi, or Epicureanism, who in the warmest language declare their mutual, inseparable attachment.

demanded one place.[d] The remains of the deceased Pope were attended to their final resting-place at Chaise Dieu in Auvergne by five cardinals, one his brother, three his nephews, one his kinsman. The Conclave looked at first to John Borelli, General of the Carthusian Order, a man of profound learning and piety. The Cardinal Talleyrand Perigord warned them, that under his austere rule their noble horses would in a few days be reduced to draw waggons or to toil before the plough. They passed a law by unanimous consent which would have raised the College of Cardinals to a dominant, self-elected aristocracy, superior to the Pope. The Pope could create no Cardinal till the number was reduced to sixteen, nor increase the number beyond twenty. Nor could he nominate these Cardinals without the consent of the whole, or at least two-thirds of the Conclave. Without their consent he could neither depose nor put under arrest any Cardinal, nor seize or confiscate their property. The Cardinals were to enjoy, according to the statute of Nicolas IV., one-half of all the revenues of the Papal See.[e] All swore to observe this statute; some with the reservation if it was according to law.

Conclave.

The election fell on Stephen Aubert, a Limousin, a distinguished Canon lawyer, Bishop of Clermont. The first act of Innocent VI. was to release himself from his oath, to rescind, and declare null and illegal, this statute of the Conclave. He proceeded to redress some of the abuses under the rule of his predecessor. He was more severe and discriminating in his preferments; he compelled residence; he drove away a great part of the multitude of bishops and beneficed clergy who passed their time at Avignon in luxury and in the splendour of the papal court. One instance was recorded of his conduct.

Innocent VI. Dec. 18, 1352.

[d] Vit. apud Baluz. The seventh Eclogue of Petrarch also contains the most bitter descriptions of the Cardinals who formed the Conclave on the death of Clement. De Sade (iii. pp. 149 and 276) boasted that he could furnish the key to the whole satire, and show the original of every one of the portraits drawn in such sharp and hateful lineaments, but he abstained, not perhaps without some recollection that they were French Cardinals. It dwells chiefly, in no modest terms, on their voluptuousness. Of one he says:

"Tamen omnia turbat
Septa furens, nullasque sinit dormire quietas
Somniferâ sub nocte copras."

Of another:

"Liquitur hic luxu."

[e] Raynaldus, A.D. 1352, c. xxix.

A favourite chaplain presented his nephew, quite a youth, for preferment. "One of the seven benefices which you hold," said the Pope, "will suit him well." The chaplain looked grave and melancholy. The Pope compelled him to choose the three best of his remaining benefices; "with the other three I shall be able to reward three of the poor and deserving clergy." [f] But for the nepotism, which seemed the inalienable infirmity of the whole succession, Innocent VI. had escaped that obloquy, which is so loud against almost all the Avignonese pontiffs. The times were favourable to his peaceful and dignified rule: his reign of nearly ten years was uneventful, or rather the great events disturbed not the temporal or religious tranquillity of the Pope. John, King of France, a prisoner after the battle of Poictiers, was too weak to exercise any degrading tyranny over the Pope; and though French at heart, by birth and by interest, Innocent was too prudent to attempt to enforce his offers of mediation by ecclesiastical censures against Edward or his son the Black Prince. Once indeed the course of victory brought the younger Edward to the foot of the bridge of Avignon (the Pope had taken the precaution of encircling the city with strong fortifications). The border districts of Aquitaine, which the King of France was required to surrender, would have included many of the southern bishoprics in the English province. England would have been in dangerous approximation to Avignon.[g] Bands of English adventurers burned St. Esprit and Mondragon; and were only bought off by a large sum of money.[h]

France and England.

[f] Vit. iii. apud Baluz.

[g] During the pontificate of Innocent VI. there is scarcely an historical document in the Papal correspondence; it consists almost wholly of dispensations for holding pluralities, decisions on convent property, dispensations for marriage. V. xxiv. p. 336: Is a letter to the Prince of Wales; his men had taken Robert de Veyrac, canon of Bourges, and plundered him. May 4, 1366: Safe conduct is requested for his Legates, sent to entreat peace. P. 352: Is a curious letter to the Bishop of London: "The tongue offends trebly by a lie, God, our neighbour, and ourselves." The Pope was accused as though "non mediatoris partes assumpsimus sed turbationis egimus." The Bishop of London had not contradicted these wicked rumours.—Villeneuve, June 18, 1356. See following letters.

[h] The Pope (June 24, 1356) writes to his *Vicar* in the March of Ancona about *English* troops (condottierri?) making irruptions into the territory of St. Peter. English cruisers had seized a Neapolitan and a Genoese vessel with Papal effects on board. There is a letter (Oct. 1356) praising the noble conduct of the Black

Charles IV. was undisputed Emperor; his prudence or his want of ambition kept him in dutiful submission to the Pope.[1] He determined to observe nearly to the letter the humiliating agreement, by which he was to enter Rome to be crowned, and to leave it the instant that ceremony was over. He descended into Italy with a small squadron of horse. Notwithstanding the urgent entreaties and tempting offers of the Ghibelline chieftains; notwithstanding a vigorous and eloquent remonstrance of Petrarch, whose poetic imagination would have raised him into a deliverer, a champion of the unity of Italy, as Dante Henry of Luxemburg; Charles pursued his inglorious course, and quietly retired beyond the Alps, virtually abandoning all the imperial rights in Italy. The Emperor Charles IV.

Charles IV., despised by many for his ignominious subservience to the Pope, and his total withdrawal from Italian politics, nevertheless, by one sagacious or fortunate measure, terminated the long strife between the Papacy and the Empire. The famous Golden Bull seemed only to fix the constitutional rights of the electors. It declared the electoral dignity to be attached for ever to certain hereditary and indivisible fiefs. Before this time the severance of those fiefs had split up the right among many competitors. It thus raised the electoral office to a peculiar and transcendent height. It gave to the Seven, the four lay fiefs, Bohemia, Saxony, Brandenberg, the Palatine, and the three great archbishoprics, the full, absolute, unlimited power of election. It did not deny, but it did not acknowledge, any right of interposition in the Pope, either to control the election or to refuse his confirmation. Germany had the sole, unquestioned privilege of electing the King of the Romans (the King of the Romans sunk into a mere title of honour); the King of the Romans became Emperor, but Emperor of Germany. On Italy, the great cause of contention between Popes and Emperors, the Golden Bull was silent. Innocent, whether he had the wisdom to discern the ultimate bear- A.D. 1355.

Prince to his prisoner, King John. See also other singularly *meek* letters to the Black Prince.—March, 1362.

[1] Ockham described Charles IV. as "mancipium Avinonensium sacrificulorum a quibus imperium emerat."—Quoted in Wolfii Lectiones, p. 496.

ings of this great act, raised no protest. His acquiescence was tacit, but still it was acquiescence.

Innocent VI., by the prudent or happy choice of his legate, the martial Cardinal Ægidio Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo, restored the papal influence, which had been almost lost, at least in Southern Italy. When Albornoz took the field, all Romagna was in the hands of the old Roman barons or fierce and lawless military adventurers. The papal banner hung only on the walls of two castles, Montefiascone and Montefalcone. Petty tyrants of either class had seized the cities; Giovanni del Vico, nominally Prefect of Rome, occupied on his own account the greater part of the patrimony of St. Peter, even Viterbo. In a prison at Avignon Albornoz found perhaps his most useful ally, no less than the Tribune Rienzi.

The Cardinal Albornoz.

A.D. 1353.

Who could have supposed that this man, hardly escaped from death as a dangerous usurper of the papal authority, and who had endeavoured to incite the Emperor to reduce the papal power within the strict limits of papal jurisdiction, that the writer of those stern and uncompromising invectives against the desertion of Italy by the Popes, the unsparing castigator of the vices of the clergy, the heaven-appointed reformer (as he advanced) of the Church, the harbinger of the new kingdom of the Holy Ghost; that he should emerge from his dungeon, to reappear in Italy as the follower of the papal Legate, and reassume the supreme government in Rome with the express sanction of the Pope. Such, however, were the unparalleled vicissitudes in the life of Rienzi. Since the fall of the Tribune Rome had returned to her miserable anarchy. For a time two Senators chosen out of the nobles, for another period a popular leader named Cerrone, held the government. A second Tribune had arisen, Baroncelli, who attempted to found a new republic on the model of that of Florence; but the fall of Baroncelli had been almost as rapid as his rise. Plague and earthquake had visited the city; and though the Jubilee had drawn thousands of pilgrims from all parts of the world, and poured wealth into her bosom, this

Rienzi.

Rome. Baroncelli.

wealth had been but a new object of strife, faction, and violence.

Rienzi had been released from prison; the Papal court began to think that under the judicious guidance of Albornoz, Rienzi's advice and knowledge of Italy and Rome might be of use to the Papal cause. The Vice-Legate in Rome, too, Hugo Harpagon, represented that his sufferings had no doubt taught Rienzi wisdom, that he had abandoned his old fantastic dreams of innovation; his name was still popular in Rome, he might be employed to counteract the dominant impiety and evil. The more immediate object appears to have been to use him as an opponent to Baroncelli, who had usurped the office and title of Tribune. Harpagon requested that he might be sent to Rome. Rienzi again in Italy.

Rienzi, weary of his long incarceration and long inactivity, embraced the offer without reluctance. So was he now to share in that work, which he had said in one of his addresses to Charles IV., would be much more easy, more safe, and more congenial to his disposition; to reduce distracted Italy to unity and peace in the name of the Holy Mother the Church, rather than in the interests of the Empire.[k] Ere his arrival, Baroncelli had already fallen. Albornoz, who perhaps had formed a sounder estimate of Rienzi's character, retained him in his own camp. There Rienzi cast the spell of his eloquence over two distinguished youths, Arimbaldo, a lawyer, and Brettone, a knight, brothers of the celebrated and formidable Fra Moreale, the captain of the great Free Company.

On Moreale in some degree depended the fate of Romagna and of Rome. Out of the books of his youthful studies, the companions of his dismal prison, Livy and the Bible, the Tribune filled his young partisans with his lofty notions of the greatness of Rome, and infatuated them by splendid promises of advancement. They lent him considerable sums of money, and enabled him to borrow more. He appeared, accompanied by these youths, and in a gorgeous dress,[m] before the Legate, and Rienzi Senator.

[k] See Papencordt, p. 232.

[m] The Roman biographer, who seems to have been an eye-witness, describes his splendid attire with minute particularity.

demanded to be invested in the dignity of Senator of Rome. The Papal authority was yet acknowledged in Rome by the factious Nobles. It seemed a favourable opportunity, and worth the hazard. In the name of the Church Albornoz appointed Rienzi Senator of Rome. With a few troops the Senator advanced, and in a short time was once more master of the scene of his former power and glory.

His rule.

But Rienzi had not learned wisdom. He was again bewildered by the intoxication of power; he returned to his old pomp, and his fatal luxury. He extorted the restoration of his confiscated property, and wasted it in idle expenditure. He was constantly encircled by his armed guard; he passed his time in noisy drunken banquets. His person became gross, hateful, and repulsive.[n] Again called on to show his military prowess against the refractory Colonnas, he was again found wanting. The stern and equal vigour which had before given a commanding majesty to his wild justice, now seemed to turn to caprice and wantonness of power. His great measure by which he seemed determined, this time at least, to escape the imputation of pusillanimity as shrinking from the extermination of his enemies, was sullied with ingratitude, as well as treachery. The execution of Fra Moreale, the brother of the youths to whom he had been so deeply indebted (Moreale he had perfidiously seized), revolted rather than awed the public mind. The second government of Rienzi was an unmitigated tyranny, and ended in his murder in a popular insurrection. With the cry of "Long live the people" was now mingled "Death to the Tribune, to the traitor

Death of Rienzi. A.D. 1354.

[n] The Roman biographer is again our authority. "Formerly he was sober, temperate, abstemious; he had now become an inordinate drunkard . . . he was always eating confectionary and drinking. It was a terrible thing to be forced to see him (horribile cosa era potere patire di viderlo). They said that in person he was of old quite meagre, he had become enormously fat (grasso sterminatamente); he had a belly like a tun; jovial, like an Asiatic Abbot (habea una ventresca tonna, joviale, a modo de uno Abbate Asiano). (Another MS. reads Abbate Asinino.) He was full of shining flesh (carbuncles?), like a peacock—red, and with a long beard; his face was always changing; his eyes would suddenly kindle like fire; his understanding, too, kindled in fitful flashes like fire (cosi si se mutava suo intelletto come fuoco)."—Apud Muratori, Ant. Ital. xii. p. 524.

Rienzi." His body was treated with the most shameful indignities.

Cardinal Albornoz proceeded calmly, sternly, in his course. In a few years he had restored the Papal power in almost all the cities of Romagna, in Rome itself. Once he was rashly recalled; all fell back into its old confusion. On the return of Albornoz, who was equally formidable in the darkest intrigue and the fiercest conflict of arms, the Papal authority resumed its predominance. A.D. 1358.

Just before his death, Innocent VI. received the grateful intelligence, that long-rebellious Rome had at last submitted to the dominion of a foreign Pope. The only condition was that the dreaded Cardinal Albornoz should not bear sway within the city. Rome submits.

The magnificent tomb of Innocent VI. in Villeneuve, the city on the right bank of the Rhone, remains to bear witness to the wealth and splendour of the most powerful and most prudent of the Avignonese Pontiffs; the fame of the most pious he must leave to his successor.

CHAPTER XII.

URBAN V.

On the death of Innocent VI. twenty Cardinals met in Conclave. Mutual jealousies would not permit them to elect one of their own order: yet it seemed so strange that they should go beyond that circle, that the election of Urban V. was attributed to direct inspiration from God.[a] The choice fell on William Grimoard, Abbot of St. Victor in Marseilles, then on a mission in Italy, and yet unsuspected of Italian attachments. William heard the tidings of the death of Innocent at Florence. He exclaimed, that if a Pope were elected who should restore the seat of St. Peter to Italy, and crush the tyrants in Romagna, he should die content. Had this speech, bruited abroad in Italy, been heard in Avignon, William Grimoard had never ascended the Papal throne.

Oct. 28, 1362.

Urban V.

Urban V. (he took this name) excelled in the better qualities of a Benedictine monk. He enforced severe discipline upon the Conclave, the court, the clergy.[b] He discountenanced the pomp and luxury of the Cardinals, and would endure no factions. He introduced into the court the most rigid order, and impartial justice. He punished the abuses among the lawyers practising in these courts, and cut short their profitable delays. He set himself against concubinage in all orders, especially the clergy. He condemned usurers, and obliged certain of that craft to regorge 200,000 florins. He mulcted and expelled all who were guilty of simony from his court.

Character.

[a] Petrarch boldly asserts that the election was supernatural; that such men as the Cardinals could only have been overruled by the Holy Spirit to suspend their own jealousies and ambition; that the object of the Holy Spirit was the elevation of a Pope who should return to Rome.—Compare Vit. i.

[b] See authorities in the four lives in Baluzius.

He compelled those who had accumulated many benefices to surrender all which they could not serve in person. He was rigid in examining the attainments and morals of those whom he preferred. He was a munificent patron of learned men; maintained at his own expense one thousand scholars at different universities; he was constantly supplying them with books. At Montpellier, the great school of medicine, he founded and endowed a noble college. He was not charged with avarice, he imposed no unusual subsidies; he was liberal to the poor.[c] With the exception of his brother, whom he made Bishop of Avignon, and, at the request of the Conclave, Cardinal, and one nephew, a man of merit, he advanced none of his kindred. He kept his lay relatives in their proper sphere; a nephew married the daughter of a merchant at Marseilles. He established a kind of secret moral and religious inspection throughout Christendom, and invited to his court devout and discreet men of different nations. From them he obtained knowledge of the life and morals of the more notable men in all realms.

State of Europe.

Pope Urban V. might stand aloof in dignified seclusion from temporal affairs, except in Italy. The King of France was in too low a condition to enforce any unbecoming submission; the King of England too strong for the Pope even to resent the vigorous measures of the English Parliament in limitation of the Papal power. The Emperor Charles IV., after the Golden Bull, demeaned himself almost as a willing vassal of the Holy See. The old antagonists of the Popedom, the Viscontis, were almost alone in open hostility with the Pope. The head of that house had united in himself the spiritual and civil supremacy in Italy.[d] John, Archbishop of Milan, ruled as Sovereign, headed his armies as General, invaded his neighbours as an independent potentate. The warlike Legate, Albornoz, fully occupied in the South, respected the warlike Archbishop. The Archbishop found it politic to maintain peace with Albornoz. The death of the Archbishop left his territories

Of Italy.

The Visconti.

[c] Vit. i. et iv.
[d] Sismondi, Républiques Italiennes, vi. c. 43.

to be divided between his three nephews. The elder, the voluptuous Matteo, soon died of debauchery, or poisoned by his two brothers, Bernabo and Galeazzo, who dreaded the effect of those debaucheries in thwarting their loftier ambition. Bernabo sought to advance his power by intrigue and arms. Galeazzo had bought the daughter of the King of France, Isabella of Valois, as a bride for his son. He afterwards wedded his daughter to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III. Bernabo had been expelled from Bologna by the Cardinal Albornoz; he had besieged the city in vain: he was thus in open war with the Church. Almost the first act of Urban V. was to fulminate a Bull against Bernabo;[e] summoning him to appear at Avignon in March to hear his sentence. The charges were sufficiently awful, debaucheries and cruelties, diabolic hatred of the Church. He had forced the Archbishop of Milan to kneel before him, and fiercely asked him whether he knew not that Bernabo Visconti was Pope, Emperor, and Sovereign in his own territories; that neither Emperor nor God could do anything against his will. He had cast the Archbishop into prison; he had published a prohibition to all his subjects, under pain of being burned, to seek any act of pardon from the Papal court, or from the Pope's Legate, to make them any payment, or to take counsel with them. He would admit no presentation of the Pope to bishopric or abbacy. He had contemptuously opened, publicly torn, and trampled on sundry writings and ordinances of the Holy See. This was not the worst; he had burned priests and monks in iron cages; beheaded or tortured others to death; bored the ears of a pious Franciscan with a red-hot iron; compelled a priest at Parma to mount a lofty tower and pronounce an anathema against Pope Innocent VI. and his Cardinals; he had seized with insatiable rapacity the goods of the Church.

Oct. 5, 1354.

A.D. 1362.

Crimes of Bernabo.

Bernabo, as might be expected, appeared not in Avignon. The Pope declared him excommunicate, and all who aided and abetted him involved in his excommunication.

[e] The Bull in Raynaldus.

He knelt and invoked Christ himself, the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and all the host of heaven, that this bloody and misbelieving tyrant might be punished in the world to come as in this world. He ordered a crusade to be preached throughout Italy against the Visconti.

But in Italy, even from an Italian Pope, these terrific words had worn out all their magic; from a foreign Pope hated by the Italians as an alien, despised as the vassal of France, even of fallen France, they were utterly disregarded. Bernabo, this monster of wickedness, found no difficulty in purchasing peace by abandoning his groundless claims on Bologna. Even Urban V. must close his eyes to the crimes of the Visconti.

The state of Italy was doubtless among the motives which induced Pope Urban to meditate the restoration of the Papal See to Rome. The reign of each successive Pope in Avignon had widened the estrangement of Italy and of Rome from the Papal interests. The successes of the Cardinal Albornoz were but the invasions and conquests of a foreign power. Both awe and attachment must eventually, if slowly, die out altogether. The Ghibellines had long lost all awe; the Guelfs would become an anti-Ghibelline, no longer a Papal faction; they would neither fight nor intrigue for a Pope who had ceased to be Italian. Rome would not endure much longer (she had but partially endured) her baffled hopes of becoming again the metropolis of Papal dignity and Papal wealth, the heart of the world, the centre of religious business, the holy place of religious pilgrimage, of the simultaneous reverence and oblations of Christendom to the shrines of the apostles, and shrines of their successors; she would not, she could not, much longer be deluded by specious but insincere promises, with the courteous mockery of her urgent ineffective invitations. It might be dangerous to reside among the feuds of the turbulent nobles at Rome and in the Roman territory, or the no less turbulent people; but the danger of alienating Italy altogether was still greater.

If a Transalpine Pontiff might thus insensibly lose all authority in Italy—if throughout Christendom the illusion

of Apostolic Majesty, which invested the successor of St. Peter in what was believed to have been his actual throne at Rome, would gradually but inevitably have melted away, should he entirely desert that throne—besides this the position of the Pope at Avignon had become insecure. The King of France, a prisoner in England, had ceased to tyrannise, but he had also ceased to protect. The leaders of the English conquests had approached to a dangerous proximity. England openly resisted the Papal grant to France of the tenths to maintain the war.[f] The Black Prince could not be ignorant of the inclinations, the more than inclinations, the secret subsidies and aids, of the Pope to his enemies. Urban was a Frenchman: what Frenchman had not deeply commiserated the state of his native land? England (since the Papal power had reached its height within the realm, in the time after Becket and that of King John) had been gradually assuming the tone of ecclesiastical independence. The civil and spiritual liberties had grown up together: the Commons showed as great reluctance to submit to Papal as to Royal exactions. Under Edward III., the nation, proud of his victories, was entirely on the King's side. The subservient attachment of the Pope to the King of France had no doubt considerable influence on the bold measures of the English Legislature. They had infinitely less reverence for a French Pope. All this will require further development.

Rumours began to spread of Urban's design to return to Italy. Perhaps his speech at Florence, before his election, had now transpired in Avignon. The Conclave, almost entirely French, heard with dismay the urgent and reiterated representations from Rome, to which the Pope lent too willing an ear. Petrarch, who in his youth had appealed to Benedict XII., in his manhood to Clement VI., now in his old age addressed a more grave and solemn expostulation to Urban V. The poet described, perhaps

[f] See the curious Eclogue of Petrarch (the twelfth), written after the battle of Poitiers. Pan is France, Faustula the Papacy, Articus England.

"Tot deerant alimenta viris, nisi Pana virili
Faustula solicitum curarum parte levasset,
Nam grege de magno *decimam* largissima quamque
Obtulit, atque famem sedavit pinguibus hædis.
Ah meretrix! (obliqua tuens ait Articus illi)
Immemorem sponsi, cupidus quem mungit adulter.
'Hæc tibi sola fides? sic sic aliena ministras?"

with some poetic licence, the state of widowed Rome:— "While ye are sleeping on the shores of the Rhone, under a gilded roof, the Lateran is a ruin, the Mother of Churches open to the wind and rain; the churches of the Apostles are shapeless heaps of stones." The tremendous appeal which closed his prolix argument demanded of Urban, "whether, on the great day of judgement, he had rather rise again among the famous sinners of Avignon, than with Peter and Paul, Stephen and Lawrence, Silvester, Gregory, Jerome, Agnes, and Cecilia?"[g]

The determination of the Pope was doubtless confirmed during a visit of the Emperor to Avignon. He resolved to break through the thraldom of the Conclave. He had himself never been a Cardinal, he belonged not to their factions. He had deprived their houses of the right of asylum: in those houses the most infamous in that infamous population had found refuge. By one account he created two new Cardinals, and contemptuously declared that he had as many Cardinals as he chose under the hood of his cowl.[h] The Cardinals heard the summons to accompany the Pope to Italy as a sentence of exile. They were strangely ignorant of Italy: supposed the climate, country, food, wretched and unwholesome.[i] They trembled for their lives in turbulent Rome; they would not quit their sumptuous and luxurious palaces. Five only, it is said, followed him to Marseilles. As they left the port they shrieked aloud as in torture, "Oh wicked Pope! Oh godless brother! whither is he dragging his sons?" as though they were to be transported to the dungeons of the Saracens in Ctesiphon or Memphis, not to the capital city of Christendom.[k]

Pope determines on return to Italy.

The Pope set sail from Marseilles. The galleys of Joanna of Naples, of Venice, of Genoa, and of Pisa, crowded to escort the successor of St. Peter back to Italy. He landed at Genoa, was received in great state by the Doge and the Seignory. He celebrated Ascension Day in the cathedral church. He embarked and reached the shore near Corneto. He

Embarks for Italy. April 20, 1367.

May 4.

June 4.

[g] Petrarch, Senilia, lib. vii.
[h] Vit. iii.
[i] Vit. ii.
[k] Petrarch, Senilia, ix. 2, p. 857.

was received by Albornoz, the Legate; silken tents were pitched upon the sands, amid arches of green foliage. He said Mass, mounted a horse, and rode into Corneto: there he stayed during the Feast of Pentecost. The ambassadors of the Roman people presented themselves to acknowledge his full sovereignty, and to offer the keys of St. Angelo.

Aug. 24. His arrival in Viterbo was saddened by the death of Albornoz,[m] a Prelate who, though highly skilled and expert in deeds of arms, never forgot his pontifical decency. A riot in Viterbo was suppressed; the ring-leaders hanged by the people themselves.

After some delay he made his public entry into Rome.

At Rome. He was greeted by the clergy and people with a tumult of joy. He celebrated Mass at the altar of St. Peter, the first Pope since the days of Boniface VIII. The Papal palace was in ruins; Urban commenced extensive repairs; but his chosen residence was not Rome, but Montefiascone, whose pleasant and quiet situation filled him with delight. While he lived in a noble palace built there, the affairs of his Court were conducted at Viterbo. The next year the Emperor, who in an assembly of his Estates at Vienna had proclaimed himself the loyal protector of the Pope, and confirmed him in the possession of all his territories, set out for Rome at the head of a power-

A.D. 1368. The Emperor at Rome. ful force. In Rome he led the Pope's horse from the Castle of St. Angelo to St. Peter's, and served him as a Deacon during the high service. The Empress received the crown from the Pope. The Emperor named an ecclesiastic, the Cardinal di Porto, his Vicar in Italy. To some this was a most magnificent, to others a contemptible spectacle. The clergy were in raptures of joy at the honours paid to the Pope; the Roman people were delighted at the unwonted amity between these old implacable antagonists, the Emperor and the Pope; but the cold Ghibellines either looked with scorn at the humiliation of the Emperor, or treated it as base hypocrisy. The enemies of the Church laughed at it as a theatric show. "I," says a devout eye-witness, "was drunk with delight,

[m] "In factis armorum, non omissâ pontificali decentiâ, valde doctus et expertus."—Vit. i. 379.

I could not command myself, beholding a sight which my forefathers had never seen, and that we had never hoped to see—the Papacy and the Empire at unity, the flesh obedient to the spirit, the kingdom of the earth subject to the kingdom of heaven."[n]

But neither the pomps of Rome nor the pleasant seclusion of Montefiascone could retain a French Prelate, though that Prelate was Urban V. He had not firmness to resist the incessant murmurs, the urgent entreaties, of the Cardinals. From the vast buildings which were still going on at his cost at Avignon, he must have contemplated a return, if but for a time, to that city. Only two years after the interview with the Emperor at Rome, Pope Urban embarked again near Corneto, Sept. 5, 1370. after a prosperous voyage arrived at Marseilles, and re-established himself at Avignon. The excuse alleged in public was his parental desire to reconcile the Kings of France and England, but no one believed that he himself believed in this excuse. He went there, however, only to die: two months had hardly passed when he expired. Dec. 19. His weakness may have been a secret inward longing for his native land. Petrarch, notwithstanding this last act of infirmity, honoured his memory, and wrote in fervent language of his virtues.[o]

[n] Coluccio Salutati (he was present), quoted by Pelzel.
[o] Petrarch, Senil. xiii. Epist. 13.

CHAPTER XIII.

GREGORY XI.

THE Conclave, in raising the nephew of Clement VI. to the Pontificate, might think themselves secure against any compulsory return to Italy. Peter Roger had become a Cardinal before he was eighteen years old. Among those dissolute youths whose promotion by Clement VI. gave offence, the young Cardinal Peter alone vindicated this flagrant act of nepotism by his severe theological studies, and by his mastery over the canon law. His morals were blameless; he was singularly apt, easy, and agreeable in the despatch of business, popular in the Conclave. He assumed the Popedom with sincere reluctance. Gregory XI. inherited the weakness of his uncle—immoderate love of his kindred, with whom he crowded all offices, ecclesiastical as well as civil. This was his one infirmity. Gregory XI. was in the prime of life, but he suffered under a painful disease.

Dec. 30, 1370.

The first years of Gregory's Pontificate were one long period of disasters. His offers of mediation between England and France were rejected with indifference approaching to contempt.[a] Italy, abandoned

State of Italy.

[a] MS. B. M. Instructions and powers to two Nuncios, the Cardinals S. Sisto and IV. Coronarum. There is a tone of serious and commanding earnestness in the admonitions to peace: this continues, if possible with deepening solemnity, perhaps because so ineffective, during the whole seven years from the accession of Gregory, 1370, to the death of Edward III., 1377. There is a striking letter to the Black Prince, who must have received it when perhaps under his slow mortal illness, near his end, dwelling on all the horrors of war. Did the Black Prince think of the massacre of Limoges? June 2, 1374 (vol. lxvii.). Among other powers the Nuncios have that of consecrating or ordering consecration of churches, and of purifying cemeteries polluted by the burial of excommunicated persons; having first exhumed and cast out their bodies, if they could be discerned. March 9, 1371. They have very large powers of granting benefices, of visiting monasteries, described as, in England, in great need of visitation. One hundred women, *of high birth and rank*, to be named by the Nuncios; some of them, with four "honest matrons," were to enter and visit any convent of females, but not to eat or sleep therein. The Nuncios have

by the Popes, except to be tyrannised over and burthened with inordinate exactions by weak and venal Legates, unworthy successors of the able and vigorous Albornoz, seemed determined altogether to revolt from allegiance to the Pope. Bernabo Visconti aimed at absolute dominion; he laughed to scorn the excommunications repeated from time to time, if possible, with accumulated maledictions. One of these contained a prohibition against intermarriages with the females of that house—an invention of Papal presumption reserved for this late period, but an idle protest against the splendid and royal connections already formed by that aspiring family. The Free Companies—that more especially of the Englishman, John Hawkwood, taking service with the highest bidder, or if unhired, plundering and wasting under their own banner—inflicted impartial misery on Guelf and Ghibelline.[b] Dec. 17, 1372.

In the north the Viscontis were all-powerful; the wretched government of the Papal Legates raised the whole south in one wide revolt.[c] Even in Florence, Ghibellinism was in the ascendant. A league was formed, after some years, which comprehended the Viscontis, Joanna of Naples, Florence, Pisa, Sienna, Lucca, Arezzo, against the iniquitous ecclesiastical rule. Viterbo, Montefiascone, Narni, raised the banner of liberty; in the next month, Perugia, Assisi, Spoleto, Gubbio, Urbino, Cagli, Fermo. Though the Cardinal Legate let loose John Hawkwood, now in the pay of the Church, in a few days eighty cities, castles, and fortresses had thrown off the Papal rule. Early in the next year followed Ascoli, Civita Vecchia, Ravenna, and other cities. Bologna drove out the Cardinal, who fled in disguise. Forlì raised the standard of the Ordelaffi. Hawkwood, now receiving no pay, paid himself by the sack of Faenza. Imola, Camerino, Macerata, fell under the dominion of the Alidori and Rodolf di Vacano.

power to absolve thirty persons who have committed homicide or mutilation on deacons or archdeacons, with a form of penance, scourging in the church. There are several of these powers of absolution; one for the homicide of priests. The clergy should seem to have fared ill, or to have exposed themselves in these wars.

[b] There is a curious history of the Free Companies by Ricotte, which, with some other recent works, does credit to the Italian modern school of history.

[c] 1375. Muratori Ann. sub ann.

Tenths levied for war in Italy.

The Pope had no resources but in the wealth at his command. The tenths were levied in all the remote kingdoms of Christendom—in Poland, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, even in the British Isles[d]—to subjugate the immediate subjects of the patrimony of St. Peter.[e] Wealth could raise armies: in those calamitous times there were soldiers to be hired for any cause. A formidable force of wild and barbarous Bretons was levied: the fears of Italy magnified them to fourteen thousand, they were at the least four thousand men. Under the command of the Cardinal Robert of Geneva, unopposed by the Visconti (the Pope, by the surrender of Vercelli and other cities, had bought off Galeazzo Visconti), they were let loose on wretched Romagna. They achieved no conquests: but by their excesses they made the Papal sway only more profoundly odious.

A.D. 1376.

None but the Pope himself could restore the papal power. He must himself rule in Italy, or cease to rule. The mind of Gregory XI. was already shaken:[f] he had rebuked a non-resident prelate. "Why do you not betake yourself to your diocese?" "Why do you not betake yourself to yours?" was the taunting reply. An ambassador of a singular character accepted a mission

[d] March 10, 1372, Gregory XI. writes to the Archbishop and Bishops of England, describing the enormous expenses of the Roman See in Italy, the usurpation of the Papal rights and territories. He has obtained subsidies from the prelates and clergy of France, Spain, Germany, and almost all the faithful in Christ, *except the kingdom of England.* He urges a subsidy, seemingly a voluntary one, in England.—MS. B. M., March 10, 1372.

[e] Throughout it is the war urged by the Viscontis, Bernabo and Galeazzo, those sons of iniquity, which enforce and justify his exactions on the English Church. At one time he demands 100,000 gold florins (July 1, 1372), at another 60,000. It is a case when, according to the Constitutions of the Council of Vienne, they might pawn their chalices, books, the ornaments of churches and altars. The Pope implores the King not to impede the collection, as he is a Catholic prince of Catholic parents (the King's officers (gentes) had been guilty of this), nor to favour the contumacious clergy who will not pay. The letter to Edward is submissively urgent; no menace of censure. Afterwards the Bishop of Lincoln and the King's justiciaries are cited to Avignon for impeding the collection. See next vol., c. iii.

[f] Above two years before his return he writes to King Edward III. (Jan. 9, 1375): "Etsi debitum honestatis exposcat ut sacram urbem, in quâ principalis sedes nostra consistit, personaliter visitemus . . . ut quam cito commode fieri poterit accedamus." He adds the further he is distant, the more the Church in England requires the support of the King; he commends it to the care of Edward. He positively states his intention of being in Rome the autumn of that year, 1375.

from Florence to reconcile that city with the Pope. Catherine of Sienna was at the height of her fame for sanctity.[g] Already she had sent to the Pope a solemn admonition to name worthy Cardinals. She appeared at Avignon; she urged, she implored the Pope to return to Italy. The visions of another saint, S. Brigitta of Sweden, had been long full of the same heaven-inspired remonstrances; Christ had spoken by that holy virgin. Catherine of Sienna.

The commission, however, entrusted to S. Catherine of Sienna for the reconciliation of contumacious Florence failed till, after the accession of Urban VI., her words wrought with irresistible influence on the more than wavering Pope. Gregory XI., notwithstanding the opposition of the Cardinals, though six of them remained at Avignon, embarked, like his predecessor, at Marseilles,[h] put in at Genoa, and then landed near Corneto. His voyage was not so prosperous, many ships were lost, the Bishop of Lucca was drowned. The Pope passed the Feast of the Nativity at Corneto. On the seventeenth day after, he arrived by sea, and sailed up the Tiber to Rome. All was outward Oct. 2. Oct. 18. Pope sets out for Italy.

[g] One most extraordinary letter of S. Catherine of Sienna may illustrate the times, the woman, the religion: it is addressed to her confessor, Raymond of Capua, who was at Rome. When she wrote it she can hardly have been more than 32. She urges Raymond in the most rapturous phrases to hide himself in the wounded side of the Son of God. (S. Catherine herself, says her Biographer, was permitted constantly to approach her lips to the side of the Lord, and to quaff his blood.) "It is a dwelling full of delicious odours; even sin takes a sweet perfume." "Oh blood! oh fire! oh ineffable love!" But the object of the letter is to relate the execution of a man, young or old does not appear, nor for what crime he suffered, but there can be little doubt that it was political, not religious. The day before his death she conducted him to the Mass; he received the Eucharist, from which he had before kept aloof. The rest of the day was passed in ineffable spiritual transports. "Remain with me," he said, "and I shall die content." His head reposed on her bosom. She awaited him next morning on the scaffold; she laid her head down on the block; she obtained not what she ardently desired. He came at length, suffered his fate with the gentleness of a lamb, uttering the name of the Saviour. She received his head in her hands. At that moment appeared to her the God-Man with the brightness of the sun. She was assured of her friend's salvation. She would not wash off the stain of the rich-smelling blood from her garments. Yet, though she must remain on earth, the first stone of her tomb was laid. "Sweet Jesus! Jesus Love." My attention was directed to this remarkable letter (the 97th in Gigli's edition) by a translation in the Annales Archéologiques, vol. xi. p. 85. S. Catherine had the stigmata. And this woman interposed between Popes, Princes, and Republics!

[h] He was at Marseilles, Sept. 29; at Genoa, Oct. 23-4; St. Peter's, Rome, April 1377.—Documents in MS. B. M.

splendour and rejoicing in Rome, processions through decorated streets, banquets, a jubilant people, every one prostrate before the successor of St. Peter.[i] But before long the Bannerets of the Regions, who had cast down their ensigns of authority at the feet of the Pontiff, resumed their independent rule. De Vico, the Prefect of the city, held Viterbo and Montefiascone; not a city returned to its allegiance. The sack of Faenza and Cesena by the sanguinary Cardinal Robert and his Bretons, and by the soldiers of Hawkwood, whom he called to his aid, deepened, if it could be deepened, the aversion; scenes of rape and bloodshed, which even shocked those times, were perpetrated under the papal banner.

Gregory had the barren consolation, that beyond the Alps he had still some power. The Emperor Charles IV. humbly sought his influence to obtain the succession for his son Wenceslaus. Even in Italy, wherever his authority was acceptable, it was admitted. Sicily was erected into an independent kingdom, that of Trinacria.

But neither the awe of his spiritual authority, though he launched excommunication and interdict with unwearied hand, nor his gentler virtues, could allay the evils which seventy years of absence of the Popes from Rome had allowed to grow up. During the retreat of Gregory from the heats of the summer to Anagni were made some approaches to pacification with the Prefect de Vico and with Florence. The Pope despatched the holy Catherine of Sienna to Florence as a mediator of peace. But the delays of the Saint, and her intercourse with some of the Guelfic leaders in somewhat of a worldly and political spirit, inflamed the fury of the adverse factions.[k] They threatened to seize

[i] Compare the account in rude verse by Peter, Bishop of Senigaglia:—

"Egrediente summo Pontifice S. Pauli palatium affluerunt mille histriones...
Verè non credebam in præsenti sæculo videre tantam gloriam oculis propriis.
Dire fatigatur Præsul prolixitate itineris cum suis servulis...
Membra fatigata debilitataque magnificè gemmatis ferculis refocillavimus."
Apud Raynald. 1377, 1.

The whole dreary but curious poem, which describes minutely the journey from Avignon to Marseilles, the voyage from Marseilles to Corneto, from Corneto to Rome, the retirement to Anagni, may be read, if it can be read, in Ciacconius and in Muratori.

[k] "Cum hæc sacra virgo me teste (her biographer and confessor) de mandato felicis memoriæ D. Gregorii hujus nominis Papæ XI. accessisset Florentiam (quæ pro tunc rebellis erat et contumax in conspectu Ecclesiæ) pro pace tractandâ inter Pastorem et oves, ibique multas persecutiones injustas fuisset passa... nullo modo voluit recedere,

and burn the wicked woman. She hardly escaped political martyrdom. A.D. 1377.

But these negotiations dragged heavily on. A great congress was held at Sarzana. The main difficulty was a demand by the Pope for the reimbursement of 800,000 florins expended in the war through the contumacy of the Florentines. The Florentines retorted that the war was caused by the maladministration of the Cardinal Legates. Negotiations with Florence.

Pope Gregory, worn out with disease and disappointment, and meditating his return to Avignon, died, leaving all in irreparable confusion, confusion to be still aggravated by the consequences of his death.[m] Death of Gregory XI. March 27 or 28, 1378.

With Gregory XI. terminated the Babylonish captivity of the popedom, succeeded by the great schism which threatened to divide Latin Christendom in perpetuity between two lines of successors of St. Peter, finally to establish a Transalpine and a Cisalpine Pope.[n]

quousque defuncto Gregorio, Urbanus VI., successor ejus pacem fecit cum Florentinis prædictis." It will reconcile this with the text, if it is supposed that she went to Avignon before on a mission from one of the parties in Florence. Urban VI. afterwards sent for her to Rome, through her confessor. She went unwillingly, but went.—Vit. apud Bolland. c. i. p. 111. Alban Butler has told well, though not quite fully, the Life of Catherine of Sienna.—April 30.

[m] Muratori, sub ann.

[n] The will of Pope Gregory XI. may be read in D'Achery, iii. p. 738. The whole gives a high notion of his character as a man of conscience and piety. There is this singular passage: "Quod si in Consistorio aut in publicis consiliis ex lapsu linguæ, vel etiam lætitiâ inordinatâ, aut præsentiâ magnatum ad eorum forsan complacentiam, seu ex aliquali distemperantiâ aut superfluitate aliquâ dixerimus errores contra Catholicam fidem . . . seu forsitan adhærendo aliquorum opinionibus contrariis fidei Catholicæ, scienter, quod non credimus, vel etiam ignoranter, aut dando favorem aliquibus contra Catholicam religionem obloquentibus, illa expressè et specialiter revocamus, detestamur. et habere volumus pro non dictis." Is not this to be taken as illustrating the free conversation at the court of Avignon?

END OF VOL. V.

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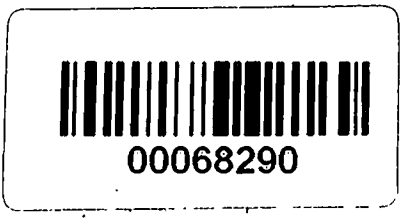
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